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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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JANUARY, 1895.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

I.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE NAPOLEONIC LEGEND.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTEBOOK," ETC., ETC.

EVER since the fall of the Second Empire at Sedan, historians of the highest attainments like Lanfrey, Taine, and Taxile Delord have been "whittling" the gigantic figure of Napoleon I.; probably with the same intention that prompted Jacob to pill white strakes in the rods of green poplar and hazel and chestnut tree in Laban's field; with this difference, though, that Taine and Lanfrey did not set the whittled Titan before the mentally strongest progenitors of the coming generations, but before the mentally weakest. Lanfrey and Taine have had a kind of reward, notably among French Republicans, who keep yelling that the Napoleonic gods are dead. I, for one, do not believe that the Napoleonic gods are dead. They are wrapt in a deep sleep. Whether we shall see the man with the power to awaken them is another question.

This much concerning the present, let us look at the past, at the period between Waterloo and the overthrow of the dynasty of Louis Philippe, during which period the Napoleonic legend was to France in particular, and to Europe in general, what the stories of the Civil War and the Franco-German Campaign are still, first to Americans and Germans respectively, then to the

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whole of the civilized world : namely, a living, breathing, romantic, and heroic drama upon which the curtain had only fallen a short time since ; a drama most of the actors of which still walked the earth, while its chief hero, like Abraham Lincoln, was already numbered among the immortals of history, by reason of his martyrdom ; a drama from the influence of which even those who had most cause to dread and dispel that influence could not escape. I am quoting from memory, but the reader may rest his mind on that point ; my memory rarely attempts to deceive me without arousing my suspicions to that effect. We have lived for many years on the footing of a jealous husband and wife ; the slightest sign of such deception on its part breeds a corresponding watchfulness on mine, and in this instance I feel absolutely convinced of its faithfulness. Both Generals Cambronne and Drouot had followed Napoleon during the Hundred Days ; the first is credited with having flung a more forcible than elegant monosyllable to his assailants at Waterloo in reply to their summons to surrender ; the second has had his name bestowed on one of the principal streets in Paris. The Bourbons on their return conferred on Cambronne the command of the Lille division ; a frontier post of trust if ever there was one. Drouot retired to his native city, Nancy. Some time afterwards, when the elder son of Charles X. that was to be—the Duc d'Angoulême, who in 1830 abdicated with his father in favor of his nephew the Duc de Bordeaux, subsequently the Comte de Chambord—passed through the capital of Lorraine, he immediately inquired for the residence of Napoleon's favorite general, and called upon him. "*Monsieur le Général,*" said the Prince, "I have come to beg a favor—that of exchanging my sword for yours." Drouot acquiesced, and the son of the House of France carried away the sword as a relic, as a talisman, as a badge of honor.

A few years later the Duc's wife and cousin, the daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, the erstwhile prisoner of the Temple, spent a couple of days at Avignon, where at that time there was a branch establishment of the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris. She stayed at the Préfecture, and on the Sunday, as a matter of course, went to Saint Agricol in semi-state. Scarcely had her foot touched the first step leading to the church when the air resounded with the stentorian cry of "*Vive l'Empereur* !" Under the circumstances the cry was considered as nothing less than an

outrage ; the offender was apprehended there and then, and would probably have been rent to death on the spot, for the masses are tigers when they are not apes, and frequently both in one. The offender would have been torn to pieces ; the men who, seven years before then, had inaugurated a series of foul murders with that of Maréchal Brune, would not have scrupled to crown that series with another one, but for the interference of the Duchesse herself and the Prefect. The offender turned out to be a former sergeant in the Imperial Guard with the name of Jean Boucard. An interview took place that same afternoon between the veteran of *la Grande Armée* and the presumptive Queen of France, at which no one was present but the Prefect, who afterwards told the story to one of my relatives.* That story is, however, too long to be given in full here. For the first time in her life, perhaps, the daughter of the Bourbons found herself face to face with an eyewitness of that marvellous Napoleonic era whom no considerations of courtly etiquette prevented from limning it in all its brilliant, glowing colors, as well as in all its sombre and tragic incidents, for Jean Boucard had been rendered childless by the god he adored ; his eldest son had been killed at Leipzig, his younger at Waterloo.

"Ah, you see, M. Boucard," said the Princess when the veteran came to that part of his story ; "we cause the death of no one."

"Pardon me, Madame," interrupted Boucard, "you had some one killed who was dearer to me than both my sons ; you killed my general, my marshal, you killed Michel Ney."

In spite of this rough reminder of the crime of her uncle (Louis XVIII.), the Princess endeavored to convert Jean Boucard to the existing *régime*, nay, fancied she had converted him, for he accepted a generous bounty for himself and his widowed sister. But Boucard was not converted, though he also construed his acceptance of the Princess's subsidy in that spirit, and felt remorse gnawing at his heart in consequence. He no longer held up his head, shunned his fellow-veterans, and from an occasional tippler became a confirmed drunkard. During those drunken fits he was silently arrogant, staring his former comrades in the face, evidently bent on pro-

* For an account of those relatives and their influence upon me as a writer, I must refer my readers to *My Paris Notebook*.

voking them. On one occasion he told the Prefect that he would like to earn the money that had been given to him by killing one of them. "The gold bears the blood-marks of the murdered Michel Ney," he said. "I have tried to wash it clean in wine; only more blood will do it." Time went by, and the birthday of Louis XVIII. came round. On that morning Boucard was more helplessly drunk and more defiant than usual. He loudly announced his intention of drinking the King's health at the dinner given on that occasion. He tried to be as good as his word, but the "*Vive le Roi*" stuck in his throat. Then, with a supreme effort, he gasped "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and dropped to the floor. When they picked him up he was dead.

I might fill a book with stories of the unalterable devotion of those veterans to the memory of the leader for whom they had shed their blood. One more must suffice.

After his coronation, Charles X. was about to enter the archbishop's palace at Rheims when he noticed an old man, minus one arm, who stood quietly smoking his pipe, profoundly indifferent to the ceremony which had just concluded, and not bestowing as much as a glance on the newly crowned king. Though the man wore no uniform, the martial air was unmistakable; it was only emphasized by the absence of the limb. The sovereign stopped on the threshold of the palace, and sent an aide-de-camp for the apathetic veteran who came immediately, with his pipe still alight in his hand.

"That pipe seems a great comfort to you, friend," said the King, breaking the ice at once.

"It is a comfort," replied the old soldier, pointedly; "it compensates for many things."

"Which means," retorted the King, "that you are not too well pleased to-day?"

"I am aware, Sire," was the instantaneous rejoinder, "that in Rheims to-day every one is well pleased; I, unfortunately, am unable to take my share in the rejoicings."

"And why?" queried the King.

"Because I remember too well another coronation in which I took my humble part."

Charles X. was not easily disconcerted; he had a ready wit. "That's right," he said; "we should never forget those who led us to victory. But why are you not at the Invalides?"

"Because I prefer to eat my crust at home in my own country. I am satisfied to live on the pension my cross [of the Legion of Honor] brings me."

"The Invalides is your home by right; it is not a question of charity," remarked the King, still bent on conciliating the old soldier, and bowing to him.

The veteran stood at the salute until Charles X. had disappeared, then went back quietly to his sunny spot to resume his smoking, mumbling to himself as he went, "He is a good sort, after all." An hour later, an aide-de-camp dispatched by the King found him there.

"His Majesty has sent me to tell you that he has granted you a pension of 300 francs from his privy purse," said the officer.

Jean Latapie (for that was his name) stood at the salute once more. "Very well," he remarked, with a somewhat sardonic smile. "Please to thank His Majesty for me, and to tell him that his kindness will enable me to buy two new ribbons instead of one ribbon per year for the cross given to me by the Emperor."

Thousands of those veterans were scattered through the French provinces, for Jean Latapie was not singular in his preference for a crust at home to two good meals daily at the Invalides. They propagated the Napoleonic faith and embellished the Napoleonic legend. I make a mistake, they did not embellish it—there was no need to do so: they had but to tell the unvarnished truth about that giant who in a few years transformed the whole of the political geography of the European continent; who made a King of Sweden out of a lawyer's son like himself; a King of Naples out of an innkeeper's son; a score of dukes and marshals out of as many stable-lads, millers' boys, coopers' apprentices, and Heaven alone knows out of what else. The rise of David and that of Joseph, as told in the Bible, are as nothing to that sudden leap into fortune of that lank-haired, sallow-faced Corsican lieutenant of artillery who, four years before the whole of the world rang with his name, was almost unknown to his brother-officers. And when some sergeant, like Boucard or Latapie, tells those marvellous tales and at their conclusion asks, in imitation of Sergeant Goguelat, of Balzac's *Médecin de Campagne*, "Do you think that all this was natural?" the simple listeners sitting in the inglenook can but reply, "No, it was not natural." And the hero of

the tales, *Le Petit Caporal*, becomes a god in the imagination of those humble folks to whom for nearly two decades he had proved a scourge by taking from them their husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons, of those humble folks who have suffered most from the two invasions, for let us bear in mind that the Napoleonic cult was ever much stronger in the rural than in the urban districts. The recollection of that fact will stand us in good stead by and by, when we shall have to watch the nephew of the giant "spiking" the ground for his rivals in the Presidential elections, the Ulm of his Austerlitz.

Nor must it be thought that the propagation of the Napoleonic cult was confined only to those who had founded the cult by the power of their swords—the surviving legionaries of the Grande Armée. Shortly after the sword had been sheathed the pen began its work, and before long, nay, even before the "martyr of St. Helena" had breathed his last, the glory of the victors of Waterloo had paled before that of the vanquished, for those who wielded the pen were poets, to whom a Cromwell, a Frederick the Great, or a Bonaparte is either God or Satan, sometimes both in one; who attempt, if they do not always accomplish, a *Paradise Lost* when they become inspired with the deeds of an immortal "clothed with mortal flesh." They were poets, not literary Cuviers and Owens, whose system admits not of heroes or criminals, but simply of vertebrate or invertebrate animals. Considerable as is the space so generously conceded to me, I cannot dwell at greater length on this apotheosis of Napoleon by Byron, Goethe, Heine, Hugo, Mickiewicz, and their satellites. One ought to have heard a Dumas—whose father suffered at the hands of Napoleon—and a Béranger speak of the modern Cæsar, as I have heard them speak at my uncles' home, to be able to judge of the effect, especially upon the younger generation of that period. Consequently as early as 1830, during the Revolution that cost the elder Bourbons their throne, there was already an attempt to restore the Empire. I can give chapter and verse for what I state. Talleyrand went to Vienna in secret, and, but for the opposition there, would have brought the Duc de Reichstadt (the King of Rome) to Paris. Louis Philippe owed Talleyrand nothing with regard to the crown which for eighteen years "rested" so uneasily on his head, and he was well aware of the absence of all obligation. Nay, it is extremely

doubtful whether Louis Philippe, who was one of the cleverest men on record, was not perfectly cognizant of his inability to struggle against the ever-growing influence of the Napoleonic legend, especially after the death of his eldest son and notwithstanding the fact that this legend was frequently sung to the tunes of the *Marseillaise* and *Le Chant du Départ* rather than to that of *Partant pour la Syrie*. He knew that Napoleon during the Hundred Days had allowed his soldiers to intone the revolutionary hymn attributed to Rouget de l'Isle, just as Napoleon's nephew made the military bands play it "by order" during the month of July, 1870. He knew, moreover, that the most formidable successor of Talleyrand—I am alluding to Thiers—would not scruple to use the lever of Imperialism to attain his own ends; he knew that he himself had contributed to the spread of the Napoleonic faith by the removal of the remains of Napoleon from St. Helena to Paris. Some one who knew it even better than he was Prince Louis Napoleon.

I repeat, Louis Napoleon knew most of this even better than Louis Philippe. Of all the members of the Bonaparte family, he alone had followed step by step the evolution of the Napoleonic legend, not only in its effects on France herself, but on England and Russia, whence, in the beginning, he foresaw the greatest opposition to his action when he should deem the time for action ripe. He alone had acted on two distinct occasions, while his relatives had looked on indifferently; some of them, notably Jérôme, the ex-King of Westphalia, and his son, who will be known to posterity as Plon-Plon, applauding most probably in their hearts of hearts at his failures. They could not have been far short of regretting that these failures had not led to a more fatal issue so far as Louis Napoleon himself was concerned, albeit that his success then would have given them that material prosperity and exalted position which they so undeservedly and greedily enjoyed during the Second Empire, for which they clamored incessantly, for which they began to clamor before Louis Napoleon was fairly seated in the Presidential chair.

"You have nothing of your uncle about you," said ex-King Jérôme one day, huffed at his nephew's refusal of his constant demands for money.

"Yes, I have," was the Prince-President's answer, "I have my uncle's family."

But Louis Napoleon was not the man to refuse money to any one, provided he had it or could borrow it; yet, notwithstanding his generosity to them as well as to others, the two Jérômes (father and son) would have almost rejoiced at the frustration of his hopes, for their dislike of him—let us say their jealousy—was even stronger than their greed. There could be no doubt with regard to Louis Napoleon's right to the succession of his uncle's throne after the death of the Duc de Reichstadt and Louis Napoleon's two elder brothers. Napoleon's first wishes on the subject, embodied in the Constitution of the Empire, left not the smallest loophole for misinterpretation; nevertheless in virtue of Napoleon's former dispositions, which were afterwards revoked—and with very good cause, apart from the claims of primogeniture—Jérôme never ceased to consider himself as wronged, as having been despoiled of the Imperial inheritance, and to a great extent imbued his son with the same ideas. As we proceed we shall see the effect produced by those ideas, in Plon-Plon's attitude toward his cousin during the latter's occupancy of the Imperial throne.

Of all the brothers of Napoleon, the younger was doubtless the least worthy; there is equally no doubt that in spite of Napoleon's knowledge of that worthlessness, his affection for him was stronger than that for any other member of his family, except, perhaps, for his sister Pauline. On that theory alone can one account for Napoleon's error in making Jérôme King of Westphalia. For he, who knew the working of men's hearts almost as well as Shakespeare, though he lacked the poetry wherewith to describe those workings, could not for one moment have flattered himself that the contact of this utterly feather-brained scapegrace, devoid of the slightest idea of moral responsibility, with the sober-minded, honest, though heavy Brunswickers, Hanoverians, and Hessians would be productive of the slightest good. And, as a matter of course, Jérôme impaired the prestige of his brother, and proved a thorn in his side during the whole of his (Napoleon's) reign, just as Jérôme's son impaired the prestige of his cousin and proved a thorn in his side during the whole of the Second Empire. With this difference, however, that the son was even more guilty than the father; for the latter had not an ounce of his offspring's brain, while on the other hand

the son had not a grain of his sire's courage, which was that of the lion.

But even in the days of Napoleon, courage, though counting for much, did not count for everything, especially with the ruler of populations already exhausted by war. I hold no brief either for the memory of Napoleon I. or for that of Napoleon III. I am fully aware that the war contributions levied by the former were often very terrible ; at the same time the very poor were not systematically ground down. Edgar Quinet, who assuredly is not suspected of a leaning towards Cæsarism, tells us that in the humbler dwellings in Spain, crude representations of the Emperor and of the principal events in his life hung side by side with the presentment of the Cid. In Russia the Napoleonic songs of Béranger were translated and became popular with the masses. The Count Lepic, travelling in Egypt, came at every step on "grateful recollections" of the "great Kebir," "who only levied taxes once," whom the people called "the just," the most magnificent title the Arab can bestow. After the fall of the Empire, the gondoliers of Venice refused to carry Marmont, and pointed the finger of scorn at him. "Do you see this man?" they cried to one another. "Well, he was the friend of the great Napoleon, and betrayed him." I fancy one might go from one end to the other of the former kingdom of Westphalia without finding the faintest trace of such good-will to the memory of Napoleon's brother, and I am not speaking of the present time, but of more than thirty years ago. On the day of the ex-King of Westphalia's funeral, I happened to sprain my ankle and was taken home by an old German gentleman who was a native of Cassel, and his grandson who was a Parisian by birth. The elder Körner's stories about the Court of King Jérôme caused my grand uncles to take a great fancy to him, and he and his grandson became frequent guests at our home. Those who have read *My Paris Notebook* are aware by this time of my relatives' mania for "taking notes," a mania which I have inherited. It is from their papers that I cull the following, only a few among nearly two hundred.

Among the various individuals who followed and accompanied Jérôme to Cassel—some clever, others hopelessly incapable, but all tainted with the same greed—there was a former captain of engineers with the name of Morio, who had been one of Jérôme's aide-de-camps during his successful campaign in Silesia (1807).

Morio was not devoid of courage or knowledge, but he was a "muddler," and a pretentious one at that, with a hankering for reforming things, and a "money grabber" besides. Jérôme made him his War Minister, and Morio, who saw his subordinates grow fat on the moneys extorted from the Westphalians under the then prevailing system of "substituting" for the military service, began to rack his brain for a reform that would fill his purse too. He issued an order that henceforth all officers should pay for their horses' fodder, intending of course to charge the War Chest—empty enough in all conscience—with the cost of said fodder and to pocket the proceeds. Most of the officers complied with the new regulations; a few proved absolutely refractory; among the latter General Allix, an able and meritorious officer whom Napoleon had sent to look after his brother's artillery. Shortly after this there was a grand field-day in presence of the young sovereign, who, to his intense astonishment, beheld General Allix trudging on foot behind his batteries.

"Why are you not on horseback, general?" shouts Jérôme.

"Because I cannot afford to pay for my cattle's fodder, and the State, it appears, cannot afford it either," shouts the other in reply, panting for breath and trying to keep up with his men.

This was long before Hervé had written his *Petit Faust*, in which Valentine recommends his *foot soldiers* "not to forget that they are on *horseback*." Jérôme, therefore, simply lent the general a mount there and then, and rescinded Morio's orders. General Allix's victory in this instance had apparently no effect on his outspokenness. A couple of days later Jérôme paid a visit of inspection to the Cassel arsenal. Catching sight of several obsolete pieces of ordnance in an angle, the King remarked, "General Allix, your guns are rather rusty." "*Parbleu*, Sire," was the immediate answer; "they are not intended for court carriages."

It was an indirect reminder to Jérôme that "show" in military matters, and especially in sober matters of war, was out of place; and Jérôme needed such a reminder, for notwithstanding his undoubted courage, and by no means inconsiderable tactical skill, he was too much addicted to the theatrical display with which the Bourbons previous to the Napoleonic era conducted their campaigns. The campaign in Silesia, which I mentioned just now incidentally, had been an instance of it, and he was not a

crowned sovereign then. In the one undertaken after his coronation, by order of his brother, who was already preparing the ground for Wagram, he might have been a veritable Louis XIV. or Louis XV., accompanied as he was by his ministers, the foreign ambassadors, his mistresses, a company of play-actors, scullions, etc. To the Blanche Carnegas and her fellow-concubines, as well as to their husbands, he distributed titles, distinctions, money, and estates with lavish hand; in that respect different from his son in after-years, for liberality, in no matter what way, waa not one of Plon-Plon's pet sins.

Both father and son had been residing in France for over a twelvemonth, by favor of Louis-Philippe, when the Revolution of 1848 broke out. When in after-years the would-be historians hinted that Louis Napoleon had played his cards well by selecting his uncle and cousin to watch events for him, he invariably smiled with that sphinx-like smile that might be construed into anything the interlocutor chose. And well might the Emperor smile at the idea of having derived help from these two. Bismarck said once that too much stress had been laid upon Napoleon III.'s intellectual capacities and not sufficient stress upon his generous and lovable disposition. The erstwhile Chancellor was not far wrong, but Napoleon III., though not an eagle, was not an imbecile, and to expect the two Jérômes to help him would have shown him to be a hopeless one.

After his escape from Ham and until the beginning of 1848, the greater part of which time Louis Napoleon spent in England, he had but one ally—or, to speak by the card, a faithful watcher of his fortunes—among the members of his family, whether legitimate or illegitimate; and that friend was a woman, his cousin Mathilde, the daughter of ex-King Jérôme. In some instances politically, in others socially, Prince Louis had forfeited the countenance of the rest. Morny never saw his half-brother until the latter had weathered the storm of the Presidential elections. There is no trustworthy evidence that they as much as corresponded before. Morny was an Orleanist, and, if the truth were known, had no exalted idea of Prince Louis's capacities. Colonna Walewski, the illegitimate son of Napoleon I., was to a certain extent affiliated to Thiers, and Thiers's views with regard to the game he meant the exiled Prince to play in the immediate future, if the opportunity should occur, were, I feel

perfectly certain, never communicated to Walewski. I can but faintly touch here on the latter and Morny; they will appear again, and the reader may rest assured that I will not skimp their portraits then. Prince Louis's cousins on the father's side, the family of Lucien, were too occupied with their own affairs to bestow much thought on him; his cousins on the mother's side, the posterity of Eugène de Beauharnais, were allied by marriage to some of the reigning houses of Germany and to Czar Nicholas himself, whom the rumblings of the revolutionary storm which was to break all over the Continent of Europe filled with rage, while they filled the others with fear; and it must not be forgotten that Prince Louis had the reputation then of being an ardent republican, a reputation perfectly justified. Besides, all these, in common with Morny, were not far short of considering him a hare-brained dreamer and—his private life did not meet with their approval. That private life cannot be sketched here; we shall get glimpses of it as we proceed, when, though seated on the throne, he pays the penalties for some of its errors, and pays right nobly. Worse than all, from their point of view, Prince Louis was poor, and, if that be not a bull, not always careful to husband his poverty. He was prone to dissipation, addicted to gambling, and not always punctual in the payment of his debts. "*Je vous revaudrai ça un jour,*" said Gambetta, in acknowledgment of any favor in the days of his impecuniosity. I will not be certain that he kept his word when prosperity came. Louis Napoleon, who had a similar way of giving his friends liens on the future, never broke his, except in one instance, and that instance is sufficiently amusing to be recounted here, especially as it will afford the reader at least one glimpse of that private life to which I alluded just now.

It was in the summer of '60 or '61 that I went for the first time to Baden-Baden in company with my two grand-uncles, among whose acquaintances were all sorts and conditions of men. My relatives were talking to a M. Martin, a superannuated *croupier* of Frascati in Paris, who had been appointed inspector of the gaming-tables under the late François Blanc, of Monte Carlo fame. We were standing on the steps of the Kursaal—I, a lad of seventeen, but a precocious one, keeping my eyes and ears wide open for everything that was said and done. It is well known that the late Wilhelm I. of Prussia, before he succeeded

to his brother's throne, had several interviews with Napoleon III. at the fashionable resort, mainly through the instrumentality of Bismarck. On that day the Emperor was at Baden-Baden, and Prince Wilhelm and he were to meet in the Lichtenthall Allée. As a matter of course, the majority of the visitors were flocking thither.

"Aren't you going to the Lichthenthall Allée, Martin?" asked my uncle.

The old *croupier* shrugged his shoulders. "The sight of Prince Guillaume is no novelty to us. He comes pretty well every year."

"True; but what about Emperor Napoleon?"

"Emperor Napoleon," quoth Martin, pondering as it were; "I saw the first one when I was a lad. This one is the third son of Queen Hortense, the one who used to travel about a good deal. If I am not mistaken . . . "

"You are not mistaken, Martin," came a voice from behind us. "He still owes twenty-five *louis* to the Bank."

I looked around and saw a thin, shrivelled, old man, below rather than above the middle height; it was the famous François Blanc.

If one of the Emperor's relatives had been near at the time, he or she would have smiled at the recollection of such a shady passage in the life of the man who at that very moment was virtually the arbiter of the destinies of Europe, and offered to pay the money there and then; and yet thirteen or fourteen years before that moment Blanc's sally would have roused his or her virtuous indignation. Princesse Mathilde Bonaparte, Comtesse Demidoff, was no time-server like that. To begin with, her own checkered existence had bred a large-minded tolerance for the foibles of men. No one had suffered more from such foibles than she, for her husband, Comte Anatole Demidoff, had the most marvellous and complete collection of them, and was little short of a madman besides. She knew, moreover, that her cousin Louis was not half as mad, nor a quarter, as her husband and the male members of his family, and that he had all the generous impulses of the Demidoffs. Thirdly, if Louis Napoleon had been the veriest raving maniac, she would have still clung to his fortunes, and furthered them to the utmost of her abilities and resources, for she acknowledged but one god, her uncle, the great

Napoleon, and she could then conceive of no other prophet than her cousin, the third son of Louis, ex-King of Holland and Hortense de Beauharnais. "Call a dog Bonaparte, and I will love him;" she might have said, paraphrasing Johnson. In that respect she was the daughter of her mother, that heroic Catherine of Wurtemberg, of whom Napoleon spoke with such admiration till the day of his death; she loved the name of Napoleon for the sake of the halo with which it was surrounded, not for the material gain it might bring. It was that fervent, disinterested love for Napoleon I. that won her the heart of Nicholas I., who, in spite of his real or fancied grievance against him, worshipped him as fervently as she did, and virtually freed her from the marriage bonds she had contracted with one of his nobles, as much for the sake of Napoleon's memory as from respect for her. That grievance was not due to Moscow or to Napoleon's European policy, but to Napoleon's somewhat offensive rejection of Nicholas's sister, Anna Paulowna, who became the wife of William II. of Holland. In principle Napoleon, who divorced Josephine because he wanted an heir, and, as a matter of course, a physically and mentally sound heir, was right at the moment of that rejection. Events subsequently proved that Napoleon may have been wrong, for William III. of Holland and his brothers and sisters were as physically and mentally sound as any one; *may* have been wrong, for I would not say the same for the descendants of William III.; I mean those who are dead. However, the goodwill of Nicholas, as we shall see presently, only extended to one member of the Bonaparte family; on personal as well as political grounds he objected *in toto* to "that lank-haired adventurer, the son of the devil knows who, and the devil's firebrand-envoy."

To Matilda Bonaparte all these contemptuous epithets, flung at her cousin's head, were as nothing, especially after Prince Louis' attempts at Strasburg, more especially after his attempt at Boulogne, and more especially still after his escape from Ham. Princess Mathilde is a septuagenarian, and, as far as I know, a hale and hearty one. The time to write her full biography is, let us trust, far distant. When that time comes, the historians will have to add her name to those of the Duchesse de Berry (the Comte de Chambord's mother), Princesse Adelaide (Louis Philippe's sister), and Queen Hortense of Holland, as one of the four women who have shaped to a certain extent the history of

France during the nineteenth century. For the present I must confine myself to a preliminary statement. It was she who kept her cousin informed of the progress of the Napoleonic legend after Strasburg, after Boulogne; it was she who inspired him with courage by giving him the real reasons why those attempts had not been more rigorously visited on the participators of them, especially on the officers of the Forty-sixth of the line and the artillery troops of Colonel Vaudrey. It was she who repeated to him the answer, "*Il y aurait eu trop à punir,*" of the Duc d'Orléans (the father of the late Comte de Paris) to Colonel Taillandier, who had stemmed the tide of the insurrection at Strasburg, and who asked the Duc the question. It was she who bade her cousin humor or blindfold Lamartine when the latter in March, 1848, asked the former to return to London. It was she who supplied part of the sinews of war for the Presidential elections when her cousin did return; it was she who coached him in his game of political bluff with Victor Hugo, and Changarnier, and Thiers after he, Prince Louis, had been elected President; it was she who kept Dupin *Aîné* in good humor, so that he might signal to the future Emperor the cards held by his adversaries, only one of whom, Thiers, was formidable. The description of that game must be left to my next article.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(*To be continued.*)

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE WESTERN FARMER.

BY THE HON. L. D. LEWELLING, GOVERNOR OF KANSAS.

THE outlook at the present time for the farmers of the West is anything but hopeful, though much may depend on legislation. The financial condition of Kansas is probably similar to that of other Western States, and according to the United States Census of 1890 the farm-mortgage debt of Kansas aggregates $167,145,000. But this only constitutes a part of the financial burden. The people are compelled to look to the natural resources of the State for the payment of most, if not all, existing obligations, and the total of these obligations is appalling. State, county, and municipal taxes are probably no higher than elsewhere, but the interest burden is the blight upon our prosperity. The following table is suggestive:

Real-estate mortgages on farms	$167,145,039
Real-estate mortgages on lots	68,340,069
Municipal debt, counties, school districts, etc	37,817,755
Railroad indebtedness	459,892,907
State bonds	801,000
Chattel mortgage indebtedness of farmers, estimated	46,953,202
	$780,949,972

This shows a total indebtedness of nearly five hundred dollars for every man, woman, and child in the Commonwealth. It may be assumed that the railroad indebtedness should not thus be charged to the people, but leaving out this amount the remainder is sufficient to afford food for reflection. Forty-three per cent. of our agricultural class, embracing nearly eighty thousand families, are tenant farmers, and many of these are paying an enormous rate of interest upon chattel mortgages. It is said with much truth that the entire burden of debt hanging over the Western and Southern States must be paid by the agricultural

class. And yet in Kansas more than ten thousand persons of this class are annually dispossessed of their homes in consequence of the foreclosure of mortgages, and the number is probably increasing rather than diminishing. Interest grows by day and by night, through the wet season and the dry, while land values decline and the price of products steadily depreciates; and "the end is not yet." The Commissioner of Labor says that the people of the State during the last ten years have practically lost nearly three millions of dollars because of declining prices of corn and wheat.

Twenty-five to twenty-eight years ago, with one bale of cotton a Southern farmer could buy nearly five hundred dollars, and with one sack of wheat (two bushels) a Northern farmer could buy five dollars. Now it requires seventeen bales of cotton and more than six sacks of wheat to bring these respective amounts. What is true of cotton and wheat is also true of other products of the farm. A few years ago an average horse would have been regarded as sufficient security for fifty to seventy-five dollars; but to-day it would require eight horses of the same kind to secure an equal amount. The farm which was regarded as ample security for fifteen hundred dollars is in many instances now sold for the mortgage, or perhaps less. And thus well-to-do farmers are being gradually forced into bankruptcy. Throughout the West, men who would borrow money find it impossible to offer security. The land remains, there are hogs and cattle and sheep, and the soil is as productive as ever; but none of these things has sufficient value. A man of my acquaintance recently went to market with a load of horses of average grade and received for the entire twenty-two head two hundred and twenty dollars; after paying freight and other expenses the horses netted him six dollars and fifty cents.

It is estimated to cost fifty cents a bushel to raise wheat, but it is worth in the home market forty cents. Five years ago the West had a great corn crop, Kansas producing 138,000,000 bushels; and while the price in Chicago and other central points was fair, it was mostly consumed in the payment of freight. With the declining price of farm products, interest on money remaining unchanged, and only a comparatively trifling reduction in the price of such things as the farmer must buy, he found it almost, if not quite, impossible to make a living on the farm.

It was the unrest occasioned by these conditions in many Western and Southern States that caused the political revolt of the Farmers' Alliance a few years ago. Kansas was first to make a political protest. In all great grain and cotton producing States the farmers met in their schoolhouses to discuss the situation, and thus became more familiar with the history of the financial legislation of our own and other countries, and this investigation led to political organizations through which it was hoped to secure relief. As a drowning man catches at a straw, so persons in distress from other causes are ready to seize upon every proposition which promises relief. And it may be admitted that some of the remedies proposed by the farmers were visionary and impossible of application to existing conditions. But the body politic was very sick; and as every dose of medicine is said to be an experiment, so the people felt justified in prescribing some remedies which may have been doubtful.

To comprehend the condition of the Western farmers it must be understood that they are largely a debtor class, and they feel that in the gradual shrinkage of values they have been wronged. They also believe legislation to be responsible for this shrinkage, and look to legislation for the remedy. It was for this reason that the Alliance became a semi-political organization, and ardently supported the People's party, which declared for certain measures of relief demanded by the farmers. The Sub-Treasury plan was advocated by many members of the Alliance at one time, but in discussing details there was a wide divergence of opinion, and on account of this lack of agreement this plank, which appeared in the earlier platforms of the Populist party, subsequently disappeared.

The West is largely dependent upon the success and prosperity of its agricultural interests, and the political movement originating in the Farmers' Alliance, then developing into the Populist party, was and is in fact nothing more nor less than a defensive warfare for the preservation of the few privileges which remain to the agriculturist. With even moderate returns for their products the farmers would have been satisfied; but with the low prices, each year tending lower, interest and taxes became more burdensome, and attention was called to the enormous amount of money each year forwarded to the Eastern mortgage-holder. It was argued that the total increase of wealth in the United States since the

foundation of the government had not exceeded three per cent. per annum, and yet the Western farmers were compelled to pay tribute to money-lenders of six, eight, ten, and even twelve per cent. per annum, and were thus speedily driving forward toward bankruptcy. The conditions were emphasized in Kansas by pointing to the ten thousand farm people made homeless every year by mortgage foreclosures, who, being thus deprived of their homes, were made dependent on their labor for support, and thus swelled the great army of the unemployed. This, indeed, was the bond of sympathy everywhere between the farmer and laborer, and may account in some measure for the lively sympathy manifested by the farmers for striking laborers and the so-called Industrial Army. Each argued that he, himself, might soon become one of the homeless and unemployed. And this is one reason why partisan feeling became so intense among Populists. It was akin to the spirit of the Crusaders. The home and fireside, the happiness of children, the destiny of the unborn, seemed trembling in the balance, and all this was brought out in strong colors by many touching scenes. The newspapers made mention of a woman with three helpless little ones who made her home under a bridge on the highway. She was unable to find employment; too many in like circumstances, but without children, were offering their services. An old soldier dropped dead of starvation on the doorstep of the Court-house in Creston, Iowa, and it was afterwards ascertained that he had lived for days without cooked food, the last four days subsisting on wheat and water. These are only two of many instances which found their way into the newspapers and inspired the disciples of Populism to promulgate their doctrines with a sort of politico religious enthusiasm seldom witnessed in political campaigns.

It is probable that the situation of the Western farmer might be improved by a better adaptation of crops to the soil and climate. There are some products, notably sorghum, Kaffir corn, alfalfa, and the like, which seem especially adapted to the more arid regions of the West; but the process of irrigation is now revealing new possibilities for these regions, and much progress has been made in the last two years in irrigating from wells in the bottom-lands. This method of farming would now receive wonderful impetus were it not that products thus raised, while generally better than those produced by old methods, still bring

prices not at all commensurate with the labor and expensive methods of production. Indeed there is little hope for the Western farmer until business can be again stimulated and labor employed, so that the laborer may have money with which more freely to buy the products of the farm. It is none the less true, because paradoxical, that higher prices will be beneficial both to the producer and the laborer who must buy. It cannot be said that there is too much produced while men and women, honest and willing to work, are ill clad and unfed; while ten needy and shelterless women are struggling to secure every position offered for employment; and while bread-riots occur in the cities. While these things are true, it cannot be argued that there is too much bread or that the low prices result from over-production. If then there is no over-production, we must look elsewhere for the cause of low prices as well as the unrest and suffering among the people. To find the cause and remedy for these conditions is therefore the problem now before the Western farmer.

The Western farmer is a philosopher from necessity. Rapidly tending toward poverty, he demands to know why, and is intelligent enough to answer his own question in the light of reason. He believes the prime cause of all his woes is the manipulation of the money system of the country by unscrupulous and mercenary interests. He believes the decline of prices follows shrinkage of the volume of money in circulation, and that shrinkage in volume results from legislation. He does not believe that the government should increase the interest burden by borrowing gold, while our native hills are filled with silver, and labor stands idly awaiting an opportunity to take it from its hiding-place. He believes that government is, or should be, for the good of all the people, and that legislation should be for the multitude rather than for the few. He believes that government should afford protection to the weak; and he believes, finally, that if government, which assumes to guarantee life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, in reality guarantees nothing but wretchedness and want government has failed in its mission, and that he is living in an age of exquisitely refined barbarism rather than in the noonday light and love of Christian charity and progressive civilization.

L. D. LEWELLING.

THE YOUNG CZAR AND HIS ADVISERS.

BY THE HON. CHARLES EMORY SMITH, LATE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO RUSSIA.

THE character of autocratic rule obviously depends on the character of the autocrat. True, in these modern days, even the autocrat is largely the creature of conditions. Advancing civilization circumscribes and moulds imperial will by historic tendencies and overmastering public opinion. But, on the other hand, the currents of national development fall into the eddies of personal impulse. There are settled traditions and tendencies in Russia, but they are affected and modified by the dominant temper and influence of the hour. When Russia advanced from the sceptre of Nicholas I. to that of Alexander II. she advanced from the virile and robust imperialism of a splendid despot to the progressive and expanding liberalism of an enlightened ruler. When she passes from the reign of Alexander III. to that of Nicholas II. she passes from the tranquil, secure, rigorous sway of a firm, self-poised, austere, peace-loving monarch—to what?

The late Czar of Russia slowly but deeply impressed himself on Europe by three characteristics. First, he was recognized as an upright, conscientious sovereign, of moral rectitude, high personal character, and worthy public aspirations. Second, as a Russian of Russians, he aimed to cultivate the distinct national spirit of his own great Empire. Third, he was supremely devoted to the maintenance of peace in Europe. He was not Titanic like Peter the Great, or brilliant like Alexander I., or imperious like Nicholas, or fertile and flexible like Alexander II. But he was virtuous, exemplary, and faithful; he was loyal to duty as he understood it; he was industrious, plodding, and constant. He had strong religious instincts, and he sometimes mistook intolerance for religious duty. He loved the truth,

and hated lies and liars. If he was deceived and misled, it was not consciously or willingly. Slow in reaching conclusions, he was fearless and resolute in maintaining them. He was his own unfaltering master, and his ministers were his able servants. If his policy was sometimes questionable, his personality inspired respect and confidence.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to his internal rule, there is universal agreement in acknowledging the sobriety, the sagacity, and the strength of his self-determined rôle in the great European drama. He was indisputably the arbiter of Europe and the sheet-anchor of continental peace. It has been said that he wanted peace only until he could prepare his armies. This is not true. Alexander III. was devoted to peace for the sake of peace. There were warlike influences and tendencies about him, but he controlled and mastered them. He was not endowed with genius, and yet, without ostentatious assumptions or meteoric *coups*, he surely and firmly wrought a change which lifted Russia from a secondary position to the first place in the arbitrament of Europe. The consummate statecraft of Bismarck swung the European equilibrium on the pivot of Berlin ; but measurably during his later career and still more palpably after his fall, the calm, steady grasp of Alexander III. moved the political centre of gravity from Berlin to St. Petersburg. He saved France from isolation and gave her security without giving her license. He checked Germany and cooled her aggression without alienating her friendship. In his own impregnable citadel of the north, with all the reserve power of his mighty empire, he said to the nations : " Peace ; be still."

What of the new autocrat ? Nicholas II. is young, untried, and inexperienced. Only twenty-six years of age, he comes unexpectedly to the throne while his father was still in his prime, with the reasonable assurance of a long reign before him. As a youth he did not ripen rapidly, and there was apparently no reason why his active initiation into public affairs should be hastened. After he passed his twenty-second year his development of character and intellect made a more distinct impress upon those about him, and beyond the ordinary course of education his father began slowly to prepare him for the high rôle he was destined to play. Without any large measure of responsibility he was brought more into public life. His tour through India and Japan broad-

ened his horizon and strengthened his self-reliance. It is an interesting and, perhaps, suggestive fact that, as a part of this tour, a journey through the United States was at least considered and inquiries were made on the subject; but, whether for lack of time or for other reasons, it was not undertaken.

At the time of the great Russian famine the young Czarevitch, as a part of the plan of bringing him to the front, was made President of the Russian Relief Committee appointed by the Emperor. It was in conjunction with this committee that the American contributions of more than $100,000 in cash and five shiploads of food were distributed. Its work in directing the organization and operation of voluntary charity and relief was entirely distinct from the official machinery of the Government, and yet blended with it at points. The presidency of the heir to the throne gave it the highest dignity, and his personal participation in a movement which allowed independence of action accustomed him to a sense of responsibility. His earnest and discriminating expressions respecting the American gifts and the spirit lying behind them indicated a just understanding and an intelligent interest. Without striking personality or dominating characteristics he created the impression of being amiable, well poised, amenable to counsel, and controlled by a sense of obligation. He has had the inestimable advantage of being brought up in a family home of the deepest mutual affection and devotion, and of the sweetest and most wholesome influences. Alexander III., partly by his own rather sombre and severe nature, and partly through the melancholy circumstances of his accession, sympathized with the reactionary tendency. His public rigor seemed to be a part of his personal ethics. Nicholas is not as stern a moralist as his father; and while, in spite of the example of Alexander II., lax personal views and liberal public principles are not necessarily associated—and it would be a sorry thing if they were—yet, on the other hand, there may be a distinct public gain in a personal code which does not harden into general austerity.

The new Czar is believed to be of more liberal inclination than his predecessor. The events preceding and surrounding his accession have brought him into contact with Western ideas and influences. When Alexander III. came to the throne he was ten years older than his son now is. He had been married fifteen years. He had lived amid the agitation and turmoil which

distinguished the stormy reign of Alexander II. His opinions and bent had been formed. He found himself Emperor through a bloody assassination which sent a thrill of horror through the world. These things confirmed the predisposition of his own mystic nature towards a reactionary policy. The circumstances under which the present Czar succeeds to the crown are different. He is younger and more plastic. The associations of his auspicious marriage are calculated to broaden and liberalize his mind, and it will be strange if they do not make him more open to the spirit of national progress. All indications within the few weeks of his reign point in that direction. The reports that orders have already been given contemplating a general system of elementary education, the enlargement of the powers of local self-government vested in the Zemstvos or provincial assemblies, and the development of the local representative system into a national parliament, must be received with reserve. These are too great changes—especially the latter, which involves the vital question of absolutism—to be undertaken without full premeditation, and it would be extraordinary if a young monarch suddenly thrust into the dazzling rulership of more than a hundred millions of people should immediately venture upon such radical reforms. But the steps which are sure and known, the acts of grace attending his accession, the modification of proscriptive measures, the recall of oppressive governors—all are hopeful indications. While his real character and policy are yet to be tested, there is much to encourage the belief that he will aim at internal pacification and progress.

But there will be no swift and signal change. In any estimate of the effect of a new personality on the throne, great account must be taken of the permanence of the Russian system. The Russian ministers are not personal favorites; they are able statesmen marked for their places by capacity and fitness. Their commission comes not from title of nobility, but from the higher title of brains. Curiously as it may cross the current idea of Russian autocracy, many of them sprang from the people. M. de Giers, the venerable, astute, and wise Minister of Foreign Affairs, —the prolongation of whose valuable and beneficent life would be an assurance of continued peace—did not inherit rank or fortune. M. Witte, the masterful Minister of Finance, was a few years ago a subordinate railway official in south Russia. He first

commanded special notice by taking the responsibility of disobeying the mistaken order of a superior. His decision and capacity attracted attention, and he was rapidly promoted until he was finally put at the head of the Finance Ministry as the fittest man in the empire for the place. Equally without rank was his predecessor, M. Vyshnegradsky—a conspicuously able man, upon whose table there was lying in 1890 the free silver bill precisely in the form in which it was lying on the desks of the American Senate, who knew its provisions to the minutest details, and whose comments, if they could properly have been reported, would have edified and almost startled the American people. M. Durnovo, the head of the other great Ministry of the Interior, belongs to the same class.

It is thus seen that with autocracy there is much of bureaucracy, and much of ability and stability. The change of Emperors does not necessarily mean a change of imperial agents. The changes are likely to come only as nature or chance compels them, and then they are likely to be governed by the same rule. The nobles do not constitute an official class. They make up the court, but do not make up the government. Under the Russian idea the Czar is the tribune of the people. Originally he was elected, and he is still regarded, however remotely, as their representative. Theoretically the government, though resting on one will, stands for the masses and not for the classes. If a personal allusion may be pardoned, a somewhat remarkable conversation of a high court official with the writer is recalled as illustrative of Russian sentiment. He said that Russian admiration and sympathy—not of the common people, but of the upper educated ranks—were extended overwhelmingly to Mr. Gladstone rather than to the Tory leaders of England. His explanation, if surprising, was at least simple. The Tories stood for the class idea, a kind of officialism based largely on title. Mr. Gladstone stood for the idea of the masses. Strange as it seemed, this was akin to the Russian idea. Russia had no primogeniture, no political nobility, no hereditary claims, no official class. Possibly the Russian admiration for Mr. Gladstone was increased by the feeling that he was not as strenuous in his foreign policy as some others; but the view here reported lets an interesting side-light upon the Russian theory.

The character of the Russian Government and the perma-

nence of the bureaucracy are far from precluding modifications. There are contests and cabals around the Senate House which overlooks the striking statue of Peter the Great, and in the great Ministries which face Alexander Place. Sometimes they are carried to the Anitchkoff or the Winter Palace. There are two distinct influences, one liberal and progressive and the other reactionary. M. Pobyedonostseff, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, has been the natural religious leader of the reactionary tendency. He belongs to the fifteenth century rather than to the nineteenth, and has been the embodiment and champion of the proscriptive spirit. He was the tutor of Alexander III., and this early association, together with his strong religious feeling, not unnaturally threw the late Czar considerably under his sway. But there is good reason to think that for some time his influence has been waning. Two years ago the *Grazhdanin*, the one journal of St. Petersburg which the Emperor himself was said to read every day, though itself reactionary, published a series of articles attacking M. Pobyedonostseff, and they were believed to be inspired by several of the Ministers. With the change of sovereigns, it is not probable that he can maintain his past prestige, and the policy of reaction and proscription will be weakened in the decay of one of its strongest pillars. Count Vorontzoff-Dashkoff, the Minister of the Imperial Household, and a man of great personal position and influence, though ostensibly keeping clear of politics, is a quiet and effective factor in the movement for progress, and it is already announced that he remains in that place of close and confidential relations.

In dwelling upon the stability of the Russian political system, which puts limitations even upon the autocrat, and which must be estimated in considering the probable course of domestic or foreign policy, it is not forgotten that in emergencies there have been marked and significant departures. Under Alexander II., Loris-Melikoff, Milyutin, and Abaza were the three conspicuous Ministers who represented the liberal policy. When Alexander III. speedily dismissed them and installed the absolutist Ignatieff, it signified the overthrow of liberalism. But that was an exceptional situation. It was a crisis of conflict and reaction. The Ministers were wholly one way and the Czar wholly the other. There is no such condition now. It is not a time of struggle and vehement fermentation. Outside of Pobie-

donostzeff, none of the ministers holds any such pronounced position as would be incompatible with a reasonable modification of past tendencies. What is probable is that in the internal affairs of the empire the rigorous administration of oppressive codes will be mitigated. Whether this relaxation of harsh methods shall develop into a policy of real progress, depends upon the attitude of the Czar when his views become matured, and that is still a matter of conjecture. In foreign affairs he is reasonably sure to follow his father's devotion to peace. He has never given any sign of military ambition or of the aggrandizing spirit. He may have a warmer personal regard for the Emperor William, and family ties may exercise their influence in family affairs. But if necessary to maintain the European equilibrium and preserve peace, France will not be left without support. The wise statecraft of settled diplomacy is not to be lightly set aside on any personal caprice.

Nor, in an estimate of the forces which affect the present and future of Russia, must we fail to take account of the national sentiment. At the time of the Cronstadt ovations a former ambassador of Great Britain declared that these extraordinary demonstrations revealed to him for the first time the existence of a public opinion in Russia, and a public opinion so powerful that even the Emperor was constrained to bow before it. But it is questionable whether this was not a misuse of terms. There is no public opinion in Russia as we understand it—an opinion growing out of free discussion and based on independent inquiry and judgment. But there is a puissant national feeling which asserts itself sometimes with irresistible force. It was such a potent and irrepressible manifestation that compelled Alexander II. to enter upon the Russo-Turkish war. It was a similar expression in connection with the Cronstadt festivities that disclosed the overwhelming Russian demand for an attitude that would serve as a counterpoise to the Triple Alliance. Russia has faith in her destiny. One element would see her rise by being open to European influences and civilization and by playing a great hand in European politics. Another element would keep her a Slavic power, and limit and consolidate her national instincts and tendencies.

Alexander II. was a cosmopolitan. Alexander III. was preeminently a Russian. In the curious alternations which have followed each other in Russian history from the beginning of the

century, Nicholas ought to incline to liberalism. The late Czar sought to develop and cultivate the national spirit. Katkoff, the great Moscow editor, voiced the Russian aspirations for a distinct Russian policy and movement. Under that influence appealing to his own impulses, Alexander III. emancipated Russian statesmanship from German domination in foreign affairs and set about unifying his domain in its internal structure. In some directions this movement for nationalization had harsh expression, and in others it was more lax than might have been expected. After the Schleswig-Holstein war, Germany required the adoption of the German language in the churches of the conquered territory. But Russia still permits the local language in the Lutheran churches of the Baltic provinces. On the other hand, the brave and hearty Finns found it difficult to surrender any part of their ancient and cherished rights, and the Jewish proscription has been drastic and deplorable. The question of chief interest is not whether the new Czar will keep the peace, for on that point there can be no doubt, but whether he will ameliorate past conditions and face towards measures of progress.

Summing up, the change from an Emperor whose character and convictions and policy were fixed and known, to one whose mind is yet unknown, is something of an experiment. But the glimpses we have are encouraging, and the surroundings and conditions constitute a reasonable guarantee. The policy of peace will be preserved. National interests and national sentiment will control. Individual predilections and associations may determine personal relations, and may modify forms and expressions; but national forces dominate even Emperors. On the broad field of Europe the teachings of Alexander III. will be likely to guide his son. In the internal government of the Empire it is not probable that there will be any early or marked revolution. In time the pendulum may swing back to the more liberal side from which it oscillated after the cruel assassination of Alexander II. The first duty of a prudent sovereign is to know his realm, and while Nicholas II. is mastering his great trust, the personnel, and administration, and policy of Russia will hardly suffer any radical change.

CHARLES EMORY SMITH.

CONCERNING NAGGING WOMEN.

BY CYRUS EDSON, M. D.

WHEN Douglas Jerrold wrote that most interesting series, *Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures,* he made all men and women who read them laugh most heartily. He drew fairly enough the portrait of the nagging woman; the woman who ceaselessly complains and scolds, and generally makes a nuisance of herself to every one who is cursed by being brought into contact with her.

In a ruder society than this, that existed at a time when men believed in physical punishment to a greater extent than they do now, the ducking or drenching stool and the branks were in vogue as special punishments for women who nagged and scolded. The first consisted of a rough seat at the end of a pole like a sweep. The offender, being well strapped in, was ducked in a pond a number of times. The second was an iron frame fitted on the head, with a projecting piece of iron which, when the frame was locked on, rested on the tongue.

There is a scientific aspect of this habit of nagging and scolding which is of no little interest. First, the effect of it on the person who nags; second, that on those who are nagged. Regarding the former, it must be premised that perfect health has, as one of its factors, content of mind. A nervous man or woman who is anxious, discontented, gloomy, dissatisfied, worried from any cause, cannot enjoy good health. This mental turmoil produces as one of its primary effects on the body an inability to digest food properly. The blood which should supply the force necessary for the function of digestion is continually drawn away from the stomach by the excitement in the brain, and the woman who nags suffers.

While there be those whose tendency to lay on fat is so great

that nothing will stop it, a nagging man or woman is generally thin. Their habit of mind has partially starved their bodies. It is a physical law that when nature attacks the health of an individual she calls to her aid innumerable factors or agencies, all of which tend to assist her in her destructive work, and this inability to properly digest, originally brought on by nagging, has its reflex action on the brain, and greatly increases the ability and the desire to nag. I have seen two cases of what Shakespeare calls "these cursed shrews" who died really as the result of the violence of their own tempers. It is more common, however, to find that this habit of dissatisfaction with all the acts of others produces in time some form of insanity. The excessive excitement wears the brain out at last. The Chinese punishment of lack of sleep produces mania about the thirteenth day, and although the influences to which naggers subject their own brains are not as acute, they in time are apt to bring about the same result. These people never give their brains the rest of contentment. They are never satisfied with anything done by others. As over two-thirds of their grievances are imaginary—that is, over two-thirds of the grievances for which they scold have no existence except as inventions in their own disordered brains—the inability of insanity to distinguish between the real and the unreal has begun to show itself. In view of the misery and unhappiness which naggers inflict on those around them, we need not waste much pity on them. The sooner they kill themselves, the sooner their insanity so far develops as to make it possible to place them in an asylum, the better it is for every one; for naggers are a curse, not only to themselves (they are most unhappy people), but every one. More than this, they do a fearful amount of harm. Take, for example, a busy man whose unkind fate has given him a nagger for a wife. In this day and generation to say a man is busy implies that he has need of every particle of force his food will supply to carry on his work. When this man comes home from his office he must have rest. This is not a thing he may dispense with; he *must* have it. When he takes his food he must be let alone, so that the blood will find its way to the stomach and there enable him to properly digest that food, so that he may acquire a fresh store of force for use on the morrow. If he does not get this force, then to do his work he must, by aid of stimulants, attract the necessary force from the reserves.

These reserves we call stamina. Now this means nervous exhaustion sooner or later, or else "this way madness lies."

The man comes home and the nagging wife begins. If the man be physically strong, fair-minded, and just, his mind will revolt in time from the injustice of his wife's accusations. It is the peculiarity of the nagger to enormously exaggerate everything, even if she do not invent her grievances. Forgetfulness on the part of a husband is annoying, as it is in any one, but it is not a crime. A continual stream of scolding, lasting three or four hours, over the failure to post a letter will cause any man to consider the effect disproportionate to the cause. If the husband be healthy, if he is not cursed with a highly nervous organization, what happens? The first thing is, that any love he may have ever had for his wife dies, drowned in the flood of words. Having murdered his love for her, the wife keeps up the nagging; he speedily begins to look on her as being a nuisance; from this to dislike and then to positive hatred is not a long journey. If there be children, the husband may continue to live with her for their sake, but it is an awful home in which to bring up children. The man quickly learns that he has in his physical strength something in which he can claim sanctuary. He may not actually beat her, because the restraining influences of his training have not lost their hold on him. Perhaps it would be better for her if he did, for physical fear of a whipping might be sufficient to make her control herself. While he may not lift his finger to her, he will invariably become brutal, except in such cases as I shall hereafter mention. In such a contest the woman has no chance. He may not be, he probably is not, able to give the rapier-like thrust of sarcasm which comes so easily to her, but he can use the bludgeon of abuse and profanity with terrible effect. The nervous condition the woman has created in herself by her nagging, itself renders her powerless before this weapon of her husband. Such a family is a hell on earth. It was the son of such a household who said in the simplest and most matter-of-fact way when he heard of a wedding, "Another life quarrel commenced!" What a comment on his parents!

Men of what I may call the second class take refuge from a nagging woman in flight. According to their degree in the social scale they resort to clubs or bar-rooms for that peace they can never find at home. Than we hear suddenly that So-and-So

has gone to the dogs; his money has been lost in gambling, or he has become a drunkard. There are more of these men than most people imagine, and, for one, I have never been able to join in the chorus of sympathy for the wife.

It is on the third class of men that a nagging wife has the most baneful effect. It is saying little to say these men are ruined by the women they marry; ruined in body, in mind, in heart, and often ruined in purse as well, for they cannot do their work in life, owing to the nagging of their wives. These men are nervous, highly strung, to use a common phrase, and generally exceedingly affectionate. They have what I may call the "dog-like" disposition in the way they care for their wives, who are destroying them. They remind one of the old English rhyme: "A woman, a *dog*, and a walnut tree; the more you beat 'em the better they be." Nothing is more strange in human nature than the continued love these men give their wives. I knew of a case once where the nagging of a wife drove her nervous husband to an asylum, where he died, the victim of melancholia brought on by the ceaseless nervous irritation produced by his wife's tongue, yet to the day of his death he worshipped that wife. His greatest sorrow while in the asylum was the fact that he was not permitted to see her, her visits having been forbidden, because even when she had driven him crazy, she never saw him without nagging until he would have a most distressing attack of his malady afterward. Naturally the physicians in charge put a stop to her visits. Yet that woman, the murderess of her husband's mind, used to ask for and receive sympathy from her acquaintances on the ground that her unfortunate husband was insane. I never saw her without a feeling of abhorrence I cannot put into words.

All of us understand what a disagreement in judgment means, and we all know what it is to argue. We know that when we meet people who disagree with us on any matter—say the tariff, for example—there is a certain mental excitement produced by the argument that follows, which, providing the subject be on the tariff, is generally pleasant enough. During the heat of that argument it would be found, were one to take the temperature of certain parts of the head, that those parts were considerably warmer than the other parts of the body. After the argument is over there is, if it has been a sharp one, a feel-

ing of slight fatigue; if the argument be held immediately after dinner the chances are it will be followed by a slight attack of indigestion. It produces other physical effects. Ofttimes a man will find his hands perspire in the palms, and if it be a cold day he will find the room, perfectly comfortable before, seems to have become warm. This means that the excitement in the brain produced by the mental effort in the argument has had a reflex action on the nerves of the body, and these in turn have induced a quicker beat of the heart. The phenomena I have described are familiar to all men. The essence of argument is opposition or disagreement. When one person scolds another the mental action of the second is opposition and disagreement. This needs no proof. A sharp scolding will bring on in the person scolded all the phenomena seen after a heated argument, and the reasons are apparent. Now, the essence of nagging may be said to be fault-finding or scolding. It is, in fact, nothing more than never-ending scolding; hence, nagging produces continual brain excitement and continual reflex irritation of the nerves.

It may be laid down as a broad proposition which will not be denied, that continued brain excitement has in time a disastrous effect on the cerebral tissue and the nerves. The physical injury done when the brain is continually excited by nagging is akin to that produced by overwork. While this is true, the injury is greater, because the excitement contains in it the element of anger. It is not only the stimulated mental condition of intense study or work; it is necessarily wholly without the element of tranquillity. It is a double irritation, a double excitement, in which each part acts and reacts on the other, intensifying the effect of both. I can illustrate my meaning by saying that, if the draft on the nervous force caused by anger be represented by x, and that caused by intense study by y, the draft caused by nagging would be xy, or, the first multiplied by the second. This means that nagging involves a most destructive waste of nervous force. It will be apparent from what I have said that not only is the person who is nagged subjected to an intense and destructive nervous strain, but that, owing to the fact that this implies a robbery of the other parts of the body of that excess of blood necessary to a proper accomplishment of their functions, the body is not allowed to create the force from the food taken which would in a measure support this strain.

This is burning the candle at both ends with a vengeance. Small wonder then that men break down.

It sometimes happens that a woman is a nagger, owing to causes which she cannot control. There are diseases which affect women that have a most disastrous effect on the nerves, and therefore on the temper. There is no real difference between the nagging of these women and that of those who are simply naturally "cussed," because each is marked by the same unfairness, the same exaggeration of the alleged causes of grievance, the same eternal and ceaseless flow of words, the same envenomed personality in the attack, the same meanness in the imputation of the motives, the same insolence, the same inability to see what is true; but there is a most interesting and curious psychological difference in the effect of this nagging on the nerves of the person nagged. If a physician who has for a patient one of those docile "dog-like" men, who is rapidly being driven into a dangerous condition by the ceaseless nerve irritation, be able to tell the patient that the woman is not responsible for what she does, that she herself is the victim of disease, he will find an enormous change in the condition of that patient at once. Not only has the physician aroused a feeling of sympathy for the illness of the wife in the mind of the husband, but the nagging ceases to excite anger. The husband believes, first, that the wife is not responsible for her acts; second, that were she in possession of health she would not nag; third, that if her health could be restored the torture would cease. In other words, that which I have called x in my mathematical presentation of the mental condition is eliminated, and y only remains. What is more, the feeling of sympathy is in itself a force which will serve to neutralize the power of y. The nagging then becomes to the nagged the equivalent of a little more mental work, and this must be endured. To further illustrate the psycholollgical side of this subject, all physicians are familiar with the nervous, irritable condition into which many women get prior to the birth of children. It often happens that this condition is in varying degree coincident with pregnancy, and that, as a result of it, the wife nags unceasingly. This has no effect on the husband whatever, provided he understands the cause; on the contrary, he will not only be able to control his temper, but he will often find the most outrageous accusations, which, were they made by another or by his wife without a cause

beyond her control, would produce in him extreme indignation and anger, have no effect on him. Under such circumstances he will not only never allude to them, but will, should the wife, as she often does, recall them with shame, belittle them to the utmost or stoutly deny that she ever said such things. These two statements of the psychological effect on the mind of the husband, of the conviction of the irresponsibility of the wife for the nagging, not only point to the method by which the physician may help a patient suffering from nagging, but they show up sharply the real source of the nervous irritation from which such patients suffer. This is the conviction in their minds that other people can believe such things as are said to be true of them. In other words, it is in the revolt against the injustice of nagging and the anger resulting from the necessity of such revolt that the chief part of the nervous irritation of nagging is to be found.

There exist in Spain and Italy certain persons who pursue one of the most damnable trades known to men. These are they who distort the limbs of children in order to produce those deformities which will excite the compassion of the charitable. These manufactured cripples supplied Victor Hugo with the subject of one of his most fantastically horrible tales, *L'Homme Qui Rit*. It is needless to say that these people, whenever found, are punished as severely as possible by the law. The imagination almost shrinks before the devilishness of man which can permit itself to take a child and distort and twist and misshape its soft bones until it is a perfectly helpless cripple, destined to draw out his or her weary life in pain. When we contemplate such acts there is a feeling of ferocity produced, and one feels that the worst tortures of the Middle Ages, or of such abodes of cruelty as Siam or China are too mild, for children are so helpless, so unprotected; cruelty to them is such devilish, cowardly, mean cruelty!

What, then, shall be said of that nagger who distorts and twists and misshapes the mind of a child? What shall be said of the woman who cripples all the moral innocence and mental powers of the little ones committed to her care? Is not this damnable, devilish? Does not such a woman deserve the execration of all men and women? The effect of nagging on men of "dog-like" dispositions has already been described. Unfortunately—I should say fortunately, for what is more beautiful and what should be more sacred than the unquestioning confidence and trust of the

little ones—all children are "dog-like." It is true, a majority are nothing more than healthy little animals from whose minds and memories scolding runs off as water from the back of a duck, but there are children (and in this age of nerves I should think the proportion would be about one in twenty) who are exceedingly sensitive. Unfortunately, too, the child of a nagging woman and a "dog-like" man has every chance of having a most nervous disposition. It seems to me the spectacle of one of these nervous children, timid, affectionate, with a strongly developed conscience, in the grasp of a nagging mother, is the most pitiable I know of, the little one is so helpless, the torture is so fiendish. Often a child is simply nagged to death, and one is bound to feel only joy over the deliverance; for, if it lives, it reaches manhood or womanhood with shattered nerves and a ruined constitution. The physical result in the case of such a child may be better understood by a brief reference to what childhood means. Childhood is the period of growth; the child is given by nature an extraordinarily active digestion; children eat nearly three times as much food in proportion to their weight as do grown people. The food provided by nature for the infant is wonderfully nutritious; no such amount of all the elements needed for growth and development is to be found in any combination of which we have knowledge. During the first ten years of a child's life its business is to grow. The more of an animal we can keep it during this period the better. It ought to eat, to sleep, to play, romp, enjoy itself in a physical way at this time in its life. It must in part prepare itself for life's work. It lays the foundation of that physical structure which in time will be crowned by mental achievement. I am glad to say people are beginning to understand that children should not be forced too much mentally during the first ten years of life.

If a nagger be allowed to interfere with a child at this time the result is disastrous. Children have a far keener sense of justice than the majority of people believe, but so far as the expression of this feeling is concerned they are dumb. Under the torture of nagging, more than often emphasized by slapping or whipping, they must suffer in silence. "It's no matter, dolly, if you didn't, you have got to be slapped," said a little girl once to her doll, and I think no such indictment was ever drawn by men skilled in the law as was this against that little one's mother. In place of being allowed to grow strong, to digest their food properly and build up

for themselves healthy bodies, the children of nagging women have the force diverted into the support of their nerves under the attacks made on them. Is it any wonder if they have no constitutions when they reach manhood or womanhood ?

Not only is the child's physical health ruined, its mind is injured more than I can easily explain. The constant exaggeration inseparable from nagging prevents the growth in the mind of the child of mental perspective. Children are essentially imitative ; they receive most of their impressions second-hand. This is necessarily so at first in any one's life, because, of all mental processes, judgment is the slowest of development. When, therefore, a child is in constant contact with a person who takes enormously exaggerated views of everything, it never has a chance to understand judgment. Its mind grows one-sided ; it learns to look on everything from the standpoint of its conceptions. It would be impossible to imagine a worse preparation for the business of life. Nor is this all. The effect of nagging on the child's moral qualities is extremely bad. The constant, unceasing injustice warps the better nature. The dumb anger induced through so many years stimulates the growth of passion in the mind of the child ; in time it becomes absolutely unable to do justice to others, simply because its sense of justice, naturally strong in all children, is destroyed. Just as tyranny makes tyrants of those tyrannized over when they in turn have power, so the injustice of nagging kills the sense of justice. Then, too, in order to shield itself from the intolerable torture, the child naturally resorts to lies. It is not to be blamed for this, for, as the exaggeration of nagging is almost invariably nothing but falsehood, the little one cannot know any better.

What remedy is there ? I say regretfully, there is none whatever except public opinion. Those who suffer, if they be adults, shrink from facing their misery, and if they are children, they know of no appeal. There is, however, a duty which should be regarded as sacred. If there are children, and if the wife or husband be a nagger, then the other should do something to protect the little ones. He or she who refuses is as guilty toward them as is their torturer. I may say more guilty, because she or he knows from personal experience what the torture is. The little ones can have no other friend ; no one else knows ; no one else can interfere.

CYRUS EDSON.

THE FUTURE OF GOLD.

BY THE HON. ROBERT E. PRESTON, DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

THE history of the production of gold may be divided into four periods: the first ending with the discoveries of Columbus, the second with those of the Californian and Australian goldfields in 1848 and 1851, or say 1850; the third in 1885; the fourth begins in 1886, with the discovery of the Witwatersrandt gold mines.

The year in which these mines were discovered is chosen as the beginning of the last period, and not 1887, in which the Transvaal began to figure to some small extent in the list of gold-producing countries, for their discovery is of far greater importance to the world than the few thousand ounces of gold which they added to the supply of that metal in the latter year.

It cannot be disputed that the discovery of the Witwatersrandt mines marks an epoch in the history of the production of gold, and is entitled to a place side by side with the discovery of the mines of California and Australia, which has always been considered by statisticians a point of demarcation between two periods in the history of the production of the precious metals.

On the first two of the periods into which the history of the production of gold has been divided above it is not necessary to dwell here. The third might also be passed over in silence, were it not necessary to compare it with the fourth, in order to form an intelligent opinion on the relative magnitude of the output of gold in recent years, on its prospective production in years to come, and to bring out into strong relief the fact that never before in the life of mankind has the yearly supply of that metal been as great as now. To effect this purpose, it is necessary to go back a few decades before the beginning of the third period.

The average yearly production of gold during the ten years 1831–1840 was only 20,289 kilograms, or 652,291 fine ounces; during the ten years 1841–1850 it rose to an annual average of 54,759 kilograms, or 1,760,502 ounces. This was just prior, it will be noticed, to the beginning of the third period into which I have divided the history of the production of gold. Now mark the increase! During the five years 1851–1855, in consequence of the rich harvest from the recently discovered mines of California and Australia, the average annual production of gold suddenly leaped to 199,388 kilograms, or 6,410,324 ounces, and in 1856–60 to the highest figure that had ever been reached up to that time, and which has never been exceeded since, except in 1892, 1893, and 1894, namely, to 201,750 kilograms, or 6,486,262 ounces; that is, in between twenty and twenty-five years, the annual average of the production of gold increased nearly tenfold! Even the production of silver during the last quarter of a century has not increased at that rate—1,000 per cent.!

After 1860 the average steadily declined, except during the five years 1866–1870, until in 1881–1885 it fell to 149,137 kilograms, or 4,794,755 ounces.

Thus the decrease in the annual average production of gold after 1860 had been continuous for almost a quarter of a century, and there were not wanting prophets of evil, among them men of world-wide renown in science, like the eminent Austrian geologist, Dr. Suess, who prophesied that the decline would be permanent. Suess's book, *The Future of Gold*, published in 1877, created a sensation in the politico-economic world, although the point from which he viewed his subject was strictly that of a geologist and not of an economist. His celebrated theory is contained in the fourth and fourteenth chapters of his book. Briefly stated, it is this. The earth was myriads of ages ago in a molten or fluid state. When in that condition the heavier elements of which it is composed sank, in obedience to the law of gravitation, deepest, and now lie nearest to the earth's centre. But the precious metals are among the heaviest of all materials—gold, with a specific gravity of 19.253, ranking third, immediately after iridium and platinum. Much lower in specific gravity are silver (10.74), copper (8.09), iron (7.54), etc., but all with a much higher specific gravity than the earth as a whole. Gold is therefore one of the metals furthest removed from the earth's

surface and most inaccessible to man, "because, at a comparatively small distance from it, the increasing temperature reaches so high a degree that mining there finds its limit."

After an exhaustive review of all the gold-fields of the world, and of their condition at the time he wrote, Suess reached the following conclusions :

1. That the production of gold in the future would have to depend mainly on the output from alluvial deposits.

2. That geographical discovery and the new or increased production of gold went hand in hand.

3. That much more than one-half of the quantity of gold obtainable by the means hitherto employed had already passed through the hands of man.

4. That the exhaustion of the alluvial gold deposits and the decline of the production of gold to a small fraction of what it had hitherto been, were facts that could already be foreseen.

5. That the time would certainly come, and probably after a few centuries, when the production of gold would cease to an extraordinary extent; and that metal, on account of its ever-increasing scarcity, cease to be able to maintain the economic position it had hitherto held.

6. That the manner of the occurrence of gold in nature was, therefore, unfavorable to the general adoption of the gold standard, and that such a plan, in the light of past experience of the production of gold, could not be approved.

7. That it had been proven that vein-mining, as a rule, showed a decrease in gold contents with the depth.

What of Suess's conclusions ? Scarcely one of them has been verified by the experience of the last seventeen years. Production now depends much more on vein-mining than on gold-washings. Fully 60 per cent. of the world's production of gold is obtained from the solid rock. There has been increased production independent of geographical discovery by improved technic processes, especially by the cyanide process. Gold production is not declining, but advancing; and in South Africa it has been demonstrated that the gold contents increase with the depth.

If Suess's book had been published in 1857, instead of 20 years later, the world would have ridiculed his theory, notwithstanding the learning, ability, and acumen of its author. But it appeared at a time when the production of gold had been, and

still was, on the decline, and when men's minds were prepared to believe that the decline would be permanent and irretrievable.

That it has not been so is amply demonstrated by the yield of gold during the fourth period of the history of its production, as will be seen from the figures given below, in which the output of the yellow metal in 1886–1893 is given in fine kilograms and fine ounces.

Years.	Kilograms.	Ounces.
1886	159,494	5,127,750
1887	159,155	5,116,865
1888	165,809	5,330,780
1889	185,809	5,973,780
1890	178,828	5,749,320
1891	196,584	6,320,195
1892	220,129	7,077,165
1893	234,006	7,523,377

The first rude shock which Suess's theory received was the discovery of the Witwatersrandt gold-field, in the South African Republic, which marks the beginning of the fourth and last period into which the production of gold has been divided by the writer. Here was something new which had not been dreamt of in Suess's philosophy.

The mines of the Witwatersrandt did not share at all in the world's gold output of 1886. In 1887 they shared in it only to the extent of 23,125 ounces. Since then their production has been phenomenal. It has been as follows:

Years.	Crude ounces.
1887	23,125
1888	208,121
1889	381,758
1890	494,869
1891	729,238
1892	1,210,868
1893	1,478,473

The increase in recent years in the world's production of gold is due most largely to these South African mines. Will that increase continue, and how long? The answer to this question involves a consideration of the prospects of production in South Africa. I remarked above that here was something Professor Suess had not dreamt of in his philosophy. The Witwatersrandt mines had not been discovered when he wrote his book. Not only that, but the occurrence of gold under the geological conditions in which it is found in the Witwatersrandt had been con-

sidered impossible until it was actually obtained there. Geologists were acquainted in 1877 with only two forms of the existence of gold in nature: in veins and as alluvial deposits. In the Witwatersrandt it is found in sedimentary rocks—in strata the component parts of which are pieces of quartz held together by a clayey cement.*

The Witwatersrandt produces by far the greater part of the total gold output of South Africa—indeed of all Africa.

In 1893 the German government sent a mining expert, Herr Schmeisser, to investigate and report upon the gold mines of the Transvaal. In his report he expresses the opinion that a calculation of the total amount of gold in the Witwatersrandt is impossible, and that in making an estimate of it it is necessary for the present to limit one's investigation to a well-defined and adequately explored tract of the district, and endeavor to establish the lowest figures for that section. For that purpose he chose the part of the gold-field lying between the eastern limit of what is known as the Langlaagte B gold mine and the western limit of the Glencairn mine, which has a profitable working length, he stated, of about eleven and a half miles. It is not necessary, nor have I space, to give here the data he employed. It is sufficient to say that he calculated that from this tract 62,548,000 ounces of gold could be obtained. As, however, nearly two-thirds of the total yield of the Witwatersrandt, from 1888 to January 1st, 1894, had come from mines in that tract, the above figures had to be reduced to 59,572,149.6 ounces, of the value of $1,020,828,355, which still remained to be mined. At the average rate of increase of the gold product of the Witwatersrandt he estimated that the exhaustion of the lodes on this tract would occur about the year 1919. This calculation was made on the assumption that a depth of 800 metres, or 2,625 feet, had been reached. If mining could be carried on at a depth of 1,200 metres, or 3,937 feet, the supply of gold from this tract, he calculated, would aggregate 99,821,892 ounces, of the value of $1,710,560,000, and that at the same rate of increase it would require forty years to mine that quantity. Mr. Hamilton Smith, a distinguished American mining engineer, in 1892 estimated the amount of gold in this same tract to a depth of 3,000 feet at

* A somewhat similar formation of very limited extent had, it is said, been previously discovered in France.

$1,044,900,000. Herr Schmeisser ascribes the larger results reached by himself partly to a slight difference in the length of tract investigated and partly to the fact that a deep boring made in 1893 in one of its mines warranted him to assume a less rapid dip of the lodes at lower depths. It must be remembered that while the tract under consideration above has a length of only about 11½ miles the Witwatersrandt has a length of 50 miles.

It would be an easy matter to cite a host of experts whose evidence is corroborative of that just quoted. Indeed all competent judges agree that the gold output of the Witwatersrandt mines is assured for a considerable period of time. The pyrites occurring at a certain depth, which could not be treated by amalgamation, have yielded up their gold contents to chlorination; and it has become possible, by the introduction of the cyanide process, to obtain almost the last traces of gold from the "tailings," which had hitherto been considered worthless. At present only 5 per cent. of the gold is lost. In 1892, 211,866 ounces were obtained from tailings by the cyanide process, while, lately, the amount of gold obtained by this method has been, it is claimed, more than one-third of the Witwatersrandt's total output, amounting, as it did, in September, 1894, to 62,000 ounces out of a total of 175,000 ounces.

In the United States the production of gold had been very uniform since 1887, never varying much from 1,596,375 fine ounces, or $33,000,000, until 1893, when it amounted to 1,739,323 ounces, or nearly $36,000,000. It is noteworthy also that the gold output of this country in 1893 was the largest since 1880 and came within 1,677 ounces, or about $45,000, of equalling the yield of that year.

The net increase of the gold output of the United States in 1893 over that of 1892 was $2,940,000. The increase was most noteworthy in Colorado ($2,227,000) and Montana ($684,613). On the other hand, the product of Nevada decreased $613,000, out of a total decrease in six States of $928,785.

It is too early yet to state positively what the gold product of the United States was in 1894, but this much is certain · that it will largely exceed that of 1893 and probably reach $43,000,000, an increase of $7,000,000 over that of the latter year.

The tendency of all the gold-producing States is to add to their annual product. The repeal of the purchasing clause of the

act of July 14, 1890, has stimulated the search for gold, and a good share of the increased gold output of the country in 1894 will be traceable to it.

There are no indications whatever of a falling-off in the future of the productiveness of the gold mines of this country, although, considering the rapid growth of the South African production of gold, it is difficult to predict how long the United States will maintain its supremacy as a gold producer. New mines will, of course, be discovered here, but the discovery of such mines is still more likely in Africa. Much will depend on their relative richness. So far as can now be seen, the greatest hope of a largely increased gold product of the United States in the future lies in the removal of all restrictions on hydraulic mining in California. That has already been done to some extent by the so-called Caminetti Act, passed March 3, 1893. If means could be found to remove all restrictions on this class of mining—and that may be a possible achievement—it has been estimated that the deposits in that State would add something like $500,000,000 to the gold stock of the world.

In Australasia, the production of gold in 1893 was 53,698 kilograms, representing $35,688,620, against 51,398 kilograms, representing $34,158,966, in 1892, an increase in the former year of 2,300 kilograms. In like manner 1892 showed an increase of 4,152 kilograms over 1891. Indeed, ever since 1886 it may be said that the gold output of the Australasian colonies has been continuous. The falling off of the yield in 1890 and 1891 from that in 1889 can scarcely be said to have broken the continuity referred to, for both 1892 and 1893 show a marked increase over 1889.

The product from alluvial deposits is continually decreasing in Australia, and that from quartz mining increasing. The alluvial deposits yield only about one-third of the total product of Victoria and not five per cent. of that of Queensland. On the other hand, "the deep leads," which are only deep alluvial beds, but which must be worked like veins, are far from being exhausted. Thus far they have been operated only to a very limited extent. Moreover, a large number of quartz mines have heretofore been abandoned as soon as the pyrites was reached. There is no reason why work on such mines should not be resumed, with the aid of the newly discovered processes which

have proved so successful in South Africa, and with equally successful results. Everything considered, it is to be expected that the production of Australasia will continue to increase at about the present rate at least for an indefinite period. There is even a possibility that it may increase largely after some years, and the realization of that possibility depends on how the newly discovered Coolgardie gold-field in western Australia turns out. By comparing the gold product of all the colonies of Australasia in 1893 with that of 1892, it will be found that there was an increase in 1893 of 80,432 unrefined ounces. More than 63 per cent. of this increase came from the recently discovered western Australian goldfield of Coolgardie. This field may hold a large reserve of the yellow metal and play a very important part in the future of gold.

Russia next claims our attention. Here, too, where the gold yield is almost exclusively from alluvial deposits, the production of that metal has been continuously increasing since 1886, as witness the following figures: 1886, 30,872 kilograms; 1887, 30,232 kilograms; 1888, 32,052 kilograms; 1889, 35,970 kilograms; 1890, 35,296 kilograms; 1891, 36,356 kilograms; 1892, 37,325 kilograms; 1893, 39,804 kilograms. The continuity of the progression is broken only in a single year. It is impossible, however, to venture any prediction as to Russia's output of gold in the future. The circumstances on which it depends are too many—legislation, the price of bread, the seasons, and the course of the paper rouble. Reasoning from analogy, however, one would be inclined to believe that the production of gold in the great empire of eastern Europe would continue to increase for years to come.

Again, there is India. Outside of the great producing countries—the United States, Australasia, Russia, and South Africa—the increase in the production of gold has nowhere been more rapid: 1886, 20,383 fine ounces; 1887, 15,464; 1888, 32,729; 1889, 72,691; 1890, 96,739; 1891, 120,691; 1892, 160,535; 1893, 184,477.

The remaining countries to which I shall direct the attention of the reader during the years of the last period of the history of the production of gold are the three Guianas. Their gold yield was as follows: 1887, 1,802 kilograms; 1888, 937; 1889, 2,348; 1890, 3,186; 1891, 5,026; 1892, 6,185; 1893, 6,439.

The little table which I here append will enable the reader to take in at a glance what the countries named in it have done towards preventing a scarcity of gold, and hindering its appreciation during the fourth period in the history of the production of that metal.

Countries.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.
United States	$35,000,000	$33,000,000	$33,175,000	$32,800,000
Australasia	26,425,000	27,327,600	28,560,660	33,086,700
Russia	20,518,000	20,092,000	21,302,000	23,905,6 0
Africa	1,438,000	1,919,600	4,500,000	8,586,600
India	421,600	320,000	676,563	1,502,600
The Guianas	.....	718,902	623,070	1,560,300
Total	$83,802,600	$83,378,102	$88,837,293	$101,441,800

Countries.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.
United States	$32,845,000	$33,175,000	$33,000,000	$35,955,000
Australasia	29,808,000	31,399,000	34,159,000	35,688,600
Russia	23,458,000	24,162,500	24,806,200	26,454,400
Africa	9,887,000	15,742,400	24,232,000	29,305,800
India	2,000,000	2,495,000	3,318,300	3,813,600
The Guianas	2,117,200	3,340,200	4,110,900	4.279,400
Total	$100,115,200	$110,314,100	$123,626,400	$135,496,800

The production of the world in 1886 was 159,494 kilograms; in 1893 it was 234,006 kilograms; but, great as was the world's gold output of that year—greater than that of any other year in the world's history—I believe that that of 1894, and of a series of years to come, will be successively and progressively greater, and that what was said by the writer of the world's gold product in 1893 in the Report on the Production of Gold and Silver in that year, will, with the change of a few figures, be true of that series. He there uses these words: "The world's output of gold in 1893 was the largest in history, amounting, as it did, to 234,006 kilograms, of the value in round numbers of $155,522,000.

"The highest previous yield of gold was in the period 1856–60, when the production reached an average weight per annum of 201,750 kilograms fine, and an average yearly value of $133,970,000. The output of gold, therefore, in 1893 was 16.08 per cent. greater than the annual average of the period of the greatest productiveness of the Californian and Australian gold mines.

"A still more noticeable fact is that the value of the gold product of the world in 1893 was only 8.77 per cent. less than the

average aggregate value of the gold and silver product of the world in 1861–1865."

The fact is that the production of gold was never so rapid as it is to-day. When the yield of the Californian and Australian gold mines was at its highest, 1856–60, Michel Chevalier and other economists began to inquire what measures governments should take to prevent the depreciation of the yellow metal, and some even proposed its demonetization. Yet now when the production of even 1856–60 is exceeded, and when the value of the annual product of gold alone is almost equal to that of the product of both precious metals before the depreciation of silver began, all the economic evils from which the commercial, agricultural, and industrial world is suffering are ascribed to the scarcity of gold! What better refutation can there be of such a fallacy than the figures adduced in the foregoing pages? They are more convincing than words; for if there is a scarcity of gold now, when was there plenty of it?

R. E. PRESTON.

WHAT PAUL BOURGET THINKS OF US.

BY MARK TWAIN.

He reports the American joke correctly In Boston they ask, How much does he know? in New York, How much is he worth? in Philadelphia, Who were his parents? And when an alien observer turns his telescope upon us—advertisedly in our own special interest—a natural apprehension moves us to ask, What is the diameter of his reflector?

I take a great interest in M. Bourget's chapters, for I know by the newspapers that there are several Americans who are expecting to get a whole education out of them; several who foresaw, and also foretold, that our long night was over, and a light almost divine about to break upon the land.

"*His utterances concerning us are bound to be weighty and well timed.*"

"*He gives us an object-lesson which should be thoughtfully and profitably studied.*"

These well-considered and important verdicts were of a nature to restore public confidence, which had been disquieted by questionings as to whether so young a teacher would be qualified to take so large a class as 70,000,000, distributed over so extensive a schoolhouse as America, and pull it through without assistance.

I was even disquieted myself, although I am of a cold, calm temperament and not easily disturbed. I feared for my country. And I was not wholly tranquilized by the verdicts rendered as above. It seemed to me that there was still room for doubt. In fact, in looking the ground over I became more disturbed than I was before. Many worrying questions came up in my mind. Two were prominent. Where had the teacher gotten his equipment? What was his method?

He had gotten his equipment in France.

Then as to his method : I saw by his own intimations that he was an Observer, and had a System—that used by naturalists and other scientists. The naturalist collects many bugs and reptiles and butterflies and studies their ways a long time patiently. By this means he is presently able to group these creatures into families and subdivisions of families by nice shadings of differences observable in their characters. Then he labels all those shaded bugs and things with nicely descriptive group names, and is now happy, for his great work is completed, and as a result he intimately knows every bug and shade of a bug there, inside and out. It may be true, but a person who was not a naturalist would feel safer about it if he had the opinion of the bug. I think it is a pleasant System, but subject to error.

The Observer of Peoples has to be a Classifier, a Grouper, a Deducer, a Generalizer, a Psychologizer ; and first and last, a Thinker. He has to be all these, and when he is at home, observing his own folk, he is often able to prove competency. But history has shown that when he is abroad observing unfamiliar peoples, the chances are heavily against him. He is then a naturalist observing a bug ; with no more than a naturalist's chance of being able to tell the bug anything new about itself, and no more than a naturalist's chance of being able to teach it any new ways which it will prefer to its own.

To return to that first question. M. Bourget, as teacher, would simply be France teaching America. It seemed to me that the outlook was dark ; almost Egyptian, in fact. What would the new teacher, representing France, teach us ? Railroading ? No. France knows nothing valuable about railroading. Steamshipping ? No. France has no superiorities over us in that matter. Steamboating ? No. French steamboating is still of Fulton's date—1809. Postal service ? No. France is a back number there. Telegraphy ? No, we taught her that ourselves. Journalism ? No. Magazining ? No, that is our own specialty. Government ? No; Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Nobility, Democracy, Adultery—the system is too variegated for our climate. Religion ? No, not variegated enough for our climate. Morals ? No, we cannot rob the poor to enrich ourselves. Novel-writing ? No. M. Bourget and the others know only one plan, and when that is expurgated there is nothing left of the book.

I wish I could think what he is going to teach us. Can it be Deportment? But he experimented in that at Newport and failed to give satisfaction, except to a few. Those few are pleased. They are enjoying their joy as well as they can. They confess their happiness to the interviewer. They feel pretty striped, but they remember with reverent recognition that they had sugar between the cuts. True, sugar with sand in it, but sugar. And true, they had some trouble to tell which was sugar and which was sand, because the sugar itself looked just like the sand, and also had a gravelly taste; still, they know that the sugar was there, and would have been very good sugar indeed if it had been screened. Yes, they are pleased; not noisily so, but pleased; invaded, or streaked, as one may say, with little recurrent shivers of joy—subdued joy, so to speak, not the overdone kind. And they commune together, these, and massage each other with comforting sayings, in a sweet spirit of resignation and thankfulness, mixing these elements in the same proportions as the sugar and the sand, as a memorial, and saying, the one to the other and to the interviewer: "It was severe—yes, it was bitterly severe; but oh, how true it was; and it will do us so much good!"

If it isn't Deportment, what is left? It was at this point that I seemed to get on the right track at last. M. Bourget would teach us to know ourselves; that was it: he would reveal us to ourselves. That would be an education. He would explain us to ourselves. Then we should understand ourselves; and after that be able to go on more intelligently.

It seemed a doubtful scheme. He could explain *us* to *him*self—that would be easy. That would be the same as the naturalist explaining the bug to himself. But to explain the bug to the bug—that is a quite different matter. The bug may not know himself perfectly, but he knows himself better than the naturalist can know him, at any rate.

A foreigner can photograph the exteriors of a nation, but I think that that is as far as he can get. I think that no foreigner can report its interior—its soul, its life, its speech, its thought. I think that a knowledge of these things is acquirable in only one way; not two or four or six—*absorption*; years and years of unconscious absorption; years and years of intercourse with the life concerned; of living it, indeed; sharing personally in its shames and prides, its joys and griefs, its loves and hates, its prosperities and re-

verses, its shows and shabbinesses, it deep patriotisms, its whirlwinds of political passion, its adorations—of flag, and heroic dead, and the glory of the national name. . Observation ? Of what real value is it ? One learns peoples through the heart, not the eyes or the intellect.

There is only one expert who is qualified to examine the souls and the life of a people and make a valuable report—the native novelist. This expert is so rare that the most populous country can never have fifteen conspicuously and confessedly competent ones in stock at one time. This native specialist is not qualified to begin work until he has been absorbing during twenty-five years. How much of his competency is derived from conscious "observation"? The amount is so slight that it counts for next to nothing in the equipment. Almost the whole capital of the novelist is the slow accumulation of *un*conscious observation—absorption. The native expert's intentional observation of manners, speech, character, and ways of life can have value, for the native knows what they mean without having to cipher out the meaning. But I should be astonished to see a foreigner get at the right meanings, catch the elusive shades of these subtle things. Even the native novelist becomes a foreigner, with a foreigner's limitations, when he steps from the State whose life is familiar to him into a State whose life he has not lived. Bret Harte got his California and his Californians by unconscious absorption, and put both of them into his tales alive. But when he came from the Pacific to the Atlantic and tried to do Newport life from study—conscious observation—his failure was absolutely monumental. Newport is a disastrous place for the unacclimated observer, evidently.

To return to novel-building. Does the native novelist try to generalize the nation ? No, he lays plainly before you the ways and speech and life of a few people grouped in a certain place—his own place—and that is one book. In time, he and his brethren will report to you the life and the people of the whole nation—the life of a group in a New England village ; in a New York village ; in a Texan village ; in an Oregon village ; in villages in fifty States and Territories ; then the farm-life in fifty States and Territories ; a hundred patches of life and groups of people in a dozen widely separated cities. And the Indians will be attended to ; and the cowboys ; and the gold and silver miners ; and the negroes ; and the Idiots and Congressmen ; and

the Irish, the Germans, the Italians, the Swedes, the French, the Chinamen, the Greasers; and the Catholics, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the Spiritualists, the Mormons, the Shakers, the Quakers, the Jews, the Campbellites, the infidels, the Christian Scientists, the Mind-Curists, the Faith-Curists, the train-robbers, the White Caps, then Moonshiners. And when a thousand able novels have been written, *there* you have the soul of the people, the life of the people, the speech of the people; and not anywhere else can these be had. And the shadings of character, manners, feelings, ambitions, will be infinite.

"*The nature of a people* is always of a similar shade in its vices and its virtues, in its frivolities and in its labor. *It is this physiognomy which it is necessary to discover*, and every document is good, from the hall of a casino to the church, from the foibles of a fashionable woman to the suggestions of a revolutionary leader. I am therefore quite sure that this *American soul*, the principal interest and the great object of my voyage, appears behind the records of Newport for those who choose to see it."—*M. Paul Bourget.*

[The italics are mine.] It is a large contract which he has undertaken. "Records" is a pretty poor word there, but I think the use of it is due to hasty translation. In the original the word is *fastes*. I think M. Bourget meant to suggest that he expected to find the great "American soul" secreted behind the *ostentations* of Newport; and that he was going to get it out and examine it, and generalize it, and psychologize it, and make it reveal to him its hidden vast mystery, "the nature of the people" of the United States of America. We have been accused of being a nation addicted to inventing wild schemes. I trust that we shall be allowed to retire to second place now.

There isn't a single human characteristic that can be safely labelled "American." There isn't a single human ambition, or religious trend, or drift of thought, or peculiarity of education, or code of principles, or breed of folly, or style of conversation, or preference for a particular subject for discussion, or form of legs or trunk or head or face or expression or complexion, or gait, or dress, or manners, or disposition, or any other human detail, inside or outside, that can rationally be generalized as 'American."

Whenever you have found what seems to be an "American" peculiarity, you have only to cross a frontier or two, or go down

or up in the social scale, and you perceive that it has disappeared. And you can cross the Atlantic and find it again. There may be a Newport religious drift or sporting drift, or conversational style or complexion, or cut of face, but there are entire empires in America, north, south, east, and west, where you could not find your duplicates. It is the same with everything else which one might propose to call "American." M. Bourget thinks he has found the American Coquette. If he had really found her he would also have found, I am sure, that she was not new, that she exists in other lands in the same forms, and with the same frivolous heart and the same ways and impulses. I think this because I have seen our coquette; I have seen her in life; better still, I have seen her in our novels, and seen her twin in foreign novels. I wish M. Bourget had seen ours. He thought he saw her. And so he applied his System to her. She was a Species. So he gathered a number of samples of what seemed to be her, and put them under his glass, and divided them into groups which he calls "types," and labelled them in his usual scientific way with "formulas"—brief sharp descriptive flashes that make a person blink, sometimes, they are so sudden and vivid. As a rule they are pretty far-fetched, but that is not an important matter; they surprise, they compel admiration, and I notice by some of the comments which his efforts have called forth that they deceive the unwary. Here are a few of the coquette variants which he has grouped and labelled:

THE COLLECTOR.

THE EQUILIBREE.

THE PROFESSIONAL BEAUTY.

THE BLUFFER.

THE GIRL-BOY.

If he had stopped with describing these characters we should have been obliged to believe that they exist; that they exist, and that he has seen them and spoken with them. But he did not stop there; he went further and furnished to us light-throwing samples of their behavior, and also light-throwing samples of their speeches. He entered those things in his notebook without suspicion, he takes them out and delivers them to the world with a candor and simplicity which show that he believed them genuine. They throw altogether too much light. They reveal to the native the origin of his find. I suppose he knows how he came

to make that novel and captivating discovery, by this time. If he does not, any American can tell him—any American to whom he will show his anecdotes. It was "put up" on him, as we say. It was a jest—to be plain, it was a series of frauds. To my mind it was a poor sort of jest, witless and contemptible. The players of it have their reward, such as it is; they have exhibited the fact that whatever they may be, they are not ladies. M. Bourget did not discover a type of coquette; he merely discovered a type of practical joker. One may say *the* type of practical joker, for these people are exactly alike all over the world. Their equipment is always the same: a vulgar mind, a puerile wit, a cruel disposition as a rule, and always the spirit of treachery.

In his Chapter IV. M. Bourget has two or three columns gravely devoted to the collating and examining and psychologizing of these sorry little frauds. One is not moved to laugh. There is nothing funny in the situation; it is only pathetic. The stranger gave those people his confidence, and they dishonorably treated him in return.

But one must be allowed to suspect that M. Bourget was a little to blame himself. Even a practical joker has some little judgment. He has to exercise some degree of sagacity in selecting his prey, if he would save himself from getting into trouble. In my time I have seldom seen such daring things marketed at any price as these conscienceless folk have worked off at par on this confiding observer. It compels the conviction that there was something about him that bred in those speculators a quite unusual sense of safety, and encouraged them to strain their powers in his behalf. They seem to have satisfied themselves that all he wanted was "significant" facts, and that he was not accustomed to examine the source whence they proceeded. It is plain that there was a sort of conspiracy against him almost from the start—a conspiracy to freight him up with all the strange extravagances those people's decayed brains could invent.

The lengths to which they went are next to incredible. They told him things which surely would have excited any one else's suspicion, but they did not excite his. Consider this:

"*There is not in all the United States an entirely nude statue.*"

If an angel should come down and say such a thing about heaven, a reasonably cautious observer would take that angel's number and inquire a little further before he added it to his

catch. What does the present observer do? Adds it. Adds it at once. Adds it, and labels it with this innocent comment:

"*This small fact is strangely significant.*"

It does seem to me that this kind of observing is defective.

Here is another curiosity which some liberal person made him a present of. I should think it ought to have disturbed the deep slumber of his suspicion a little, but it didn't. It was a note from a fog-horn for strenuousness, it seems to me, but the doomed voyager did not catch it. If he had but caught it, it would have saved him from several disasters:

"If the American knows that you are travelling to take notes, he is interested in it, and at the same time rejoices in it, as in a tribute."

Again, this is defective observation. It is human to like to be praised; one can even notice it in the French. But it is not human to like to be ridiculed, even when it comes in the form of a "tribute." I think a little psychologizing ought to have come in there. Something like this: A dog does not like to be ridiculed, a redskin does not like to be ridiculed, a negro does not like to be ridiculed, a Chinaman does not like to be ridiculed; let us deduce from these significant facts this formula: the American's grade being higher than these, and the chain of argument stretching unbroken all the way up to him, there is room for suspicion that the person who said the American likes to be ridiculed, and regards it as a tribute, is not a capable observer.

I feel persuaded that in the matter of psychologizing, a professional is too apt to yield to the fascinations of the loftier regions of that great art, to the neglect of its lowlier walks. Every now and then, at half-hour intervals, M. Bourget collects a hatful of airy inaccuracies and dissolves them in a panful of assorted abstractions, and runs the charge into a mould and turns you out a compact principle which will explain an American girl, or an American woman, or why new people yearn for old things, or any other impossible riddle which a person wants answered.

It seems to be conceded that there are a few human peculiarities that can be generalized and located here and there in the world and named by the name of the nation where they are found. I wonder what they are. Perhaps one of them is temperament. One speaks of French vivacity and German gravity and English stubbornness. There is no American temperament. The nearest that one can come at it is to say there are two—the composed

northern and the impetuous southern; and both are found in other countries. Morals ? Purity of women may fairly be called universal with us, but that is the case in some other countries. We have no monopoly of it; it cannot be named American. I think that there is but a single specialty with us, only one thing that can be called by the wide name "American." That is the national devotion to ice-water. All Germans drink beer, but the British nation drinks beer, too; so neither of those peoples is *the* beer-drinking nation. I suppose we do stand alone in having a drink that nobody likes but ourselves. When we have been a month in Europe we lose our craving for it, and we finally tell the hotel folk that they needn't provide it any more. Yet we hardly touch our native shore again, winter or summer, before we are eager for it. The reasons for this state of things have not been psychologized yet. I drop the hint and say no more.

It is my belief that there are some "national" traits and things scattered about the world that are mere superstitions, frauds that have lived so long that they have the solid look of facts. One of them is the dogma that the French are the only chaste people in the world. Ever since I arrived in France this last time I have been accumulating doubts about that; and before I leave this sunny land again I will gather in a few random statistics and psychologize the plausibilities out of it. If people are to come over to America and find fault with our girls and our women, and psychologize every little thing they do, and try to teach them how to behave, and how to cultivate themselves up to where one cannot tell them from the French model, I intend to find out whether those missionaries are qualified or not. A nation ought always to examine into this detail before engaging the teacher for good. This last one has let fall a remark which renewed those doubts of mine when I read it:

> "In our high Parisian existence, for instance, we find applied to arts and luxury, and to debauchery, all the powers and all the weaknesses of the French soul."

You see it amounts to a trade with the French soul; a profession; a science; the serious business of life, so to speak, in our high Parisian existence. I do not quite like the look of it. I question if it can be taught with profit in our country, except of course to those pathetic, neglected minds that are waiting there so yearningly for the education which M. Bourget is going to

furnish them from the serene summits of our high Parisian life.

I spoke a moment ago of the existence of some superstitions that have been parading the world as facts this long time. For instance, consider the Dollar. The world seems to think that the love of money is "American"; and that the mad desire to get suddenly rich is "American." I believe that both of these things are merely and broadly human, not American monopolies at all. The love of money is natural to all nations, for money is a good and strong friend. I think that this love has existed everywhere, ever since the Bible called it the root of all evil.

I think that the reason why we Americans seem to be so addicted to trying to get rich suddenly is merely because the *opportunity* to make promising efforts in that direction has offered itself to us with a frequency out of all proportion to the European experience. For eighty years this opportunity has been offering itself in one new town or region after another straight westward, step by step, all the way from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific. When a mechanic could buy ten town lots on tolerably long credit for ten months' savings out of his wages, and reasonably expect to sell them in a couple of years for ten times what he gave for them, it was human for him to try the venture, and he did it, no matter what his nationality was. He would have done it in Europe or China if he had had the same chance.

In the flush times in the silver regions, a cook or any other humble worker stood a very good chance to get rich out of a trifle of money risked in a stock deal; and that person promptly took that risk, no matter what his or her nationality might be. I was there, and saw it.

But these opportunities have not been plenty in our Southern States; so there you have a prodigious region where the rush for sudden wealth is almost an unknown thing—and has been, from the beginning.

Europe has offered few opportunities for poor Tom, Dick, and Harry; but when she has offered one, there has been no noticeable difference between European eagerness and American. England saw this in the wild days of the Railroad King; France saw it in 1720—time of Law and the Mississippi Bubble. I am sure I have never seen in the gold and silver mines any madness, fury, frenzy to get suddenly rich which was even remotely comparable to that

which raged in France in the Bubble day. If I had a cyclopædia here I could turn to that memorable case, and satisfy nearly anybody that the hunger for the sudden dollar is no more "American" than it is French. And if I could furnish an American opportunity to staid Germany, I think I could wake her up like a house afire.

But I must return to the Generalizations, Psychologizings, Deductions. When M. Bourget is exploiting these arts, it is then that he is peculiarly and particularly himself. His ways are wholly original when he encounters a trait or a custom which is new to him. Another person would merely examine the find, verify it, estimate its value, and let it go; but that is not sufficient for M. Bourget: he always wants to know *why* that thing exists, he wants to know how it came to happen; and he will not let go of it until he has found out. And in every instance he will find that reason where no one but himself would have thought of looking for it. He does not seem to care for a reason that is not picturesquely located; one might almost say picturesquely and impossibly located.

He found out that in America men do not try to hunt down young married women. At once, as usual, he wanted to know *why*. Any one could have told him. He could have divined it by the lights thrown by the novels of the country. But no, he preferred to find out for himself. He has a trustfulness as regards men and facts which is fine and unusual; he is not particular about the source of a fact, he is not particular about the character and standing of the fact itself; but when it comes to pounding out the reason for the existence of the fact, he will trust no one but himself.

In the present instance here was his fact: American young married women are not pursued by the corruptor; and here was the question: What is it that protects her?

It seems quite unlikely that that problem could have offered difficulties to any but a trained philosopher. Nearly any person would have said to M. Bourget: "Oh, that is very simple. It is very seldom in America that a marriage is made on a commercial basis; our marriages, from the beginning, have been made for love; and where love is there is no room for the corruptor."

Now, it is interesting to see the formidable way in which M.

Bourget went at that poor, humble little thing. He moved upon it in column—three columns—and with artillery.

"Two reasons of a very different kind explain"—that fact.

And now that I have got so far, I am almost afraid to say what his two reasons are, lest I be charged with inventing them. But I will not retreat now; I will condense them and print them, giving my word that I am honest, and not trying to deceive any one.

1. Young married women are protected from the approaches of the seducer in New England and vicinity by the diluted remains of a prudence created by a Puritan law of two hundred years ago, which for a while punished adultery with death.

2. And young married women of the other forty or fifty States are protected by laws which afford extraordinary facilities for divorce.

If I have not lost my mind I have accurately conveyed those two Vesuvian irruptions of philosophy. But the reader can consult Chapter IV. of *Outre-Mer* and decide for himself. Let us examine this paralyzing Deduction or Explanation by the light of a few sane facts.

1. This universality of "protection" has existed in our country *from the beginning*; before the death penalty existed in New England, and during all the generations that have dragged by since it was annulled.

2. Extraordinary facilities for divorce are of such recent creation that any middle-aged American can remember a time when such things had not yet been thought of.

Let us suppose that the first easy divorce law went into effect forty years ago, and got noised around and fairly started in business thirty-five years ago, when we had, say, 25,000,000 of white population. Let us suppose that among 5,000,000 of them the young married women were "protected" by the surviving shudder of that ancient Puritan scare—what is M. Bourget going to do about those who lived among the 20,000,000? They were clean in their morals, they were pure, yet there was no easy divorce law to protect them.

Awhile ago I said that M. Bourget's method of truth-seeking—hunting for it in out-of-the-way places—was new; but that was an error. I remember that when Leverrier discovered the

Milky Way, he and the other astronomers began to theorize about it in substantially the same fashion which M. Bourget employs in his reasonings about American social facts and their origin. Leverrier advanced the hypothesis that the Milky Way was caused by gaseous protoplasmic emanations from the field of Waterloo, which, ascending to an altitude determinable by their own specific gravity, became luminous through the development and exposure—by the natural processes of animal decay—of the phosphorus contained in them.

This theory was warmly complimented by Ptolemy, who, however, after much thought and research, decided that he could not accept it as final. His own theory was that the Milky Way was an emigration of lightning-bugs; and he supported and re-enforced this theorem by the well-known fact that the locusts do like that in Egypt.

Giordano Bruno also was outspoken in his praises of Leverrier's important contribution to astronomical science, and was at first inclined to regard it as conclusive, but later, conceiving it to be erroneous, he pronounced against it, and advanced the hypothenuse that the Milky Way was a detachment or corps of stars which became arrested and held in *suspenso suspensorum* by refraction of gravitation while on the march to join their several constellations; a proposition for which he was afterward burned at the stake in Jacksonville, Illinois.

These were all brilliant and picturesque theories, and each was received with enthusiasm by the scientific world; but when a New England farmer, who was not a thinker, but only a plain sort of person who tried to account for large facts in simple ways, came out with the opinion that the Milky Way was just common, ordinary stars and was put where it was because God "wanted to hev it so," the admirable idea fell perfectly flat.

As a literary artist, M. Bourget is as fresh and striking as he is as a scientific one. He says, "Above all, I do not believe much in anecdotes." Why? "In history they are all false"—a sufficiently broad statement—"in literature all libellous"—also a sufficiently sweeping statement, coming from a critic who notes that we are a people who are peculiarly extravagant in our language—"and when it is a matter of social life, almost all biassed." It seems to amount to stultification, almost. He has built two or three breeds of

American coquettes out of anecdotes—mainly "biassed" ones, I suppose; and, as they occur "in literature," furnished by his pen, they must be "all libellous." Or did he mean not *in* literature or anecdotes *about* literature or literary people? I am not able to answer that. Perhaps the original would be clearer, but I have only the translation of this instalment by me. I think the remark had an intention; also that this intention was booked for the trip; but that either in the hurry of the remark's departure it got left, or in the confusion of changing cars at the translator's frontier it got sidetracked.

"But on the other hand I believe in statistics; and those on divorces appear to me to be most conclusive." And he sets himself the task of explaining—in a couple of columns—the process by which Easy-Divorce conceived, invented, originated, developed, and perfected an empire-embracing condition of sexual purity in the States. *In 40 years.* No, he doesn't state the interval. With all his passion for statistics he forgot to ask how long it took to produce this gigantic miracle.

I have followed his pleasant but devious trail through those columns, but I was not able to get hold of his argument and find out what it was. I was not even able to find out where it left off. It seemed to gradually dissolve and flow off into other matters. I followed it with interest, for I was anxious to learn how easy-divorce eradicated adultery in America, but I was disappointed; I have no idea yet, how it did it. I only know it didn't. But that is not valuable; I knew it before.

Well, humor is the great thing, the saving thing, after all. The minute it crops up, all our hardnesses yield, all our irritations and resentments flit away, and a sunny spirit takes their place. And so, when M. Bourget said that bright thing about our grandfathers, I broke all up. I remember exploding its American counter-mine once, under that grand hero, Napoleon. He was only First Consul then, and I was Consul-General —for the United States, of course; but we were very intimate, notwithstanding the difference in rank, for I waived that. One day something offered the opening, and he said:

"Well, General, I suppose life can never get entirely dull to an American, because whenever he can't strike up any other way to put in his time he can always get away with a few years trying to find out who his grandfather was!"

I fairly shouted, for I had never heard it sound better; and then I was back at him as quick as a flash—

"Right, your Excellency! But I reckon a Frenchman's got *his* little stand-by for a dull time, too; because when all other interests fail he can turn in and see if he can't find out who his father was!"

Well, you should have heard him just whoop, and cackle, and carry on! He reached up and hit me one on the shoulder, and says—

"Land, but it's good! It's im-mensely good! I'George, I never heard it said so good in my life before! Say it again."

So I said it again, and he said his again, and I said mine again, and then he did, and then I did, and then he did, and we kept on doing it, and doing it, and I *never* had such a good time, and he said the same. In my opinion there isn't anything that is as killing as one of those dear old ripe pensioners if you know how to snatch it out in a kind of a fresh sort of original way.

But I wish M. Bourget had read more of our novels before he came. It is the only way to thoroughly understand a people. When I found I was coming to Paris, I read *La Terre.*

MARK TWAIN.

OUR TRADE WITH CHINA.

BY THE CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS AT WASHINGTON.

For centuries the East has remained an unsolved problem in commerce and industry. After six hundred years of intercourse through commercial companies, monopolies, and distant diplomatic relations, its commerce with other countries has remained as fixed in nature as are the habits and customs of the people. From the very beginning its trade assumed a crystallized form; and on the whole the only changes that have occurred have been an increase in the size of the crystals, and not a change in their nature or composition. Whatever modification the trade of China has endured has been caused by the progress and industrial development of other nations, not of itself. Tea and silk were the principal articles traded in by the East India Company of the seventeenth century; tea and silk are the leading commodities of Chinese trade to-day, contributing more than one-half of the total export. While other nations of Asia have under foreign influence modified their productions and in consequence their trade, China has remained fixed, merely reflecting the advance in wealth of such people as consume her peculiar products. Such a situation in the nineteenth century is remarkable, and China has long been a by-word among civilized nations for all that is backward, and for a pig-headed opposition to progress.

The capacity to compete in production is best gauged by the conditions of a free market, unaffected by discriminating duties, or conditions other than are necessary to the conduct of commerce. London is such a market, and furnishes a means of gauging roughly the relative advantages or disadvantages favoring or weighing upon a product of reasonably uniform composition. Such a product is tea. No matter whence it may be imported the duty is the same, fourpence a pound. The principal

sources of supply are China, British India, and Ceylon, the last two being British colonial possessions. In 1893 the importation from all sources were 249,546,451 pounds, of which 194,072,353 pounds came from British possessions. Of this total 208,098,004 pounds entered into consumption in the United Kingdom, and were derived from the following sources :

	Pounds.
From British East Indies	108,143,599
From Ceylon	64,218,062
From China	32,060,079
From other countries	3,676,264

If we go back for ten years an experience of peculiar interest is developed.

From 1884 to 1893 the imports from British India increased by 44,936,000 pounds, or 71 per cent. ; from Ceylon by 61,997,000 pounds, or 2,804 per cent. ; and from China decreased 111,711,000 pounds, or 77 per cent.

This supercession of Chinese by British Indian teas is not to be attributed to any advantage in price. In 1883 the import price as returned by the English Board of Trade was 15 pence for Indian and 11.4 pence for Chinese, a difference against India of 24 per cent. In 1892 the import prices were 10.3 pence for Indian and 8.7 pence for Chinese, a difference of 15½ per cent. in favor of the Chinese article. The world's consumption of tea is estimated at somewhere near 443,000,000 pounds a year, and of this about one-half is supplied by British India. The fact, however, that competition is not only possible but highly successful in the face of conditions which economically would seem to discourage it, is a very hopeful sign. It is even more hopeful than the lessons to be drawn from the cultivation of beet sugar in competition with the cane product. In that case the artificial aid of a bounty acted as a stimulus, enabling the farmers of Europe to compete with the cheap and shiftless labor of the West Indies.

There is another product of China which has become in recent years of some importance in the trade returns of the United States—sheep's wool. In 1893 we received from China 20,744,689 pounds of wool, raw, of a value of $1,811,427. The first import of more than a million pounds was made in 1884. Since then it has increased rapidly : 1,037,000 pounds in 1884 ; 5,745,000 pounds in 1889 ; 10,624,000 pounds in 1891 ; and 20,745,000 pounds in 1893. This wool all comes from the northern provinces of China, and the United States takes almost the entire export. The price

tells the whole story. The valuation at the Chinese custom-house in 1893 averaged 6.6 cents a pound, which means a very low grade of wool—in fact, nothing but the cheapest grade of carpet wool. It is obtained in the remote regions of Mongolia, the province of Kan-Soo, and northern Thibet. It is brought on camels, and no care in sorting or packing is shown, and dirt and sand freely mix with it. The ball wool comes from Chi-li, and is combed with wide combs from the backs of the sheep, and afterwards twisted up into balls. Other wool is made up into coils for convenience of transporting to the seaboard, and is known as rope wool. Under such primitive conditions it is difficult to imagine a successful competition in the world's market, and it is only the comparatively recent demand on the part of the United States that has enabled this trade to exist. It is wool such as no other country would take, and, under the peculiar and artificial conditions of our wool market, it has succeeded in awakening the apprehensions of our political shepherds—those people, I mean, who think the United States exists as an appendage to the wool interests. The exclusion of finer grades of raw wool from our market has acted as a bounty upon this almost wool waste of Eastern countries, China, southern Russia, Turkey in Asia, and the Argentine Republic. As our manufacturer may now select, for the first time, the wools he uses, it is doubtful if these cheap wools will have any hold in our markets. It is possible, however, that some attempt may be made to improve the breed in China. A few years ago a number of merino lambs was sent to Mongolia, and not long afterwards the New York customs officials detected the improvement in the wool, and made inquiries whether merino wool, which is a high grade of wool, was exported from Tientsin, the principal port of shipment. Should this practice be followed, wool in China would stand commercially in nearly the same position as wheat in British India. It would not be consumed locally, but be a product for export, and, if of good quality, would be desirable for the American market.

It is not a little comforting to see how powerless the Chinese are to range with other more civilized countries, or with peoples who are adopting more intelligent methods of production and manufacture. Chinese tea is being superseded by the teas of British India and Ceylon; Chinese silk is being crowded out of the American market by the silks of Japan and Italy. The im-

ports of Chinese rice are decreasing from year to year, and there is every reason to believe that Chinese wool will no longer have any position in our markets. Wherever the American demand for Chinese products has fallen off, it has been made good by the products of other countries which we rank higher in advancement than the Celestial Empire.

In American exports to China, petroleum stands among the first in importance. In 1870 the exports to China, including Hong Kong and Singapore, of refined petroleum, were 470,187 gallons, of a value of $142,399. In 1894 the exports were 40,377,296 gallons, of a value of $2,435,794. As the total exports to China in the latter year were valued at $5,861,828, it will be seen what an important item petroleum represents. Even in this line of exports we encounter competition from the Russian oil-fields. It was in 1889 that the Chinese customs returns first discriminated between American and Russian oil. In that year the imports of American were 15,000,000 gallons, against 5,655,741 gallons of the Russian oil. In 1893 the imports of American oil had risen to 36,720,382 gallons and the Russian to 13,286,198 gallons. The Russian oil has gained a foothold in the market in spite of a marked difference in quality in favor of the American product. The difference in price is a fraction on the side of the Russian oil, but the difference in quality is a factor on the other side. How close the contest is for this market is illustrated by the increased importation in 1893 over that of 1892. This increase was 9,473,000 gallons. The share contributed by the American oil was 4,836,000 gallons, and Russian 4,637,000 gallons. In the near future this competition will be even more intense, as arrangements are nearly completed for transporting Russian oil in bulk by steamer to be stored in tanks in Shanghai and other ports.

There are only two other articles of exports from the United States to China—cotton-cloths and ginseng. In 1870 we exported 1,631,680 yards of colored cotton and 442,482 yards of uncolored, the total value being 314,087. In 1894 the exports of uncolored cotton to China alone were 50,458,349 yards, of a value of $2,772,065. The export of colored cloths was too small for mention. These figures of 1894 are not the highest reached, 1891 being the banner year, showing an export of 80,674,246 yards. Whatever feeling of exultation such figures might excite is dampened when

we turn to the English exports. In 1893, 365,405,900 yards, representing a value of more than $18,000,000; in 1890 the exports were more than 570,000,000 yards, or more than seven times the highest figures attained by the United States. As the chief producers of the raw material, commanding the most highly developed machinery and an almost unlimited supply of skilled labor, enjoying as cheap means of transport as other countries, it is strange that we have not a greater command over the cotton market of China than we now have. British India is a more important factor in the cotton trade of China than the United States; while the possibility of domestic mills introduces a new factor of disturbance. The latest issue of the imperial maritime customs report says:

"Indications are not wanting that the erection of cotton-mills at ports extending from the Gulf of Tonkin to Chunking is contemplated, and there is abundant evidence of great local activity in that direction. A nation whose inexhaustible supply of laborers excites such alarm among western peoples and governments is not likely to prove less formidable when it brings similar forces of cheap silver-paid skilled operatives into competition with the textile industries of the gold-wage-earning classes of Europe and America, and the effect will be felt more acutely and cause greater consternation than the presence of Chinese labor abroad whenever it comes into rivalry with the handicrafts of occidental races."

Such a possibility is favored by the domestic product of cotton, as gauged by the exports. In 1876 China exported 5,730,000 pounds; in 1893, 76,820,000 pounds.

These two products, petroleum and cotton, account for $5,207,000 out of a total export to China of $5,800,000. The balance is made up of a number of articles, no one of which rises to an importance sufficient to require careful study. Indirectly we send to China an article which no other country takes, ginseng, which goes to Hongkong. The exports in 1893 were $792,928, representing 251,205 pounds. The exports in 1894 were somewhat less, 194,000 pounds, representing a value of $610,000. It is the scarcity of the native product which has given an opening to this export, and, should the cultivation be taken up systematically in the East, the demand for our root would cease. Such is our export trade to China. In the two leading articles, cottons and petroleum, the opportunities for growth and extension would seem to be almost unlimited. Petroleum is superseding the native seed oils, and unless some political agitation arises this increasing demand will be divided between the American and

Russian oil interests. I say political, as on more than one occasion the Chinese authorities have threatened to prohibit the import of American oil as a return courtesy for our treatment of Chinese subjects. Though a profitable trade in these days laughs at prohibition, undoubtedly a serious blow could be given to this export, and any such blow would redound to the advantage of our Russian competitor. In the long run it pays to assume an attitude approaching a Christian one towards these eastern nations.

One circumstance must be borne in mind, that China would be willing, nay, glad to have her trade with foreign countries shut off, if not wholly, at least in part. In any commercial contest, therefore, she holds a position of vantage, for far greater injury would be inflicted upon the commerce of Great Britain and America by the cessation of trade than could be experienced by China. In the complex organization of modern commerce, and especially where the trade consists in large exchanges of a few articles, the interests involved are highly sensitive and feel a restriction more keenly and destructively. Our trade with China is of this description. A prohibition on the part of China, or an interruption by war of the exports of tea and silk, would produce a marked temporary derangement in the import of these articles into the United States. The prohibition by China, if we can conceive such a prohibition effective, of imports of petroleum from the United States, would be reflected in the petroleum interest directly, and all allied industries by indirection. No system of differential or discriminating duties, intended to retaliate upon China and Chinese products, or break the force of her prohibition, could be framed. Prohibition on the part of the United States of Chinese products would be mere foolishness. For as it is, a great trade is carried by way of other countries in which the goods often lose their identity as to place of origin.

The conditions in China are so different from those of other countries that it is difficult to conceive a true competition in production. If we could imagine a country divided into nineteen provinces, each province possessing its own regulations of trade, in which extortion, rather than regulation, was the object; possessing no railways, but a highly developed system of canal communication; a post-office conducted by post carts and runners; and a provincial coinage: add to these disadvantages a

population essentially agricultural, possessing no machinery, nor the knowledge of machinery; having material wants easily satisfied, and living upon as narrow a margin, short of barbarism, as an economic standard will admit; of intense industry, hampered by superstition and a blind adherence to custom and precedent—these are certainly not such conditions as would promise the creation of an industrial and commercial empire at all fitted to compete with our boasted western civilization. Yet it is out of precisely such ingredients that the ablest competitors of the producers of the United States have been developed. Doubtless a great deal of what we call foreign competition is due to our timidity and the belief, generally prevalent among us, that trade must be fostered and protected by the direct intervention of the state. The rise of a foreign commercial or industrial interest of a similar character with any American interest constitutes an excuse for legislative activity in restricting the import of the foreign product. Name over the "scares" experienced in recent years in these lines, and it will be found that they have applied to the product of peoples by no means our equals in civilization, or in capacity for contending with or utilizing natural forces and agents, and of communities essentially agricultural. The wheat of British India and southern Russia, the cotton of Egypt and British India, the wool of China, Australasia, and South America, the petroleum of the Caspian region, the silver of Mexico, and the labor of China, each of these has had its day, and exercised a potent influence in public discussions and in tariff agitation.

It has yet to be determined that any of these products has exerted a permanent influence to the disadvantage of the American interest. It has yet to be proved that American producers, having machinery to back them, have any cause to fear, at present, the destruction of any essential part of their capacity to produce and to market their product. Wool raising stands by itself, as it is naturally more favored in a country where land is yet so cheap that it can be given away, and so sparsely settled as to supply almost unlimited sheep ranges with little cost for maintenance. I say, at present, there is no fear. There are certainly possibilities of the future. At first blush no contest could be more unequal than one between China and Japan. The mere cheapness of life in China would enable their enormous and crushing force of numbers to be thrown upon the weaker power. Yet the smaller

body, assisted by the appliances of civilization, controlled by intelligence, has given a result which may profoundly affect the conditions of our western powers.

There is always room for speculation as to what might happen, given an entirely new condition of things. China and Chinese interests have proved a fruitful ground for conjecture, but these conjectures assume a revolution in habits, methods, and beliefs which is almost incredible. We have become so accustomed to gradual change, generally through the slow processes of legislation, with their slower results, as to be beyond the fear of great and sudden alterations for ourselves. Yet we seem to take it for granted that in the East changes greater than have happened within civilized times are liable to occur. A wave of Mongolian invasion forms one of the stock cards of European alarmists, and they picture an overthrow which would recall the conquests and horrors of primitive times, when the brute dominated the nature of man. I set aside any question of an actual transference on a large scale of Eastern populations outside of their proper boundaries, and it is only the probability of a rise of such industrial or even agricultural potency in China as will enable it to compete with us or the countries of Europe that need be considered. The Chinese love labor, and in a measure they recognize the dignity of labor, although it is a dignity with them largely based upon necessity. They have, therefore, one great element needed to produce large economic interests. But they despise commerce, and hate the foreigner in person and in influence; and they have invited war upon war rather than be obliged to come into personal contact with the "foreign devils." The country is rich in natural resources, and it possesses the coal-fields of the world. It is wanting in rapid and cheap means of internal transportation, and one province may starve while a neighboring province overflows with abundance, merely for the want of carriage. In such cases great bodies of the population move from one province to another,—the most primitive form of meeting a natural disaster depriving the people of their supply of food. Ingenious as the people are in many lines, they show a peculiar dislike to machinery and labor-saving implements, and while they form an addition to the productive strength of countries whither they immigrate, as in the Malay peninsula, their social habits keep them distinctly foreign.

We must imagine all this changed. We must picture the introduction of a foreign element, capable of directing the energies of the Chinese into a development of their natural resources, more after the methods and extent of our western civilizations ; we must imagine a network of railroads, and this in itself would be an enormous concession, which may open up the interior of the country where the coal deposits are found, and where the productive agents are weightiest. We must imagine the growth of a commercial feeling ; and above all, we must assume a government which protects life and property, which does not depend upon extortion for its revenues, and which has a reasonably honest fiscal system. Given such new conditions, and the Chinese would be no longer Chinese. All this is possible. We need only to look to British India, where a race fully as low in the economic scale as the Chinese has become an aggressive factor in the world's markets, under the direction of an energetic commercial and industrial influence. More telling yet we may point to Japan, at one time quite as inefficient economically as the Chinese, to prove the adaptability of the Eastern people under favorable conditions. But all this is improbable, and even if begun within a reasonable time would require years to make its influence felt. It has been shown that, under Chinese methods, Chinese foreign commercial influence is declining. Experience in the past proves it is only at the cannon's mouth that we can obtain concessions enabling us to come within arm's length of this remarkable nation. But it may be that the sharp and severe lesson which Japan has imposed upon the mightier power will lead it to imitate Japan in embracing western knowledge and western methods. Till this lesson is taught it is useless to talk of the terrors of a Mongolian invasion.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

THE MILITARY SYSTEMS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

BY LIEUT.-COL. WILLIAM LUDLOW, MILITARY ATTACHÉ TO THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES'S.

THE nineteenth century has been one of unprecedented intellectual and material development, and its close marks the highest level thus far attained by mankind in physical and mental domination. Its most striking phase, perhaps, is the remarkable condition of military preparation in which stand the ruling nations of the world. Europe, which represents the epitome of modern civilization, is practically an armed camp, and its several hosts stand silent in readiness for the trumpet-call, with nerve and sinew strained to meet the shock of international conflict.

It would seem an extraordinary fact, inexplicable upon ethical grounds, that the outcome of centuries of increasing enlightenment and cultivation, among peoples whose avowed creed is Christianity, should be an elaborate preparation for mutual attack and overthrow by force of arms—but the national revenues are heavily taxed for the support of great armaments, and each new development of art and science, each fresh acquisition of knowledge, every mechanical means of which in any direction the world becomes possessed, is seized upon and utilized to secure the maximum of destructive effect, and improve the facilities for cutting each other's throats in the most expeditious and scientific manner.

Four nations occupy the heart of Europe, viz.: Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Italy, three of them nearly equal in area and population, while Italy, with half the area, has about three-fourths the average population. The four are compressed into

close contact, each having in effect a common frontier with two others. Eastward of the group looms the Empire of Russia, whose European possessions alone are nearly three times the combined area of the four, with a population about one-third less. To the northwest lie the British Islands, with a population about equal to that of France, and an area a tenth larger than Italy's, but whose power rests mainly in their great accumulated and industrial wealth and the multiplied channels of trade which connect Great Britain with her numerous and widely distributed colonies and with the world at large.

All these European states have been foes, at one time or other, and whatever the alliances, political and commercial, that have been made from time to time, the ancient animosities have never more than slumbered, ready to awaken at a touch under conditions of nervous tension indicating a very unstable equilibrium.

The military history and successes of Germany have easily made her the war school of Europe, and the scientific development of the military art, to which she is indebted for the overthrow of Austria and France in her later wars, has compelled the others to follow her example and imitate her methods even to the particulars of organization and equipment, though unable probably to rival her in systematic thoroughness of preparation and sustained attention to detail.

The system evolved by Germany and now substantially common to all the continental states is as a whole simple enough, and has for its practical object the conversion, so far as may be, of the entire nation into a military body with the largest amount of training that the finances and other public exigencies will permit.

The controlling principles may be summarized as follows:

1. Liability to service universal, and actual service compulsory at the discretion of the state.

2. The thorough training and maintenance under arms in readiness for immediate service of as large a force as practicable.

3. A secure simplicity and perfection of organization and equipment in every particular, large and small.

4. The formation, as rapidly as may be, of a regular reserve, from which the active ranks can be at once expanded from a peace to a war footing with fully trained men.

5. The formation and partial training of a militia, which, in

the absence of the regular troops, is to occupy garrisons and forts, construct defences, maintain order at home, and supply the waste of war by filling vacancies in the field.

6. The enrolment of every citizen into a force that may be levied *en masse* in case of invasion.

7. Careful study and solution, in advance, of every possible military complication, in order that prompt and concerted action shall follow a declaration of war.

By the law of the land every male citizen is liable to service, no substitution is allowed, and each on attaining 21 years of age must present himself for physical examination and enrolment. Not all are taken. The physically and morally unfit are rejected, the best selected in such number as may be required, and the remainder relegated to a reserve, while still subject to partial drill and instruction.

The standing army proper, composed of the flower of the national youth, requires a service of 7 years, of which 2 or 3 are "with the colors" for thorough instruction and practice in the soldier's trade, and the subsequent 4 or 5 with the "Reserve" where the soldier is permitted to engage in other occupations, although required to keep up his instruction by occasional participation with the active force, and at all times to hold himself in readiness to respond to a summons.

From the regular reserve the soldier passes at the age of 27 to a second reserve, termed in Germany the Landwehr, which is divided into two classes, the first of 5 years' service, the second of 7 years more, or until the soldier reaches the age of 39.

The young men not taken into regular service at the outset are assigned to a species of militia, in which they must serve, for 12 years, with periodic drills, or may join the regular forces as volunteers for purpose of instruction. Back of these several organizations is the great body of untrained or partly trained militia termed in Germany the Landsturm, consisting of every able-bodied man between 17 and 45 not enrolled in the army or reserves. The Landsturm is also divided into classes 1 and 2, according to age, and, as a body, is only to be called into active service in case of invasion.

In order to expedite the training of larger numbers for the regular reserve and thus keep pace with an impending increase in the French Army, the German law of 1893 reduced the period of

service "with the colors" for the infantry from three to two years, so that the successive levies might the more rapidly be passed through the military mill, and the annual supply of about 300,000 youth of 21 be as largely as possible converted into soldiers.

The direct command of the army is vested in the Sovereign, who is personally the Commander-in-Chief, and to whom every man takes oath of unconditional fealty and obedience. The Corps Commanders report direct to and receive their orders from him.

The General Staff works assiduously at collecting information, studying war problems, devising improvements, bettering the administration and directing the instruction of the line officers, who themselves are industriously engaged from morning to night in the drilling, training, and physical and mental education of their men. Endeavor is made to insure the efficiency of the army for every military task and its complete readiness to meet or attack an enemy in any quarter. Plans of campaigns in great variety are worked out and scheduled, and the individual commanders confidentially instructed as to what each is to do, and on announcement of war the German Army can be mobilized, *i. e.*, put in active service, within a week fully equipped.

The general organization and sub-divisions of this force, as representing the result of mature experience and keen study, may be briefly described.

The army is divided into twenty-one separate "corps," each combining a due proportion of all arms, and capable of acting as an independent military unit, which in time of peace occupies its own territorial district, and keeps its ranks supplied from the local annual levies.

A corps consists of: (a) 2 "line divisions"; (b) a horse artillery division of 2 batteries of 6 guns each; (c) a field artillery division of 4 batteries; and (d) a sanitary detachment.

A "line division" consists of: (a) 2 brigades of infantry; (b) a field division of artillery of 4 batteries; (c) a regiment of cavalry; (d) 1 or 2 companies of engineers; and (e) a sanitary detachment.

A "brigade of infantry" consists of 2 regiments: a regiment of 3 battalions; a battalion of 4 companies.

The strength of each company is, on a peace footing, 135 men; in war, 250. A battalion, therefore, represents in peace 540 men,

in war, 1,000. A regiment contains 1,260 and 3,000, and a corps about 16,000 and 30,000.

The four divisions of artillery in each corps constitute an "artillery regiment" of the same numerical designation as that of the corps; and it may be noted that the cavalry is at all times maintained on its full war footing in readiness to take the field at once, in advance of the filling up and mobilization of the war ranks.

The relative proportions of the several arms are about as follows: General staff, staff and non-regimental, miscellaneous, 2½ per cent.; engineers, pioneers, bridge, balloon, railway, and telegraph services, 2½ per cent.; artillery, 14 per cent.; cavalry, 13 per cent.; and infantry, 68 per cent. So that the fighting force of an army of 500,000, including, say, 20,000 officers, would be, in round numbers: Staff and miscellaneous, 12,500; engineers, etc., 12,500; artillery, 68,000; cavalry, 67,000; and infantry, 340,000: with, say, 2,700 guns and 100,000 horses.

The following table gives the area, population, and military strength of each of the six leading European states, with the corresponding data for the United States for comparison:

	Area, sq. m.	Population.	Military Strength.	
			Peace.	War.
Germany	208,738	50.000,000	584,518	2,700,000
France	204,092	39,000,000	523,755	2,715,570
Austria-Hungary	261,649	43,500,000	299,150	1,590,820
Italy	110,623	31,500,000	247,228	1,909,000
Russia in Europe	2,095,000	110,000,000	977,500	2,722,400
Great Britain	120,973	40,000,000	*220,509	700,000
U. S. America	3,581,000	65,000,000	25,000 112,000	Regulars Militia

*The British peace strength includes 76,721 in India.

Needless to say this maintenance of a swollen military force, ceaseless vigilance, and untiring energy of preparation must be paid for, and roundly. With the exercise of the most rigid economy, short of weakening her equipment, Germany lays out about $160,000,000 annually for military expenditure on the

army and navy—considerably over one-third her entire revenue. France, a much richer country, but burdened with the hugest load of debt ever known, pays $180,000,000; and Italy, already crushed under the weight of her public obligations, pays $80,000,000; Austria-Hungary about the same. Great Britain, with larger resources than any of the others, and relatively isolated from territorial contact, but whose necessity for maintaining her hold on India and the command of the sea for the protection of her commerce, which is more than half the tonnage of the world, compels her to rival the others in military readiness, expends annually $160,000,000 on her army and navy —about one-third her gross revenue.

It should be noted, however, that Great Britain has not adopted the plan of universal and enforced service, nor, in view of her special requirements, is the organization the same. The English regiments are maintained by voluntary enlistments, and the English Army is practically the training-school and recruiting-depot for the British Army in India, to which annual drafts are sent, and where 77,000 men are maintained in active service, in addition to native contingents numbering 140,000.

To the actual outlay in money by the European states should be added the incidental cost of the withdrawal from profitable occupation and the maintenance in economic idleness of these huge armies of 200,000 to 1,000,000 men at the period of their greatest activity and productive power; and as a man in full vigor of mind and body can hardly be worth less than double the actual cost of supporting him, it will be seen that the annual expenditure may be multiplied by three to reach a total representing the ultimate cost of the military conditions existing in Europe. As a partial offset to this, however, may be set down the influence of this armed strength in the maintenance of internal order and the repression of turbulent elements, which, if permitted to make head, would disturb the peace and might even threaten the stability of the State. It is possible that in some cases at least considerations of this kind, conjoined with the general apprehension of hostile designs on the part of their neighbors, may account for the seeming willingness of the several peoples, through their national legislatures, to endure the continuance of large expenditure for military purposes.

What shall be the history of these armaments remains to be

seen. Whether Europe is to be again convulsed by a combat of giants, which, if it occur, will involve the ruin of some nations and important readjustments affecting all, and creating new and deeper heartburnings,—or whether the armies will eventually be peacefully disbanded in accordance with a developed general conviction that such is the rational and civilized thing to do,—only the future can disclose. The responsible rulers do not hesitate to avow their earnest determination, if possible, to keep the peace, while insisting that the best guarantee of it is complete readiness for war. If the balance can be maintained, and the existing conditions of supersensitiveness do not precipitate a conflict, it seems probable that in time, an enlightened public opinion may control events and solve the problem.

The military strength of the United States as represented by its armed forces is in marked contrast with those of the nations of Europe.

With an area exceeding all of them combined and a civilized population greater than any, contained within its own frontiers; without isolated possessions needing defence, or the policy that would acquire them; creating no enmities, cultivating relations of friendliness with its neighbors on the north and south; with a wealth of resource and military aptitude making it too formidable to be attacked—the situation is one entirely suggestive of peace, and the rapidly increasing population is left free to devote itself to industrial and commercial pursuits, with neither necessity nor justification for the maintenance of an exaggerated armament.

While in no sense quarrelsome or combative, the race has shown itself possessed of a military spirit and capacity which, evoked and dominated by an intelligent and patriotic faith in itself and its future, have always proved equal to the emergency, however grave, and carried its contests to a successful issue.

With the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865 the armies were promptly disbanded and the military establishment put upon that moderate peace footing that appeared at the time to be sufficient.

The main uses for an army then were the occupation of some of the more important points on the seaboard and frontiers, but more particularly of numerous interior points, for the control of the wilder Indian tribes, whose fondness for war, natural fierceness, and reliance upon hunting made them restive under the

gradual enroachments of the white settlers, and caused frequent outbreaks of greater or less seriousness.

By Acts of Congress the enlisted force of the Regular Army is limited to 25,000, and the general organization is substantially as indicated in the following table :

	Officers.	Men.
General officers and General Staff depts	391	...
Corps of engineers	121	500
Ordnance Dept	58	485
10 regts. of cavalry	432	6,050
5 " " artillery	280	3,675
25 " " infantry	877	12,125
Non-com. staff, unattached men, scouts, etc.	...	2,165
Totals	2,159	25,000

In addition are various enlisted men, general service clerks, and messengers, hospital attendants, etc., not included in the 25,000, numbering about 1,400, and bringing the total enlisted to 26,383, and the aggregate of all ranks to 28,542.

The organization of the several arms is as follows :

A regiment of cavalry consists of 12 " troops," each having three officers and 60 men. At present two troops in each regiment are not filled, retaining only a skeleton organization. A regiment, therefore, now contains 44 officers and 605 men.

A regiment of artillery consists of 12 " batteries "—10 foot and 2 mounted ; each foot battery has 4 officers and 60 men and a mounted battery has 5 officers and 65 men. The regiment, therefore, contains 56 officers and 735 men.

A regiment of infantry consists of 10 " companies," each having 3 officers and 60 men. As in the cavalry, 2 companies in each regiment are skeletons, and the regiment, therefore, contains 36 officers and 485 men.

The engineer battalion is divided into four companies, with three officers each. Two companies have 133 men, one has 132, and one has 100. The battalion therefore contains 16 officers and 500 men.

The ordnance detachment of 485 men is generally distributed at the arsenals and employed as guards.

The general officers of the line are nine in number, three major-generals and six brigadiers—and for the purpose of distribution and command of the troops the country is divided into eight territorial departments, each with a general officer in com-

mand, the senior major-general commanding the army with headquarters at Washington. The troops are stationed all over the country at military posts numbering about 100, leaving some 40 posts, mainly on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, unoccupied. As the necessity of guarding a large area from Indian outbreaks has disappeared, the troops are by degrees in process of concentration in the vicinity of critical points, which may in general be considered the leading commercial ports and large interior centres of population—but it is evident that, with an effective force not exceeding 22,500, but few garrisons of even 1,000 men can be maintained.

Were it a serious question of resisting attack or of maintaining internal peace, such a force, required to distribute itself over the entire area of the United States, would be manifestly inadequate.

The staff departments proper are 7 in number, with personnel as follows : Adjutant-generals, 17 ; inspector-generals, 7 ; judge-advocate-generals, 8 ; quartermasters, 59 ; subsistence, 26 ; medical, 193 ; and pay, 31.

The duties of these several departments are in general sufficiently indicated by their designations, with the exception, perhaps, of the quartermasters, who have to do not only with barracks, quarters, and grounds, but with a great variety of other matters, including transportation, fuel, forage, clothing, camp and garrison equipage, purchase of public animals, care of national cemeteries, etc.

Each staff department with headquarters at Washington conducts its business independently of the others, under the immediate supervision of its own chief and the general direction of the Secretary of War. A representative of each department is stationed at the headquarters of the territorial departments, who directs the duties of his subordinates at minor points.

In the case of the quartermasters and subsistence departments, each in addition to its own personnel, usually stationed at the more important points, has a representative at every garrison—usually a line officer detailed for both duties.

In all the departments endeavor is made so to regulate and systematize the methods of administration, including reports, returns, and money and property accounting, as to make them effective and easy of comprehension, in order that, should the

employment of a large force become necessary, the organization might be almost indefinitely expanded, without confusion or failure.

The American private soldier enlists for three years, and may re-enlist for corresponding periods while acceptable for service. He receives from $13 to $18 per month in addition to his rations, clothing, bedding, housing, and medical attendance; his compensation aggregating considerably more than double that given in the British service.

The total annual cost of the military establishment is about $37,000,000.

In addition to the Regular Army the United States laws make provision for the organization of a militia, which, generally designated as a National Guard, is the creation of each State, and under the control and regulation of the State authorities, with the governor as its administrative chief, but is subject to be called into the service of the United States at the summons of the President when, in his judgment, such action is necessary.

Each State is supposed to enroll its able-bodied males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, and according to the Census of 1890 the total of these was some 13,000,000, which, allowing for necessary and proper exemptions, would furnish about 9,000,000 or 10,000,000 as liable to military duty. Of these the actually organized force numbers about 112,000, only a little over one per cent., and not only does the militia of the several States vary in numbers according to population and other considerations, but in still greater degree in the training and efficiency of its individual organizations, from a standard of discipline and drill that approximates to that of regular troops to the veriest travesty of an armed force.

Improvement more or less is annually made, according to the spirit of the community to which they pertain, the energy and loyalty of the officers and the intelligence and interest of the State authorities, but the showing as a whole is not encouraging.

The policy of the Federal Government has been to aid the development of the militia—both by annual appropriations of $400,000 for the procurement of arms and munitions, and by furthering a greater degree of association between the regular and State forces. For this purpose the two are sometimes conjoined in camps of instruction, regular officers are detailed on the staff

of the governors, and others assigned to inspect and report upon State organizations.

A further service, possibly even more useful, is the detailing of regular officers as military instructors at colleges where the students can be organized as a battalion for drill and instruction and attend lectures on military and cognate subjects, in order that at the age when the deepest and most lasting impressions can be made and the character moulded, a knowledge of and liking for military service can be inculcated. Military training, physical and moral, is valuable *per se*, and it would be well if every citizen could be taught to bear arms and use them scientifically.

The physical development—the all-round training of the body, the habit of self-reliance as well as of combined action, the straightforward set of head and eye and the squareness of shoulder, with which are correlated directness of speech, promptness of action, and integrity of character, self-respect and respect for others, self-restraint and the practice of a becoming obedience to law, respectful demeanor to those above and about one, and consideration and kindness to those below,—these are all military attributes with which every citizen may profitably seek to endow himself, but after all is said and done a man cannot be trained to be a soldier save in the school of actual service. No perfection of drill or manual, be they practised as often as every week, and supplemented by regimental drills, street parades, and even a week every year in a camp of instruction, can accomplish this transformation. Time and the unintermitted habit of years are necessary for the man to absorb that single idea of devotion to duty and to duty alone—to the disregard and sacrifice, if need be, of every other consideration—that constitutes the fundamental characteristic of the soldier, and differentiates him from the armed citizen.

Our people learned this lesson in the arduous work of 1860-4, but that was 30 years ago, and the lesson is in danger of being entirely unknown to the coming generation and that now on the stage. While, therefore, it is desirable that every citizen, so far as may be, without undue interference with his pursuits, business or professional, should be taught a soldier's trade, it cannot be expected that he shall follow it to the extent that is necessary if in all circumstances he is to be found equal to every emergency.

That is the affair of the professional soldier—who makes it his

lifework and knows no other—who, with a mind free from other claim or preoccupation, gives all his time and all his energy, physical, moral, and mental, to the training of himself and of the men for whom he is responsible—in the career which he has chosen, and which admits of no divided sovereignty.

The function of a government, aside from the national defence, is to maintain order, enforce obedience to law, and to safeguard the lives, property, and personal liberties of its citizens—and the great achievement that has been wrought in America under our form of government is the assimilation of a horde of immigrants representing peoples of every race and every shade of moral and social proclivities, into a distinctive American nation, which, following its inherited and instinctive Anglo-Saxon love of justice and insistence on personal rights, has pervaded the entire composite mass with its own convictions, and formed it into a homogeneous and consistently law-abiding community. If there be still found elements not fully digested, and if these have been able to impart to certain classes a mistaken impatience of and resentment against the conservative legal restraints needful for the general order, the reasons may be sought, first, in the indiscriminating welcome given to all—even those escaping from the consequences of criminal attempts and purposes in their own countries—and, secondly, in the superfluous measure of toleration with which such sources of irritation have been treated.

To be worthy of respect a government should be able to command it, and, since preservation of order is the object to be attained, there is needed so much of an organized force at the disposal of the government as should be able not only to restore peace, but to forbid its breach ; and a nation that would relegate the maintenance of order to casual and insufficient means puts itself in the attitude of a city that, dispensing with a trained police, should intrust its security to its citizens alone, and presently would find itself at the mercy of the criminal and violent classes.

In a well-ordered community it does not suffice that after an *emeute* lasting for weeks—with direct losses of millions from acts of violence and rapine, and incidental losses of millions more from suspension of wage-earning, interruption of traffic, and interference with commerce, threatening starvation to whole communities and entailing destitution and misery upon thousands—

the national police should finally appear, and, taking stand on the ruins, amid the smoking desolation, command the disappearance of the rioters. It would be better if the ultimate hand of the law were raised at the first open act of defiance, and steadily and silently upheld in the face of impending riot, until the moral effect should have repressed the rising wave of violence, and given time for cooler counsels to prevail.

The United States in less than a century and a half has accomplished marvellous results, and won its way to a leading position among nations, displaying at all times an intelligent adaptation of means to ends that is the outgrowth of the fundamental common-sense of the people.

Nations are but individuals—infancy, manhood, old age, are equally the portion of both. The older nations of Europe are wearing themselves out faster than need be with their hostile and costly armaments, when the wasted revenues might be usefully employed in fostering the national vitality and bettering the condition of the people.

Young America in lusty growth and unexampled development already surpasses them, and has but just begun her race. To her hands is the future empire of the world to be committed. It is not too soon to be learning to handle the reins, and her first essay should be with her own people.

If the law in any of its practical effects shall involve injustice to or unnecessary hardship on any, let it be changed as shall seem best. The one principle that may not be changed is respect for and obedience to law so long as it is law.

This principle is the deepest teaching of the military life, and can best be preserved and expanded by the retention of an adequate military nucleus as a permanent and wisely regulated feature of the national life.

WILLIAM LUDLOW.

SHALL WE HAVE FREE SHIPS?

BY EDWARD KEMBLE, PRESIDENT OF THE BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

THE paper which appeared in the REVIEW for April last, under the title of "Our Navigation Laws," was remarkable for what it said and for what it left unsaid. The author is well known, and his words are entitled to consideration because he is well qualified to discuss the subject; but this should be done without prejudice, for it is a national subject.

The question is, Are the laws referred to, on the whole, advantageous to this country and conducive to its commercial growth at the present time? It can be considered properly, only in the light of experience, and particularly in connection with the present stage of the world's progress in commercial affairs.

The Act of December 31, 1792, forbids American registry to foreign-built ships. The object was undoubtedly to promote shipbuilding and its development in this country. There could have been no other object. This contributor says there was no need of such a law then, and quotes from a paper published in May, 1790, more than two and one-half years before the law was enacted, to sustain his statement. His view, apparently, is that it was enacted, with prophetic vision, for use sixty years later, when it would prevent the English builder from selling the modern steamship to an American buyer.

The art of shipbuilding, so far as can be ascertained, was not firmly established in this country in 1792, and what may be called its development had not yet begun. This law had a purpose then, and it was accomplished and justified by the impetus which the law gave to shipbuilding here, and the great development which followed later. It was soon found that such ships as

the world wanted could be produced here cheaper and better than in any other country. Nothing like the American packet or the American clipper ship could be produced for the same money anywhere else. So this country took a place in the carrying trade of the world. Her ships were able to compete successfully with the ships of other nations, and gained the supremacy and maintained it until about 1850, when, very shortly, there appeared a new competitor—the iron ship of England. We could not compete with that country in this form of building, and have not been able to do it to this day. The iron ship could be produced for less money in England than in the United States or anywhere else, and it was this ship the world wanted. How, then, could we maintain our position, or preserve to ourselves any portion of the carrying trade of the world? Only by doing what other peoples were allowed to do, and did do—by buying the modern ship of England. This the old law of 1792 forbade. The Frenchman could do it, the German could do it, and people of other countries could do it, and they did it; and these countries have now a share of the carrying trade of the world. The American alone was forbidden to do it, and America has to-day no share of that trade.

When it became evident the ships needed could not be built here, it became evident, also, that our builders could not be injured by the buying of them abroad; and agitation began for the amendment of this old law, but to such an extent only as to admit ships *to be used in foreign trade*. This proposed modification of that law American builders have successfully opposed for thirty years! During all this period they have not only been unable to build these ships themselves, but they have refused to allow them to be built for their countrymen anywhere else. During this period, consequently, we have not only lost the foreign carrying trade we had previously gained by our superior wooden ships, but the opportunity also to secure for ourselves a share of the vast increase in that trade which has occurred during this time. For all these years their policy has been, by continuous appeals to national pride, and the national sentiment for the flag, to force government into the payment of subsidies in order to offset this obstacle of greater cost. So this law, while it secured to us protection and supremacy in the days of wooden ships, and has protected us advantageously in our coastwise trade, has cut

us off from any share in the foreign carrying trade in this day of iron ships.

This contributor says this law has no connection with "the doctrine of protection"; that it was not intended as a protective measure, and that "only superficial students and shallow reasoners" associate it with that system. It has been protection pure and simple—too solid protection in fact—whatever it was intended to be. It is an important protection to-day to our coastwise trade, and should not be changed, so far as this trade is concerned, because we can, of course, control our own ports; and by means of another act, which forbids foreign ships to trade between our ports, we control the traffic between them. Thus is "provided for the development and perpetuity of shipbuilding in the United States," a matter concerning which this contributor is, of course, much interested. Some of the ships in our coastwise trade are fine specimens of naval architecture, and we have some eight thousand miles of coast to supply. It matters very little whether the cost of a ship intended for that trade is greater in this country than in any other or not. She is free from the competition of a foreign-built ship, whatever her cost. So with our naval vessels. It matters little if they cost more when built here than they would if built in some other country. They are not going into business competition with any vessels, and we ought to build them in our own country, as we do. But we cannot control foreign ports, nor preserve the traffic between them, or between them and our own, or any portion of it, to ourselves by law. When we go into the foreign carrying trade we go into competition with the ships of all nations, and we can secure a portion of it only by offering the same terms and facilities others offer. In order to do this our ships must not cost more than the ships of other nations cost, nor be inferior to them. If we cannot buy them in this country, we must buy them in some other country, or give up that business.

The facts are that under this law our merchant marine grew and prospered for fifty or sixty years; while under the same law, that portion of it engaged in the foreign carrying trade has, during the past thirty years, disappeared. This contributor says:

"It would require a new school of logic to prove that it has worked both ways."

There is no logic so strong and so conclusive as the logic of

fact. Are there no instances of laws, once beneficial, which have become, in the course of time, obstructive or injurious? We might prosper to-day under a law prohibiting the importation of corn; and starve under it to-morrow. Besides, it is pertinent to inquire not so much whether this law caused the prosperity of former years, as whether it has caused the ruin of late years.

We are informed that "as soon as the English found that they could build iron ships cheaper than we could, . . . they at once began to clamor for the repeal of our navigation laws"; . . . and that "then began a series of assaults on our navigation laws, always prompted from English sources."

General Grant, while President, in a special message to Congress, advocated a change in these laws and the admission of foreign built ships to American registry. Is it to be understood that this act of General Grant was one of the "assaults" referred to, and that it was prompted from "English sources"? The truth is, this talk of "English assaults" upon our navigation laws is not worthy of much consideration. The English had all the markets of the world open to them, save one. The carrying trade of the world demanded iron ships, and only English builders could furnish them. Pray what mattered it to them whether Americans could buy their ships or not? That was our lookout. The world's carrying trade was to be done by iron ships, and these ships would be bought to do it; if not by Americans, then by their own or other people. The English builders were sure to sell their ships; indeed they sold them faster than they could build them; and those who bought them were sure to get the carrying business; while those who did not buy them would have no share in it, as has been the case with Americans for thirty years. Furthermore, why should England desire to give the world's carrying trade into the hands of Americans, or any other people, merely for the sake of selling ships? Was it not for her interest to keep it in her own hands as much as possible? The carrying trade of the Atlantic Ocean alone amounts to one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, and more, per annum. Was it not for her good to own the ships which her builders alone could produce, and do this business? Certainly, and she owns most of the ships and does most of the business to-day.

The proposed modification of our navigation laws would be an injury to England, commercially. The special legislation in

this direction by which the "Paris" and the "New York" have been lately admitted to American registry, was an injury to England's interests, and was so considered abroad. Indeed, when this project was first mooted, discussion arose as to whether England would permit the transfer without objection.

Another curious statement is this: That this "repeal," as it is called, would be a great boon to England, because "in time of war . . . her ocean greyhounds . . . might remain under her flag, while all her slow freighters, tramps and obsolete passenger boats *would be transferred to our flag.*" Why would not the "ocean greyhounds"—if the Government did not take possession of them—be transferred also to our flag? Notwithstanding their speed, would they not be more secure under a neutral flag. Because of their speed would there be no war insurance rate to avoid? And why, pray, would the old tubs be transferred to the American flag only? Why not to other flags?

This contributor further says:

"It is observed that the present English raid on the navigation laws is the most determined yet made. This is because the development of shipbuilding capacity in Great Britain during the last decade has outstripped the demand for ships, and there is desperate need of a new market. France, Germany, Holland, Spain, Russia, and Italy, formerly large customers, . . . have almost entirely withdrawn their patronage from British yards."

These are all "free-ship" countries, and are now building many of their own ships—a happy result of the free-ship principle!

If there is no demand for ships, how will the "repeal" of these laws make a "new market"? Our coastwise trade (which it is not proposed to open to foreign-built ships) "is supplied for the rest of this century at least"—so this writer asserts; and if the foreign carrying trade is also supplied, how can a "new market" be found here? Americans certainly will not buy ships for which there is no use. The truth is, the greatest "raid" upon our navigation laws, and the most successful, up to this time, was the recent special legislation which admitted the ships "Paris" and "New York" to American registry. This writer not only did not object to that, but approved it, as most people did. The wedge has entered! Now let more be admitted, for the purposes of foreign trade; but without any other condition.

Furthermore, this contributor declares:

"I have brought these facts forward for the purpose of emphasizing

my declaration, that the promotive influence behind every movement against our navigation laws is of British origin, and that whenever you put a pin through a free-ship bill you prick an 'Englishman.'"

Pray, who would have been pricked by a pin put through the free-ship bill which admitted the "Paris" and the "New York"? Certainly not an Englishman. There was no Englishman behind that bill; but who was behind it? Then he goes on further to say: "A vote for English free ships means a vote to reduce American wages;" and he declares:

"There is no alternative to reductions of wages except the total closing of American shipyards. This is what men mean when they talk of buying ships where they can buy them cheapest."

He has a great fear of the English ships, while he appreciates, and, according to his own declaration elsewhere, does not hesitate to use, English plans and patterns.

With this cry of "reduced wages" we are somewhat familiar. If we cannot build the ships here, how will the buying them abroad reduce our wages? The truth is, American shipyards, speaking generally, have not built ships for foreign trade for thirty years. These yards have been developed by building ships for our coastwise trade, which is very large, and by building government vessels. From the foreign carrying trade we are completely shut out, as this contributor himself declares. We can participate in it only by buying ships abroad, or by inducing government to pay, in one way or another, the extra cost of building them here; the latter is really what he advocates.

This is the gist of his argument. Although he scarcely mentions the word, it is a strong plea for subsidies. His argument summarized, means this:

1st. The law of 1792 never should be modified.

2d. We cannot build ships in competition with Great Britain.

3d. Therefore our Government should pay subsidies.

There is a serious question as to the wisdom, as well as to the propriety and justice, of attempting to establish a merchant marine, or anything else, by government aid. In this connection the term "postal subsidies," sometimes used, is misleading. It is really a misnomer. Its use came about from the fact that in the few cases where subsidies have been paid it has been usually stipulated that the mails should be carried without additional compensation. But compensation for postal service is really a

matter distinct and different from a subsidy. It is payment for a service rendered. It is payment for value received. This contributor says: "It would appear that compensation for service becomes 'subsidy' only when paid to an American shipowner." "Compensation" becomes subsidy only when it is paid for no return, or no value received, or when it exceeds in amount the market or proper value of the service rendered; whether it is paid for carrying the mails or anything else; or to shipowners or shipbuilders, or to railroads or to any one else.

The word "subsidy" means "aid in money;" "to hold up by means of money," and has very much the same signification as the word "bounty," which means "a premium;" "money given to promote any object." It was used in this sense in Great Britain in connection with government aid to two or three steamship lines many years ago. Of course postal service should be paid for like any other service, and there is no reason why money so paid should be called a "subsidy"; and it is not so called. There is no difference of opinion as to the propriety of paying a proper compensation for postal service, or for the right to take ships in time of war, or for any other service or privilege. A difference of opinion exists as to the payment of money in aid of shipping; the payment of a gratuity—a benefaction. Such a thing can be justified only by the gravest reasons, and when it is clearly for the benefit of the whole people. When the British Government found it necessary to do this years ago, it was to establish and maintain regular communication with its outlying provinces. This could then be secured in no other way. Does any one really suppose England would pay a subsidy for sentiment,—in order to see her flag waving in foreign seas,—or even to establish commercial business,—or for the encouragement of navagation? Not at all! Her provinces had an undoubted right to demand reliable communication with the home-country. Commercial business was not then sufficient to sustain it, and it could be furnished only by the aid of government. This aid was called a subsidy. It had nothing whatever to do with the cost of ships, or the expense of sailing them. It was paid only in rare cases, and always withdrawn as soon as the necessary communication could be maintained without it. The truth is that only in exceptional cases have subsidies ever been paid. Some of the best lines of ships never received a dollar of subsidy. The finest

lines of steamships, and probably the most prosperous, ply between the United States and Europe. There are some twenty-five or thirty of these lines, most of them under the English flag, and, with one exception, they receive no subsidy from any government, and only two of them ever did receive such aid.

Who has heard in years of the British Government subsidizing a line of ships? It is not only a grossly unjust, but whenever resorted to it has been found an unsatisfactory, system. This country has tried it, years ago, and notwithstanding the unpleasant experience then acquired it has recently embarked again in the experiment. The scandal attending the subsidy paid to the Collins line of American steamships is a matter of history; and that caused by the subsidy which was paid to the Pacific Mail Company cannot have passed entirely from memory. The amount paid the latter company was found upon investigation by Congress to have been nearly all expended in efforts to secure a greater one, and the government rightly withdrew the benefaction. The payment of subsidies will not accomplish what all desire so much to see, simply because such a system is artificial; and nothing artificial can contend with the real and succeed. It is quite apparent that the commercial conditions and requirements which surround the United States, in connection with this question, are very different from those of Great Britain; so utterly dissimilar that even if that country paid subsidies, it could not be argued with any force that the United States should pay them for the same reasons. But notwithstanding statements to the contrary—and gross misstatements have been made—Great Britain has never paid subsidies in any general way. She owns to-day $\frac{7}{12}$ths of the world's shipping, and more than 70 per cent. of the steam tonnage; and only about 2½ per cent. of it receives anything from the government, or ever did receive anything, either for carrying the mails or in any other way!

In this connection there is to be found an important item of evidence that the payment of subsidies will not necessarily establish foreign trade. The English government once paid the Cunard Company a subsidy of £180,000 per annum. This was done to secure regular sailings between Liverpool and Halifax, which were maintained for some years. If trade can be built up in this way why are not Cunard steamers running between these two ports to-day? As soon as the Cunard Company was released

from its obligation to sail to Halifax, and was free, it began to make its sailings to Boston and to New York. This line has received no subsidy for many years. It makes bids in competition with other lines for carrying the mails, and secures its mail contracts with the home government in this way.

Neither will the payment of subsidies necessarily increase or establish a merchant marine; indeed such payments are likely to operate adversely. Certainly this will be so unless every ship and every line is subsidized, for an unsubsidized line cannot, it is manifest, compete with a subsidized line; and if every line which may be formed is alike subsidized, and all are running at government expense, where is the incentive to establish a self-sustaining business? History shows the subsidy system to have been a failure. The French Government continued it for a long period, and it was found that, instead of building up a self-sustaining carrying trade in French vessels, the French tonnage actually decreased, and a demand was made for the adoption of the German policy of free ships and free materials. Italy, it is said, under the subsidy system lost much of her shipping. It is a notable fact that the merchant marine of commercial countries whose citizens are permitted to buy ships where they may choose to do so has generally increased rapidly without any subsidy system.

The argument in favor of subsidies in this country is full of misrepresentation. It has been put before the country in a very misleading way, to say the least. A United States Senator, not so very long ago, when a bill was before Congress providing for the payment, not only of subsidies to steam vessels but for bounties to sailing vessels, said, in a speech:

> **"One branch of commerce, indeed, the foreign carrying trade, languishes for want of the encouragement to our shipping which every other commercial nation gives to its own."**

If by "encouragement" were meant a complete change in our navigation laws, the statement might have been true. But he was arguing in favor of the bill above referred to,—not for free ships,—and afterwards voted for it. He conveyed by this language the idea that subidies and bounties were the "encouragement which every other commercial nation" gave to its foreign carrying trade—an erronous idea, and many, no doubt, have been misled by the statement.

The truth is that of some twenty or twenty-five successful steam lines now plying between the United States and Europe, and some twenty-five more plying between the United States and foreign ports outside of Europe, only one receives a subsidy, and only two, or at most three, of them ever did receive such aid!

It appears, therefore, that the carrying trade of the world has not been built up by subsidies. Least of all has the carrying trade of England been established in that way. England abolished her navigation laws in 1840, when it was cheaper for her to buy than to build ships, and prosperity upon the sea has attended her ever since that day. So with other nations. Free ships, and free materials for ships, have brought to them a share of the world's carrying trade. If the United States is to secure a share, it would seem to be necessary to place her merchants on an equality with foreign merchants, and American enterprise will do the rest. Make our navigation laws—so far as they relate to foreign trade only—like the navigation laws of other nations. Give the American the same opportunity the foreigner has. Let him buy his ships wherever he may choose to buy them. This is the key to the whole matter. This Government has acknowledged it by admitting the "Paris" and the "New York" to registry.

We hear a good deal about the ardent desire some men have to see the American flag waving over foreign seas. If these men are honest, why do they oppose that change in our laws which will permit it? American capital already owns some foreign built ships; but even though they be sailing out of our own ports they may not carry the flag—the "Paris" and the "New York" alone excepted.

The reasons for the proposed modification in our navigation laws may be summed up as follows: 1st. It would permit the American flag to secure a portion of the carrying trade of the world. 2d. It would afford the opportunity, long looked for, to re-establish the American merchant marine. 3d. It would contribute to the commercial prosperity and power of the United States, and afford increased employment for her people.

These are all American reasons. There are no English reasons.

EDWARD KEMBLE.

THE NEW DEATH DUTIES IN ENGLAND.

BY THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.

THE condition of the landed interest in Great Britain has long been one of grave and increasing anxiety. This is a fact proclaimed by all whose fortunes are embarked in real estate, and not denied even by those who are most eager to add to its burdens and to curtail its few remaining privileges. But the full extent of the agrarian revolution which has taken place in our midst during the last twenty years is in reality little understood. Hence we gladly embrace the opportunity afforded to us by the new death duties, not only to point out the disastrous effect they may be expected to have upon an industry already overburdened with taxation, but to present our readers with an outline of the whole agricultural situation in view of which they were imposed. Indeed it is impossible correctly to estimate the one unless we first succeed in grasping the other.

To Americans at least, the fate of the great historical homes of England can never be a matter of indifference. At a time when Middlesborough could not boast of a single furnace, and the Warwickshire peasant still guided his plough over the scene of the future municipal triumphs of Mr. Chamberlain, our old baronial halls presented much the same appearance that they do to-day, and were wont to send forth the common ancestors of Americans and Englishmen to win, on many a hard-fought field, triumphs which have become the common heritage of the race. When an American pays a visit to the Old Country, it is not to our great centres of trade and population that he turns his steps most naturally. He finds few attractions in cities like Manchester or Birmingham. He has neither part nor lot in their mushroom growth. Wonderful as it is, its record is easily beaten by New York and Chicago. About such places he will be asked little on

his return home, but he will assuredly lose caste if he cannot describe, with the accuracy of an eyewitness, the birthplace of the Bard of Avon and the dungeons of Berkeley, the treasures of Hatfield House, and the view from the terrace at Belvoir.

Land in England may be said to have touched the zenith of its prosperity in 1874. At that time foreign competition, which has since attained to such extraordinary dimensions, was still comparatively in its infancy, and the British farmer still retained his command of the home market. The general trade of the country had increased "by leaps and bounds," and had created for his produce a steady demand which a series of bountiful harvests enabled him to supply. Rents were high, but they were cheerfully and punctually paid, nor were they felt to constitute any excessive burden. Land itself changed hands at enormous prices, and, as it was thought to be the one class of property which "could not run away," it was selected as the safest form of investment, by an infinite variety of persons, from the largest corporations in the realm down to the trustees of the village charity, all eager either to purchase outright or to advance their money to the owner on mortgage. It was no uncommon thing to see clerks pressing the check-books of their respective banks into the hand of a tenant farmer in the open market, with a request that he would allow their firm to open an account for him, and a hint that he might overdraw it by as many hundreds as he chose. Thus the happy possessor of land found himself placed between two competitors for his favor—the willing mortgagee, anxious to advance him whatever he required at four per cent., and his own tenant, equally desirous to pay him five per cent. upon any improvements he might execute on the farm.

Yet to those who could read them aright, signs were not wanting that the tide of prosperity was about to turn. A period of inflation in trade is usually followed by a wave of depression of proportionate depth and duration. The stimulus given to production had resulted in an immense increase of the world's supplies which soon made itself felt in the shape of a fall in prices, hastened and aggravated by the appreciation of gold, which followed the closing of European mints to the free coinage of silver in 1873. The great activity in the shipbuilding trade, which had arisen from the necessity of keeping pace with an ever-expanding commerce, now threw upon the hands of their owners

a number of new vessels for which they were unable to obtain freights, the moment the volume of trade became stationary, and reduced them to the alternative of either paying off their crews or continuing to carry cargoes at almost nominal rates. An immense impetus was thus given to the importation of meat, corn, and every species of foreign produce into Great Britain, at the precise moment when science, by the invention of freezing and other processes designed to counteract the bad effects which a long voyage had hitherto produced, had placed shippers in a position to avail themselves of the access thus afforded them to the greatest free market in the world.

The result to the landed interest in England was immediate and disastrous. The farmer, rudely deposed from his supremacy in the home market, found himself obliged to compete with every country which, by possessing a better climate, a fresher soil, or a cheaper supply of labor than his own, was able to undersell him. A succession of wet seasons and disastrous harvests, amongst which the year 1879 will long be remembered as having attained a bad preëminence, served to complete his misfortunes. Nor was this all. In England alone, amongst civilized countries, so far as we are aware, land and houses, while they pay their full share of imperial charges, are called upon to defray the whole cost of local taxation, including such serious items as the maintenance of roads, the relief of the poor, public elementary education, police, drainage, and water supply, the expenses of which are met by what is termed a "rate," levied on land and house property exclusively, personal property being entirely exempted. On this subject we shall have something further to say when we come to consider the claim put forward on behalf of the new death duties to have established equality between the taxation of land and that of other property. Suffice it to say here, that a burden which, however unjust, had been cheerfully borne so long as the produce of land continued, owing to protective duties or to natural causes, to be remunerative, was felt by the farmer to be an intolerable hardship when the profits of his business began to disappear, the more so because the simultaneous transfer of the power to lay rates from his own class to representative boards elected by persons the majority of whom were often not ratepayers at all, had a constant tendency to increase expenditure at the very moment when his ability to meet it was diminishing.

Meanwhile the difficulties of the landlord became scarcely less acute than those of his tenant. He had probably borrowed largely on the security of his estate, in order to effect the improvements his tenantry desired, improvements on which, as we have seen, they had offered in perfect good faith to pay a fair percentage. The percentage he had now to remit, and with it a large slice of the original rent, varying from 20 to 30, 40, and even 50 per cent., or to farm the land himself. But he could make no similar claim upon his mortgagee. Whether he received his rents or not, the interest must be paid to the day or the property itself be forfeited. The new buildings, it is true, remained on the land, and the new drains still existed beneath it, but they were of little value except as evidence of the good intentions of the owner in constructing them, now that the stock which should have filled the one, and the crops which were to have been improved by the other, had become alike unprofitable. Furthermore, if his predecessor, following a practice all but universal upon English estates, had charged the property with a jointure in favor of his widow (and we know cases in which three or more of such jointures are running at the same time), no matter how much the rents might have been reduced, he would have to pay the charges so created in full. Thus it frequently happened that the rental had to be divided, to the last shilling, between the annuitants and the mortgagee, while the owner was left to bear the whole brunt of the care and management of the estate, himself the only living being upon it who derived no benefit whatever from the income it yielded. On innumerable estates at the present moment the rental does not represent bare interest on the money actually laid out by the landlord upon his property; in other words, the land has returned to its "prairie value," and is yielding no rent at all. Under these circumstances it is little to be wondered at that half the country houses in England have been closed or have passed into other hands, and that, even where the squire and his family retain possession of the old Hall, they have shrunk into a corner of it, so that they can scarcely be said to inhabit so much as to haunt, like the ghosts of their departed selves, the scenes of their former hospitality.

It might well be thought that the innocent victims of a catastrophe which, as we have said, and as our readers must have already perceived, has amounted to nothing less than an agrarian

revolution would command universal sympathy, and would at least receive the tenderest consideration at the hands of the legislature. Indeed, the landed interest as a whole has better and more abiding claims to both than any which can be founded upon its misfortunes alone. Agriculture, whether we consider the capital invested in it or the number of persons to whom it gives employment, is still the most important industry in Great Britain; in Ireland it far outweighs all others combined. It is the rural districts alone which furnish to the army and navy recruits who are able, from their superior health and physique, to withstand the hardships and the ever-varying climatic conditions of an imperial service. It is the combined enterprise of English landlords and their tenants which alone saves the country from being placed wholly at the mercy of foreign, and possibly hostile, nations for its daily supply of food in time of war. The squire himself, while he is no sleeping partner in the business of producing food from the soil, is usually the mainspring of such activity as is to be met with in rural districts, and the pivot on which country life revolves. Not only does he gratuitously render to the state, as a magistrate, services which in other countries are often highly paid, but he is expected to act as a kind of "universal provider,"—the promoter of every local undertaking for the good of his neighbors. Not a cricket club can be started, not a friendly society inaugurated, not a flower show held within a dozen miles of his park without an appeal to the squire's purse, which is sure to be successful. Nay, it is seldom that a laborer's cow or a carrier's horse is suffered to pay the debt of nature without his being invited to put his hand in his pocket to make good in part the loss which has fallen upon his poorer neighbor. Has a laborer been turned off because he is too old to do a full day's work on the neighboring farm? The squire's bailiff will have orders to employ him. Is a village dame in want of fuel? She may gather it under his oaks; and if her daughter is recovering from an illness she will have an order for a daily supply of fresh milk from the dairy and soup from the kitchen, until she is convalescent, with a bottle of port wine into the bargain from the squire's own cellar to bring back the faded roses to her cheeks.

But unfortunately the landed interest, in the hour of its utmost need, found itself the object of a deep and abiding resentment to more than one powerful section of the community, a re-

sentment not the less to be dreaded because the causes which provoked it had long ago ceased to exist. This animosity had, in fact, become almost an article of faith with the extreme section of one of the great political parties, and part of its stock in trade. It is a well-established maxim of English law, interpreted, of course, in a constitutional and not in a literal sense, that the king can do no wrong; but the school of politicians to which we refer had adopted, without any qualification whatever, the maxim that a landlord can do no right. Such belated fanaticism would be incredible were this a solitary instance of it. But the pathway of these well-meaning persons is strewn with the innocent victims of a reforming zeal which usually attains its maximum about thirty years after the abuse which gave rise to it has ceased to exist. They are at this moment engaged in a crusade against the national church, based very largely upon the supposed shortcomings of the clergy. But the last specimen of the port-drinking, fox-hunting parson, who could have provoked, and who, indeed, deserved their anathemas, has long ago eluded their pursuit by dying of old age, or, as he would probably have himself expressed it, by "going to ground," and the blow, if it succeeds, will fall on his successor, usually a courteous Christian gentleman, who, if he has a country rectory, is often the only man of culture and refinement in his parish, or, if his lot is cast in a great city, is striving to cope with the myriad wants of an ever-increasing population with a devotion which has not been exceeded since the apostolic age, and on a pittance which St. Paul himself would have been driven to eke out by tentmaking. As with the church, so with the land. To the politician of the Manchester school, brought up at the feet of Bright and Cobden, the political successor of the men who repealed the Corn Laws, the landowner still appears, not as he is now, but as he was then ; not as the chief partner in an industry which has for its object the growth of food for the people, but as the principal obstacle to the introduction of cheap bread. Accordingly he sets him down once for all as an enemy of the people, turns a deaf ear to his plea for sympathy or at least for bare justice, sees in every suggestion for the relief of British agriculture protection in disguise, rejoices in his approaching downfall, and resolves by every means in his power to accelerate it.

In this amiable intention he would probably have been frustrated had he not received timely assistance at the critical moment

from a new and unexpected quarter. The agricultural laborer, though his condition had much improved, had not been admitted by the farmer to any very generous share of the prosperity which had visited the farm in the period preceding 1874, and he felt, perhaps even more keenly, that with rare exceptions he was still excluded from the counsels of his employer, and treated, not as a partner, but a mere machine in the great business of agriculture. He was now enfranchised, his numbers gave him a preponderating vote in the county constituencies, and his master discovered too late that confidence is a plant of slow and gradual growth, and is not to be conjured into existence on the eve of a contested election. It was in vain he argued with his men that their interests and his own were identical, and pleaded with perfect truth his inability to pay high wages out of decreasing profits; they remembered that the argument had availed them little when times were good and they had asked for increased pay. They desired, not unnaturally, to make use of their new-born powers to improve their own position, and they were shrewd enough to see that this newly awakened zeal for their welfare on the part of their employer was not entirely disinterested. The agitator saw and seized his opportunity. As if by magic he made his appearance in every rural district in England, denounced all employers as tyrants, and all rent as sheer robbery, whispered that the ballot-box revealed no secrets, and promised that every laborer who would pluck up courage enough to vote against his employer's nominee at the polls should find himself the immediate possessor of "three acres and a cow."

In districts where a good feeling prevailed between employers and employed this pernicious nonsense was received with the contempt it deserved, and the author of it was fortunate if he escaped a ducking, but wherever their relations were strained it was completely successful. In a host of counties the squire, who for years perhaps had represented the agricultural interest with credit and even distinction, suddenly found himself defeated at the polls by a stranger who could not tell oats from barley, nay, who gloried in his absolute ignorance of everything which affected the great business by which his constituents earned their living. Even where the old member retained his seat, he was greatly hampered in his efforts to avert the catastrophe he foresaw, by the necessity he was under of tickling the political palate of the

new voters, many of whom, if they disbelieved in their hearts the promises of plunder which had been held out to them by his opponent, were yet not indisposed to leave their employers for a time in the lurch. It is true that at the moment when the budget was introduced a reaction had already set in in the direction of common-sense, and agriculturists were begining to realize the suicidal folly of dividing their forces into hostile camps instead of uniting them for self-defence. The National Agricultural Union had been founded, and its programme accepted by 150 members of the House of Commons, but although the nucleus of a powerful agricultural party in Parliament had thus been formed, the movement was still in its infancy. Thus it came about that British agriculture, at the very crisis of its fate, presented the deplorable spectacle of a house divided against itself, or rather of some beleaguered city whose enemies are combining their forces for a desperate assault, at the very moment when her citizens are deprived by internal dissensions of the power to offer an effective resistance.

We must now turn our attention to the death duties; but our readers will, we hope, pardon a digression which was necessary in order that they should understand what would otherwise be inexplicable—how it happened that when our greatest national industry lay bleeding to death the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who ought surely to have been the first to staunch its wounds, should have brought forward a budget which, if not introduced, was openly supported, on the ground that the duties it imposed would give the *coup-de-grace* to the landed interest.

Sir William Harcourt introduced his proposals in a speech of studied moderation, but it was impossible to disguise the gravity of the changes they involved. It was not that there was anything new in the imposition of death duties, even upon real property. They already existed in the form of probate duty and legacy duty, both chargeable on personal property alone; succession duty, which fell almost exclusively on realty, and estate duty, an additional charge of one per cent. upon all property of both kinds of the value of £10,000 and upwards. We may explain, in passing, that probate duty is paid out of the estate itself before it can be administered, and legacy or succession duty, as the case may be, by each inheritor upon the value of his separate share, the rate of duty varying in both cases according to the relation-

ship of the heir to the predecessor, and, in the case of succession duty, being calculated upon the capitalized value of his life interest, after deducting encumbrances, and payable by eight half-yearly instalments.

The proceeds of the existing duties were stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be :—from realty, £1,150,000 ; from personalty, £8,910,000 ; and he estimated that these figures would be augmented, by the new duties he was about to impose, to £2,500,000 and £11,000,000 respectively. Thus while the duties on personal property were only to be raised 24 per cent., those which fell on realty, or, in other words, on land and houses, were to be increased to the enormous extent of no less than 117 per cent. Nor was this all. The whole basis on which land had hitherto been assessed to the death duties was to be altered, and a new principle introduced. Not only did the new duty for the first time affirm the principle of graduated taxation, (since it ranged in an ascending scale, from one per cent. on property not exceeding £500, up to eight per cent. on £1,000,000 and upwards ;) but henceforward both the new estate duty and the old succession duty, which still remained in force, were to be calculated, not on the life interest of the successor, but on the principal value of the property; and this was defined to be (subject to certain encumbrances) "the price which, in the opinion of the commissioners, such property would fetch if sold in the open market at the time of the death of the deceased." The successor was even deprived of the privilege of time to pay in. He might indeed still elect to pay by instalments, but to each instalment would be added interest upon the whole of the unpaid balance of the duty, a balance which, in the event of his own death taking place before it was paid off, was now for the first time to become a liability upon his heir.

When the Chancellor of the Exchequer sat down, it was felt that the real case for the new death duties rested upon two propositions, both of which were either expressly stated or implied in his speech. These were: (1) That in the matter of taxation realty was unduly favored as compared with personalty under the existing system, and that the new duties would establish an equality between them ; and, (2) that the two kinds of property were not, in their nature, so different as to make it easy for the one to pay the proposed new tax, but difficult, if not impossible,

for the other, without seriously crippling the owner or even forcing him to sell the *corpus* of the estate. This last, it was felt on all hands, was a crucial test of the *bona fides* of the government, since it is evident that when, if ever, public policy requires that great estates in England shall be broken up, good faith will equally demand that the owners shall be expropriated by direct legislation, on fair terms, and not ruined under the pretence of taxation.

We will take these propositions in the order in which we have stated them. If by equality of taxation were meant the payment of equal death duties, we should at once admit that in this respect real property has always been favored by successive chancellors of the Exchequer, partly for reasons which we hope to make clear later on, but chiefly on the very sufficient ground that it pays enormously more than its fair share of taxation in other ways. But in order to establish Sir William Harcourt's case, it must be proved that, taking into account the whole taxation of the country, and not merely one branch of it, real property pays less than personal property in proportion to the income which it yields. Nor is it possible to omit from such a calculation taxation raised for local purposes, a branch of the public revenue quite as indispensable as any other, embracing, as we have have already seen, some of the most important headings of national expenditure, and amounting to close on £30,000,000 a year. We will give our readers the precise figures, and they will then be in a position to judge for themselves. Leaving out of account indirect taxation and income tax, the incidence of which we may admit is fairly enough distributed between real and personal property, the fiscal burdens of the country, and the sums they severally bring in, were, according to the latest available official returns—

1892-3	Death duties	£10,060,000	
	Land tax	1,901,716	
	Inhabited-house duty	1,411,510	
	Local taxation licenses	3,098,769	£45,227,976
	Part of beer and spirit duties devoted to local purposes	927,745	
1890-1	Local rates (England and Wales)	27,828,236	

to which realty and personalty respectively contributed—

Realty	Part of death duties	£1,150,000		
	Land tax (the whole)	1,901,716	£32,291,462	
	Inhabited-house duty (the whole)	1,411,510		
	Local rates (the whole)	27,828,236		£45,227,976
Personalty	Part of death duties	8,910,000		
	Local taxation licenses	3,098,769	£12,936,514	
	Beer and spirit duties	927,745		

Now, it must not be forgotten that of the £1,000,000,000 a year which is estimated to be the income of the country, only about £160,000,000, or less than one-sixth, of the whole, arises from land and houses, the remaining five-sixths, or no less than £840,000,000, being derived from personalty. It is evident, therefore, that in order to establish equality of taxation, the proportion paid by each of the two kinds of property ought to correspond with these figures: realty ought to pay one-sixth and personalty five-sixths of the whole. If we apply this test to the sums actually paid by each, it will become clear that, of the £45,000,000 odd, realty ought to pay about seven and a half millions instead of thirty-two, and personalty thirty-seven and a half millions instead of thirteen; in other words, realty is paying four times as much and personalty three times as little as it ought. Thus the whole edifice which Sir William Harcourt has reared with so much care, crumbles to pieces the moment the test which he has himself invited is applied to it. If he had been really in search of equality he would have found that after transferring the succession duty, the land tax, the inhabited-house duty, and half the local rates from realty to personalty, there still remained a substantial balance to be redressed. The truth is that the present anomaly is so scandalous that we have never heard it defended, except by one argument which was invented by the present Secretary of State for India when he was President of the Local Government Board. Mr. Fowler has discovered that the grievances of land in the matter of taxation have been borne for so many years that they have now become "hereditary" and have lost their claim to be redressed. This astounding theory of heredity, if it were valid at all, would have made every reform to which the Liberal party has set its hand for the last 200 years, including the abolition of slavery, impossible; but the climax of absurdity is reached when we are assured, in the same breath, that the grievances which landowners suffer must be perpetuated because, having become hereditary, they cannot be removed, but that the House in which they legislate must be abolished because, being a hereditary chamber, its continuance cannot be defended.

But it is not until we pass to the second of our two propositions, and inquire into the essential differences between the two kinds of property charged, from the point of view of their ability

to pay the tax, that the full significance of the new duties as they will affect real property can be understood. We will endeavor to make clear what these differences are by means of an illustration. A and B are two clerks in the Foreign Office, each in receipt of a salary of £500 a year. One morning A receives a letter informing him that a perfect stranger whom he once saved from drowning has left him a legacy of a little over £100,000. By the same post B learns that a friend of his father's has left him a landed property in Bedfordshire, the "principal value" of which, he eventually satisfies the commissioners, is of equal amount. In a few weeks' time the executors pay to the inland revenue £6,000, and hand over the balance, £94,000, to A in cash or securities, and it then becomes his own absolutely, subject only to the payment of legacy duty. He is thus put in possession at once of a clear addition to his income of, say, £3,000 a year. His newly acquired wealth creates no fresh claims upon his purse or his time; he may increase his establishment just as much or as little as he pleases; he need not even give up his official income and position. But B's difficulties begin precisely where A's end. The property which has been left to him was worth, in 1874, £400,000, but is now, owing to agricultural depression, valued at about £300,000. The late owner borrowed at different times £200,000 on the security of the estate, on which interest at four per cent. has still to be paid. There is a large house on the property, with stables and gardens to correspond, a great number of old servants and dependants about the place, commended to the special favor of his heir by the late proprietor in his will, and 1,500 acres of poor clay land in hand. During the last few years of his life "master was too old to attend to much business," so the farmhouses, buildings, and cottages all over the estate are very much out of repair—many of the tenants are in arrear with their rents, owing to hard times, and have given notice to leave, but are now holding on for a time in the hope that the new landlord will spend money freely on the estate, and carry out a quantity of draining and other improvements which they forbore to press upon the old squire in his declining years. Being a man of action, B's resolve is soon taken. He sees that such a state of affairs cannot be grappled with except on the spot, much less during the spare hours of an official life in London, and he writes to his chief to give up his berth at the Foreign

Office. As he does so he wonders if he will ever again have a safe £500 a year which he can call his own. Then he sends for the agent and the bailiff, goes carefully into the whole position, finds that an expenditure of £10,000 will put the property into fair order, and returns to London to raise the money, in the only way open to him—on second mortgage. The family lawyer, on whom he calls, admits that this may possibly be done, though investors are naturally shy of second mortgages on land, but "how," he asks, "about the death duties, which will amount," he calculates, "to some £11,000"? How, indeed! Poor B; he looks blank enough; for how is he to raise that sum in addition to the other? If he drops his scheme of estate improvements how is he to keep his tenants? and if they leave, how can he find capital to carry on their farms? "Can he not sell a part of the property?" he asks. "No, there are no detached portions, and to cut up the property would destroy the amenity, and be certain to alarm the existing mortgagees; there is indeed one part of the estate, close to the town of C, which will eventually become building land, and has a prospective value on that account which he fears must be taken into account for death duty, but it has no present value." "Can he let the place?" "Well, hardly; it is far from a station, the neighborhood is a bad one, and a new tenant would scarcely be satisfied with the drains. The old squire was no believer in such things until his only daughter died in the house last year of diphtheria, when Messrs. Sniffem and Tester were called in, but their estimate, some £1,500, was not carried out, owing to the squire's own death." What is to be done? Two alternatives, and only two, present themselves. B may borrow the money for the improvements, return to his desk, discharge every gardener, keeper, stableman, and laborer whose services can possibly be dispensed with, and shut up the place for four years, during which he will have to devote the whole income to paying the duty by instalments, a process which, by the bye, will increase them by some £750; or he may sell the whole estate. Let us suppose that he adopts the latter alternative. The property is put up. There has been another bad harvest, and land is a drug in the market. The mortgagees bid up the value of their mortgage, and at last £215,000 is bid. The property is knocked down. The mortgagees take £200,000; the government claims

£11,000 ; the auctioneer's commission amounts to £2,150 ; while the testator's debts and the small legacies which he had directed to be paid out of his estate, absorb the remainder. B returns to London a ruined man, only to find that his clerkship has been filled up, and that A is still in the enjoyment of his official income and a clear £3,000 a year in addition to it from his legacy. The moral is that land is not money, and that if the Government obliges the owner to convert it into money when it is practically unsalable, there is no limit to the loss which may be inflicted upon him by a forced sale in a falling market.

But we must hasten to a conclusion. If it be objected that B's case is not a typical one, we answer that the exact circumstances under which B inherited may be paralleled on hundreds of estates throughout the country, and that, in common with every family lawyer, we know of cases infinitely more complicated and distressing still. If we are told that the duties can be covered by insurance, we reply that it argues little knowledge of human nature to suppose that many men will mulct themselves of large sums annually in order to relieve their heirs from a legal obligation, and that it must not be forgotten that the new duties are cumulative, so that, in the event of three or four deaths taking place in rapid succession, the last successor will have to pay the combined duties of all his immediate predecessors in addition to his own. That the sequel may occasionally be less disastrous than we have pictured it in B's case we readily admit. We sincerely hope so. It is no part of our business to prove that a catastrophe is in all cases inevitable ; rather is it the duty of the authors of a measure such as this to show that it is not a probable, or even a possible, result of their legislation. They have brought forward their new tax under the pressure of no financial necessity, in the sacred name of equality, and it is proved to aggravate an inequality already sufficiently scandalous ; they have imposed it in such a way as deliberately to ignore essential differences between the two kinds of property which it professes to affect equally, and at a moment when the class of property which it will hit the hardest is passing through a prolonged crisis of unexampled severity. It has been our task to point out these plain facts ; it must be theirs to reconcile them with the hitherto unbroken traditions of British statesmanship.

WINCHILSEA.

HISTORIC POLITICAL UPHEAVALS.

BY EX-SPEAKER REED.

When our forefathers planned the system of government which is contained in the Constitution of the United States they not only had to provide such arrangements as respected the powers and customs which already existed, but they had to reckon also with a deep-seated distrust of the people which had come down from ancient times. Government by the people, pure and simple, for three million human beings was an experiment which might lead to such disorders as would welcome back monarchical forms and the control of the few. Hence almost every one was ready to so shape the action required to bind the States together through concessions to the demands of each that the people should be restrained from immediate control. The result has been that our government, while it was more responsive when constituted to the popular changes, has become less immediately so than the government of Great Britain, which has no written constitution, but which has become by repeated modifications more amenable in some respects to popular wishes because it is a government, in form as well as in substance, of to-day. Whether this very fact that popular will cannot find vent in immediate action does not produce some of the sudden and violent changes which it was intended to guard against may well be a question.

Where no immediate result is to follow, when the election is not to become immediately effective, where it is as it were in the nature of a warning, the pendulum is sometimes swung to a higher point than it will reach on the next return, and shakes up the clock besides.

This generation in which we live has certainly witnessed some remarkably rapid changes from one side to the other which de-

serve careful consideration. In the main, however, they probably represent the same method of motion which the world seems to require for its onward progress towards a higher civilization. If we were under the control of a philosopher, these sudden changes, these frequent swingings from side to side, would seem irrational and wasteful both of onward movement and of prosperity. Undoubtedly we could imagine a world which would proceed upon a continuous up-grade, so many inches to the mile, so many miles to the year, and all without jostle or push, comfortable and serene from dawn to dark. Obviously, however, that is pure imagination—a day-dream of a world which has never existed, of a people which never lived. All history shows that after any great advance the refluent wave has very often obliterated the very signs which marked the starting-point, and yet in the long run the tide has never ceased advancing. Undoubtedly this arises from the very constitution of human nature itself. Life would be very dreary without the element of the unknown, the effects of which we call luck. Men do not want certainties, and are always looking out for the unexpected which they always hope will be better than the known.

History is replete with examples of these strange revulsions, and is a great warning to us not to consider anything as a victory until time has tried it—time which tries all things. When the French Revolution burst through all the safeguards which bound up with church and state the enslavement of the people, a spectator might well have thought that for that nation at least kings and monarchs of all species had passed forever away. So, too, when twenty years afterwards all Europe aroused itself, to put down not the French Republic, for that had already disappeared, but the ideas of the Revolution, its learning and its teachings, and placed over the crushed and exhausted French people the dynasty of other days, every one was sure that the old days had come again in permanence and peace. But history has shown that the old days had passed away, never to return. So when Cromwell was at the zenith of his fame, and England had killed its king and chased his successor out of the kingdom ; when John Milton was foreign secretary, and the name of England was respected all over the world, as it had never been since the days of Elizabeth and the defeat of the Spanish Armada,—he would have been a bold man who had prophesied the reign of Charles

the Second, a king who had every power which had been the subject of battle with his dead father, a monarch whose life illustrated every vice and shame which the Puritan despised, and who was at once the pensioner of France and the betrayer of his country. Yet Charles the Second has his place in English history, and his partisans in their turn thought that the free thoughts and high aspirations of the Puritan leaders were never to be anything else but the jest of soulless courtiers and ladies whom the king delighted to honor.

But the principles of liberty had never died, and after three decades of misrule the Puritan uprising ripened into the practices of the Free England, which followed the revolution of 1688. The Free England, of 1688, however, was not the England of Cromwell, or of the long Parliament, but England such as the whole people made it, after a long education by adversity.

Perhaps it is not worth while to try to account fully for these changes and revulsions, and yet it may not be out of place to mention what are probably some of the causes of them. Ultimately, the people govern. There are ostentatious actors here and there, who stride the stage with panoply or with clanging arms, who seem to do many things, but in the end the popular feeling has its way. William the Norman and his barons could conquer England, and be its conspicuous figures in history. They could also have their influence over its institutions and habits, but in the end the English people absorbed the Normans, and are the English people still. Minorities frequently govern, because a man adds to his power by his zeal. It might be very doubtful whether Cromwell and the people of his way of thinking were in the majority when they were in power; but what they lacked in numbers they made up in courage, zeal, and conduct. One man who knows what he wants to do may be worth a dozen for an event or for a time, but in the final result we count nearer equality than we are willing to say. For the long run it is the intelligence of all which conquers, and not the courage of the few. England, with some of its people vehement for liberty, and the great majority careless, could not become a free people until the leaven had leavened the whole. It took not only the genius of Cromwell, but also the thirty years of Charles the Second, to permeate the people with the desire for liberty.

Good laws and good administration are the achievements of a

good people. A temporary conquest by a minority, even if the laws are abstractly good, is not, and never has been, sufficient. Either the laws will be imperfectly administered, or, if rigidly administered, will be overturned. An ideal law is one which would represent the average sentiment of the people, neither the best nor the worst. Such laws are seldom passed, perhaps, but they ought always to be striven for, and whoever desires to serve his country should seek the happy mean. No one doubts, however, that it is better to aim high than to aim low: for the struggle for something above the public sentiment is an education of the sentiment itself. Still the best foundation for law is the consensus of the largest majority, and the best preparation for good law is universal education of the people. If the educated desire better laws—those more suited to them—there is one sovereign way, and that is to lift the majority to their heights, and then the laws will not only be abstractly right, but practically right.

Our own history has examples of these things more than I can venture to comment upon. To us now it seems as if the Revolution of blessed memory was nearly unanimous, and yet there were Tories, and it has been whispered that they were really in the majority, but the vehement patriots counted for more than they were by reason of stress. But that struggle was terminated by success, and that question settled itself with only the fluctuations of eight years.

This generation has seen not a few of these radical changes, and ought to have a fair judgment on the subject. In our history it has sometimes happened that a great victory was a great defeat. When Mr. Franklin Pierce was chosen President it was by a majority hitherto unknown in our experience. It was then thought that the question of slavery was settled. But it proved that the vehemence of the few had done its work, and that the conscience and intelligence of the many were to have their way, although long years and a frightful war had to intervene.

In 1872 General Grant was chosen President by a vote which surpassed the vote by which Franklin Pierce was triumphant over General Scott and the Whigs of 1852. It seemed to be a victory which placed the Republicans in power with a new lease of life longer than the old one. It was really, however, only a triumph of law and order and the use and wont of this world

over possible anarchy, disorder, and the unknown. Horace Greeley is always to be revered as the great editor whose mistakes were swallowed up in the great daily service he rendered to humanity and freedom, but the combination between him and his lifelong enemies might, people then thought, produce some dread monstrosity which this country could never endure. Perhaps too great a reliance on this victory had as much to do with the election of 1874 as the struggles of the South to secure a white man's government. That the election of 1874, which changed the House of Representatives from ninety-nine Republican majority to forty-five Democratic was not a real victory expressive of the permanent wishes of the people, is proved by the election of Mr. Hayes over Mr. Tilden, who, whether correctly or incorrectly, was deemed to be a much safer man than his party.

This brings us down to the three last victories of 1890, 1892, and the present year of our Lord. What indications do they give of the sentiments of the people ?

The election of the year 1890 was peculiar. It happened under circumstances which have not been well understood, and are perhaps well worth describing. The election in Maine came off in September, and instead of being any indication of the final outcome, as it usually is, it resulted in the re-election of all the Republican members by hitherto unexampled majorities. The tariff act, however, had not been passed, though its nature had been pretty well indicated. That bill, which was passed by the House in May ought to have been enacted, and both Houses ought to have adjourned, by the middle of July. But the bill was delayed in the Senate by the opposition for the better supervision of elections, and did not pass until October, about a month before the election. Of course, there was not the slightest chance to explain its provisions to the people. Truth was absolutely crushed to earth. All the false statements which had been made against the bill had no chance of refutation after its enactment. Before a bill is enacted, especially a tariff bill, it can be attacked, but never defended. Until a tariff goes into actual operation, all the things can be urged against it which the human imagination can conceive; and the human imagination is exceedingly prolific during a heated campaign.

This condition of things was in itself fatal odds, but was the least of our troubles. After the bill passed the House, most of the

mercantile world thought it would be the tariff act, and began to import on that basis. The result was that the importers, jobbers, wholesalers, and retailers were well stocked up; and when the Senate began to amend, every ship beckoned the merchant to make more importations. So it went on up to the time when the bill finally passed. Under ordinary circumstances this would not have made trouble, but, underneath, the whole mercantile situation at that time was a quicksand, which then began to give signs of sinking. The influences which brought down the great house of Barings was then at work, and money became scarce. Men who had imported largely began to find that money—immediate money—was more imperative than distant profits. Hence the commercial travellers were sent forth at once and with urgent orders to sell. Now, if you wish to have a man buy to-day instead of to-morrow, you must tell him why. As the result, every retailer's window was full of inducements to buy, founded on the rise to be caused by the new bill. The rise never came in most cases, but everybody believed it would, and the retailer, once started on the path, put up the future prices of all his goods, even if the McKinley Bill had lowered the "tariff taxes" on them. It followed then, as night follows day, that we found a hundred counters talking against one stump. Every woman who went to a store and tried to buy went home to complain, and a wild unrest filled the public mind. The wonder is that we got any votes at all.

In 1892 we had the remains of our great defeat of 1890 to contend with. We suffered from the most elaborate gerrymanders which ever adorned the history of this country. We had also to meet that unrest which comes slowly with too uniform prosperity, just as it comes quickly with disaster. Discontent will always come to the human race. It often leads to suffering and misery, often leads from wealth to poverty, from prosperity to want; but on the whole it is the mother of progress, and the assurance of a better future. In that conflict the Democratic party had the advantage of its bad character; nobody for a moment believed that it meant its platform, not even to the diminished extent of the late Wilson Bill. It was well understood that Mr. Cleveland favored the rejected plank, which was a near approach to Republican ideas; and as Mr. Cleveland was then the real platform, judicious Republican orators did not venture to predict radical changes. Hence Mr. Cleveland was elected, and with him a Democratic

Senate and a Democratic House. Hardly had Mr. Cleveland taken his oath of office when the people began to have a realizing sense that things which are done are different from things which are proposed. No plans ever quite show what a house will be after it is built. Then came the proceedings of the extra session of Congress, and the people saw what a house they had really built, and that even with Mr. Cleveland as the chief corner-stone it would not do to live in.

I need not rehearse the story of the elections of 1893. In all the States where there are real elections the voice of the people sounded far above all party tocsins and gave what would have been full warning to men of sense and judgment. Unhappily for this country the party in power was under control of those whom elections did not affect, and the work went on regardless of the popular will. In a real republic, where the will of the people is really recorded as expressed, there can be no tyranny. Our forefathers used to say that where annual elections leave off, tyranny begins. Surely even in these degenerate days we may say that where the control of the machinery of government is in the hands of men who are not subject to popular will in free and fair elections, tyranny has already begun. No wonder such men repealed all election laws and sought to sanction their own existence by prolonging the possibilities of their kind. But wrong is never so weak as in its hour of triumph. The very repeal of all the safeguards thrown around the ballot-box will awaken the public attention and stir the public heart. Already the Atlanta *Constitution* is exposing the frauds in its own State of Georgia, one of the most thrifty of the Southern States, where least of all fraudulent elections can be justified by the fear of negro domination. If the partisans in Tennessee should cheat Henry Clay Evans out of his gubernatorial chair so fairly won, that nefarious success will be but the beginning of ruin. No republic can be based on fraud. This is beginning to be seen even in those States where bringing the will of the voter to naught has become a system. At the signs of a change to honest elections all good men rejoice.

The warning which was given by the elections in the East and West, the elections of 1893, though they included all the great States,—those heretofore Democratic as well as those who had voted the Republican ticket in 1892,—was not in the least heeded.

Drunk with the victory of 1892 and out of touch with the real people of the country, the leaders of the party in power went on in the House of Representatives to lay up wrath against the day of wrath. Into details it is not worth while to go. That would be to dig up the buried where it is only needful to point to their last resting-place. The Senate, which had only a small majority under the leadership of the Senators from Maryland, Ohio, and New Jersey, while it did not exhibit too much sense, certainly showed a striking and a valuable contrast to the Executive and the House and probably saved their party from annihilation. This, however, was largely due to the people who made themselves heard there when they had failed in the popular branch.

Then came the elections of last November, so overwhelming and so crushing that they seem to have settled the future of this country for many years.

It would not be wonderful if many men were now asking themselves why it was necessary for this country to undergo so many misfortunes to learn to let well enough alone. The answer is to be found in the nature of the human race as disclosed in the history of the world. Government must express not the opinions of the lowest or of the highest, but the average of all. The vigor of the few may be triumphant for a while, but the ultimate result is the prevalence of the settled opinions of all. To arrive at that we may have to try the bad in order to appreciate the good. When Cromwell and his followers saw the light of liberty, it had not reached the great mass of the people and they had to have Charles the Second to make clear to them that the divine right of all was better than the divine right of any one. So, perhaps, in order to appreciate Republican principles, it was needful to have Hawaii and a "firm foreign policy," Wilson bills and years of disaster. Perhaps, too, the Republican rule of the coming years may improve on the Republican rule of the past as did the England of 1688 upon the England of Cromwell, for we may learn, as did the freemen of that day, something from the conquered enemy.

THOMAS B. REED.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

ARE WE ALL DESCENDANTS OF THE CONQUEROR?

In the December number of the Review Judge Walter Clark offers consolation to all disposed to envy those persons who take a pride in claiming descent from some royal progenitor. Calling arithmetic to his aid, he endeavors to prove that not only these claimants to princely blood, but all of us alike, prince or peasant, archbishop or burglar, are descended from William the Conqueror, Charlemagne, Alfred the Great, or any other monarch of those remote times we choose to fix upon. He shows that if we grant—as of course we must, in order to account for the increase of the earth's population—that each married couple is represented in the next generation by something more than a couple, the number of the descendants of one couple after twenty-six generations may be surprisingly large. It is sufficient to allow a very small ratio of increase in order to prove that William the Conqueror may be the ancestor of the entire English speaking people of the present day. And, conversely, he asserts that every individual in that people, being as he aptly expresses it, the apex of an inverted pyramid, must admit the probability of his descent, not only from the Conqueror, but from every highwayman, cut-throat, and burglar of the eleventh century.

To those who would feel horrified at having this latter ancestry thrust on them, and, on the other hand, to those who would not be at all grateful to Judge Clark for proving their descent from William the Conqueror—who was himself only a sort of master-highwayman or master-cut-throat—I will offer some considerations which may show that there is a weak spot in Judge Clark's argument.

There is one requisite for the acceptance of his argument which Judge Clark either overlooks or unjustifiably takes for granted. For the validity of his theory an intermingling of royal and plebeian blood is necessary. Now this is just the point at which those who lay claim to royal descent believe that their superiority over plebeians lies. The advantage claimed for noble origin depends on the belief that noble families kept themselves throughout their history quite apart from the common folk; that if ever intermarriage occurred it was only at rare intervals, and that the taint thus introduced was in time dissipated over such a wide area that in the course of a few generations the fraction of it transmitted to any one individual was infinitesimal. Now there is nothing irrational in believing that in the same country two classes of the community have during their history kept distinct. Suppose an extreme case, which, after all, is only an exaggeration of what may actually have occurred. Each of William the Conqueror's grand-

children derived a quarter of his inheritable qualities from each of his four grandparents, and, consequently, a quarter of them from the Conqueror. Now let us suppose that these grandchildren had all intermarried with each other, and that their children and descendants had continued to marry exclusively with each other; then every descendant, no matter how remote, would have to refer one-quarter of his inheritable qualities ultimately to the Conqueror. Here there would be no dissipation of the strain, and whatever virtue may be supposed to lie in royal Norman blood might legitimately be claimed by any member of the family.

Claimants to noble or royal descent can argue that a process similar to this, only, of course, not so exclusive, actually did take place. Princes and nobles of the eleventh and succeeding centuries, they might say, did not intermarry with the common people. Their own class was always large enough to supply them with wives. An occasional *mésalliance*, of course, introduced now and then an infusion of plebeian blood, which would be of some consequence to the immediate descendants of such a marriage; but unless such an occurrence were constantly repeated, it would, after a few generations, be quite insignificant. In the same way, when a duke's daughter, for example, married the coachman, and she and her descendants were repudiated by the class from which she had sprung, the microscopic particle of noble blood to be found in one of her remote descendants would be very slight excuse for pretensions to nobility, and here Judge Clark's arguments would have force. But such spurious pretensions as this do not affect the claims of the genuine stock.

Thus we see that there is after all some ground for the belief in the significance of noble birth, if heredity counts for anything. In countries where there has always been a sharp line of demarcation between patricians and plebeians, the claim of any member of either class to his share of the virtues of his class is perfectly legitimate. Those of us who do not pretend to royal origin can at any rate claim one important advantage. Among common folk the ne'er-do-weel and the criminal are likely to find it difficult to marry, so that their breed has not the same chance of being propagated as that of the honest and intelligent. But we have never yet heard that immorality or lack of brains in a prince was found an insuperable obstacle to his marriage.

GEORGE CLARKE.

THE IDEAL FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY BUILDING.

WHEN one intends to build a house in which he and his family expect to live, before even an architect is consulted, many an evening is spent in laying out on paper those features which, by both the man and his wife, are deemed necessary. It is no doubt true that these very essentials, or some of them at least, finally give way before the suggestions of the architect. The fact remains, however, that those most interested in the house have given much thought to the matter, and, when finally seeking expert assistance, are able to give their architect certain features which to them seem to be necessary to their comfort and to the needs of housekeeping. In contrast to this care and thought, one has but to turn to the average public building erected and paid for by the municipality. Such a building, as a rule, bears no evidence that its needs and purposes have received any proper consideration from those having charge of its construction. Indeed,

a very large number of such buildings testify to the undoubted fact that the outside has been the one problem considered, the inside details being left to develop themselves. There are no public buildings of which this criticism is truer than it is of public libraries, whether built by private munificence or at the expense of the municipality. Few public library buildings are to any extent fitted to their purposes or adapted to the best uses of the public. There is no intention here of suggesting that architectural effect should be lost sight of. On the contrary, the writer is an earnest enthusiast for the much needed reform in the architecture of public buildings. He does, however, wish to be understood as insisting that the uses to which any building is to be put, not alone for the present, but for the future as well, should be well thought out, and its interior carefully planned and determined on, before the problem of erecting its shell, or outside covering, is even considered.

In many libraries the public, their owners, are shut out from the use of a large part of the building by reason of the needlessly large space given over to the mere storing of the books. In a library with which the writer is somewhat familiar, seven-eighths of the floor area was, until recently, taken up by the book shelves and administration, only one-eighth being devoted to the uses of the reading public. One fundamental rule of library construction on which the writer of these lines would insist, is that as small a space as possible should be set aside for the housing of the books and for the purpose of administration, due regard, of course, being given to the natural increase, not only in the number of books, but in their users as well. As, however, the arrangement of the book-room and the question of administration cannot well be discussed without becoming technical, and, as the purpose of this article is to consider the library from the standpoint of the public, rather than from that of the librarian, it may be as well to proceed at once to those points in which the reading public will take the greater interest.

There are not a few public libraries in the country in which the museum idea has been engrafted on that of the library. This is a distinct error, unless, as happens in a few libraries, the room set apart for a museum, or art gallery, is separated from the library proper. It may be seen at a glance that having one room serve the double purpose of reading room and museum must prove to be a fatal mistake; for the reader should not have his quiet intruded upon by the museum visitor, who, if he be not alone, will wish, and rightfully too, to talk with his companion as to the articles of interest which he has been invited to examine. These two uses are as incompatible as would be a room used jointly for study and for music. As a rule of construction, it may be said that any town or city which supports a free public library should provide these three essentials: First, a room where those who are simply waiting for books may talk freely but quietly. This should be so located that the coming and going of the book-borrowers should not interfere with the book readers in other parts of the building. Second, a reading-room, well lighted, and both airy and cheerful, within which the reader should find newspapers, magazines, and periodicals ready at hand. In large libraries a separate room might well be set aside for newspapers alone. Third, a room for the student, where should be found such reference books as the library contains, to which books the reader should have unhindered access. This room should serve as the public's study; the quietness of which should never be disturbed. These three features are essential in every library. Added to them, the ideal

public library building, the consideration of which these lines have in mind, should contain another room devoted to the use of children, in which—if the trustees have been fortunate in securing the right woman as an attendant—work may be done which, in its far-reaching and beneficial effects, will be second to none accomplished in any part of the library. In this room will be formed an early taste for reading, and, if tact, patience, and kindly nature have been used, the child will, when graduating therefrom, carry with him to the main library that sense of the proper use of books as to make that use, not only of greater benefit to himself, but to all others with whom he comes in contact. This thought is by no means visionary or Utopian. Those familiar with what is being done by librarians can easily name a number of libraries in which such work is being most successfully carried on. This room may well serve a twofold purpose. Being used by the children during certain hours of the day, it might be devoted at certain other hours to such work as may be suggested through a close and hearty co-operation between the librarian and the superintendent of the town's schools. To this room a teacher in the high-school might very properly be permitted to take his class, that its members should together have the privilege of studying such books of reference as relate to some given subject.

Still another room may well be provided, the necessity for which is perhaps rarely considered, but which is called for by an existing condition too often ignored. The poorer element of a community, as if by instinct, shrinks from availing itself of privileges, if doing so necessitates the use of rooms designed and furnished in a way to which its members are not accustomed. This condition applies forcibly to the man who, never having used the library, or given any thought to the question of reading, is approached by the librarian with the view of making him a user of the books under his charge. This man will be sure to feel that the very atmosphere of the library, its reading-room and its alcoves for study, are unfitted to him, and he will not be willing to make the effort to adjust himself to such conditions.

For this class of the community—which, of course, does not include those of its members who have already acquired the taste for reading—a room may well be reserved, to supply the place of the village reading-room, which has been, in so very many towns, successfully introduced. It would not be long before many of its users would wish to graduate thence to the rooms above, where they might find the books better fitted to their changed conditions. The ideal library—if, indeed, it is to justify its name of free public library—should include all of these means of usefulness. It should avoid everything spectacular. Its every foot of space should be made use of to inculcate a love of reading and to provide pleasant, cheerful rooms adapted to the uses of its many frequenters. Its construction should receive the careful and earnest thought of those to whom the citizens have intrusted it. Such a building will surely prove to be, in the hands of progressive trustees and an earnest librarian, a power in the community for doing good, the extent of which can not be measured.

E. C. HOVEY.

WORKING-CLASS TENEMENTS IN LONDON.

LONDON, it may now be fairly claimed, is in a position to give other large cities a few points concerning the tenement problem. It would be remarkable if it were not so; for in one way or another the problem of adequately and decently housing the industrial classes in the English

metropolis has been grappled with since 1840. During the fifty years which have intervened since the first movement was made, the question has engaged the serious and constant attention of a number of eminently practical social reformers, men and women; and on several occasions, in more recent years, Parliament has taken it in hand, and, by means of legislation conferring new and large powers on the municipal authorities, has contributed its share to the solution of the problem.

Much had been accomplished by associated effort before Parliament took any action. Associated effort, working on social and philanthropic, as distinct from charitable lines, had accomplished the pioneer work and shown what could be done, long before the movement received any help from the legislature. It was, in fact, not until 1875 that this help came. By that time three great organizations, adequately backed with capital, were engaged in providing accommodation for the working classes, and numerous monuments to the success and usefulness of these organizations, in the shape of great blocks of dwellings, were then in existence, especially in central London, where the problem of housing artisans and laborers in good and cheap homes, convenient to their work, was and always had been most pressing. The pioneer organization had at this time been in existence over thirty years. The other two, although working on a larger scale, were much newer to the work; but even these organizations had had twelve or thirteen years' experience of the work before their operations were facilitated and immensely extended by the measures adopted by Parliament in the seventies, with a view to preventing the industrial classes from being crowded out of central London, and compelled to make their homes in the suburbs.

The organizations then at work were the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, the Improved Dwellings Company, now known to Londoners as the Waterlow Company, and the Peabody Trustees. The Metropolitan Association was the pioneer in the work. It was organized in 1844, and was the outcome of a movement started by a late Rector of the East End parish of Spitalfields. Its first venture was a five-story block near St. Pancras station, built in 1846, and affording accommodation for 110 families. This was the first building of its kind in London. The Improved Dwellings Company was organized in 1863. Sir Sidney Waterlow was the pioneer of this concern, and is its president at the present time. He organized the company after achieving success with two or three blocks of dwellings built in Finsbury as a private speculation. The Peabody Trust, charged with the administration of the Peabody fund, came into existence about the same time; and these two organizations have now between them provided dwelling accommodation for more than 50,000 people, involving an aggregate expenditure of two and a quarter millions sterling. By the end of 1893, the pioneer company had provided dwelling accommodation for 6,500 people; the Peabody Trustees had provided 5,070 separate dwellings, accommodating nearly 20,000 people; while the Waterlow Company, in its own buildings and in buildings under its management, had provided 6,120 dwellings, with accommodation for 31,000 people.

Until about 1877 each of these three corporations worked on its own lines without any recognition or help from the municipal authorities, or from Parliament. The Metropolitan Association and the Waterlow Company were dividend earning concerns, differing from other commercial

undertakings only in that their charters limited their dividends to five per cent. Both companies had always disclaimed any charitable intentions. Their promoters and their original shareholders were mostly people interested in social reforms, and also in philanthropic work; but not in any schemes for providing working people with house accommodation at less than cost. The originators of both companies believed that working class Londoners paid too high rents for the poor accommodation which was available for them; that it was possible to provide them with better and more convenient dwellings; and, at the same time, secure from the improved dwellings in rent adequate compensation for the capitalist. It was, from the first, the aim of the directors to earn five per cent. for distribution among the shareholders, and in most years this result has been achieved. The Peabody Trustees, on the other hand, when they commenced their work, were in possession of the late Mr. Peabody's magnificent gifts, and in accordance with the term. of the gifts were limited to making three per cent. on the outlays on buildings, and were pledged to use the returns so made in the extension of their work.

All three organizations adopted much the same general plan. The earlier buildings of the Peabody Trustees are remarkable for their fort-like solidity, which gives almost an appearance of grimness. There is little outwardly to distinguish the more recent buildings of the three associations. They are mostly blocks of five and six floors, divided off into self-contained dwellings of two, three, four, and five rooms. In the Peabody Buildings, however, there are some 800 one-roomed dwellings. The Metropolitan Association and the Waterlow Company, after some experience of these one-roomed dwellings, eliminated them from their plan of work. Internally the differences in the dwelling blocks are not very material, The Peabody Trustees provide laundries and drying rooms, and in some buildings baths and reading-rooms, for the tenants in common; while the passages, stairways, and courtyards are the only parts common to the tenants of the two dividend earning companies. The policy of the directors of these companies is to make each dwelling as nearly self-contained as possible. This is especially so with the Waterlow Company, whose experience is that London workpeople will willingly pay a higher rent for privacy, and for rooms and domestic offices of which they have the exclusive possession and use.

Nor is there much difference in the class of tenants. The two dividend earning companies draw theirs from the ranks of artisans and clerks. The Peabody buildings are largely occupied by the same classes, with, however, an admixture of day laborers. Rents, taken room by room, are but fractionally lower in the Peabody than in the dwellings of the other companies. In the Waterlow buildings the average rent per room is two shillings and twopence. In the Peabody buildings it is two shillings and a penny three farthings, and the average rent per family is four shillings and ninepence farthing. The Peabody Trustees, however, make it a rule to give preference to men who are earning not more than thirty shillings a week. The other companies do not question prospective tenants as to their weekly earnings. All that they are careful about is that a tenant's family is not too large for the tenement he desires to occupy, that he is in regular employment, and can produce a certificate as to character from his employer, and finally that he is a man who will pay his rent. A certificate to this effect must be produced from his last landlord. In Central London there is always a great demand for the tenements, and artisans and laboring men to whom near-

ness to work is of first importance will readily comply with these and the other conditions imposed. None of the corporations permit any arrears of rent. They have always held that it is no charity to allow a man to get into arrears. Prompt payment, a week in advance, is insisted upon, and if a tenant cannot comply with this condition, he must make room for one who will.

The legislation under which the work of the improved dwellings associations has been so greatly facilitated and extended, dates from the Artizans and Workmen's Dwellings Act of 1875, and from another Act passed in 1877 which, in the matter of London public improvements, gave great power to the Metropolitan Board of Works, the predecssor of the London County Council, and brought the municipal authorities of London into contact with the dwellings associations. Up to this time the associations had bought their sites in the open market. When, however, the legislation of 1875 and 1877 came into effect, greatly improved opportunities for acquiring sites were offered them. The Act of 1877 empowered the Metropolitan Board of Works to make wholesale clearances, in order to widen throughfares, or construct new ones. But along with these powers went the obligation that, in making these clearances, the Board of Works should not permanently displace the working classes who were in occupation of the buildings which were pulled down. The Board was not authorized to erect and maintain dwellings; but only to engage with bodies of trustees, or societies to carry such schemes into effect upon such terms as the Board might think expedient.

The Board purchased the property to be pulled down at a fair valuation; but when the clear ground was offered for sale, a certain portion of it was sold subject to the condition that workmen's dwellings should be erected upon it. Little more than one-third the normal value was obtained for the land so sold, and nearly all of it passed into the possession of the Waterlow Company, the Peabody Trustees, the Metropolitan Association, and other kindred and well-accredited associations which had been subsequently founded for building workmen's dwellings. All these associations were extremely busy during the next ten years, and during this time the number of separate dwellings, owned by the Peabody Trust, increased from 2,348, accommodating 9,860 people in 1878, to 4,359 dwellings accommodating 18,000 in 1884. During this period the Waterlow Company was equally busy, and both it and the Peabody Trust outran their capital, and received large advances at very low rates of interest from the State through the Public Works Loan Commissioners.

In recent years the obligation to build workmen's dwellings on sites cleared for public improvements in London, has been somewhat modified; but the principle that working people are not to be displaced without room being found for them in new buildings somewhere in the same neighborhood is still in force. It applies not only to improvements undertaken by the municipal authorities, but also to work carried out by the railway companies. If a railway company, in building a new terminus, or in making an extension of its lines, demolishes a number of dwellings occupied by the working classes, it is compelled to find accommodation for people of the same class to an extent which shall be regarded as satisfactory by the Home Office.

By the adoption of this principle by Parliament, and by the public spirited action of the dwellings corporations, house accommodation for at

least seventy thousand people has been provided in Central London. If the improved dwellings in the outskirts are taken into account the number is much larger; but it is safe to say that in the more crowded parts of London seventy thousand are now in homes which have been built as a result of the movement, inaugurated in 1844, by the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes.

EDWARD PORRITT.

THE LOVE OF SCANDAL.

WHO does not remember the greed of the Athenians for news? The love of gossip was one of their most striking characteristics, and "What news?" was as much part of the business of the Agora, when friends met each other at noon, as the "price of fresh fish" or the "condition of the flower girls' violets."

No event was too trivial for them to chronicle, no shifting of life's kaleidoscope too minute for them to follow—nothing, in fact, in public or private, seemed to escape their scrutiny.

Maid, matron, and heteira, statesman and slave, the favorite poet's latest ode, the fashionable sophist's last oration, what blunder of uncouth simplicity the newest importation from Sparta had committed;—of all things under heaven they discoursed freely, discussing and dissecting without restraint, without stint, as no people have done before or since.

They were the lovers of gossip *par excellence*, and Athens was the paradise of all newsmongers of the time; for neither dramatist nor orator could get a hearing if any should raise the cry, "News! news!" "News from the Hesperides!" "News from the Cassiterides!" "News of Glaucus!" "News of Phyrne!" "Who will hear my news?"

But even the Athenians had their limits, and knew when to forbear; the line of gossip had to be drawn somewhere, if they would not be like their own harpies, ravening and befouling all things; and they drew it at the door of the tomb. The dead were as sacred to them as the gods, Hades as impenetrable as Olympus; for much latent delicacy underlay this sunny old-world love of gossip, this chattering, laughing, effervescent delight in personal details.

Yes, although the Athenians were "heathens," in the common acceptance of the term nowadays, they respected the memory of their dead, and we do not. Their qualities of human pity and honor, their sense of fairness, even as man to man, came into play when there was no one present to reply, for they felt that the ghost wandering mournfully in the pale world of shades had still susceptibilities and affections; his wishes were to be carried out as honorably as if he still had power to enforce them; so, too, his weaknesses were to be as lightly touched upon as if he were to be met half an hour hence to discuss with his biographer what had been said of him.

No friend would ever have said, of the dead he had loved and lived with, words which it would have been dishonorable to say to the living, for the same cause as that which makes it impossible for a high-minded gentleman to speak ill of the absent who are unable to defend themselves.

The very helplessness of the dead was their safeguard against indiscretion, as against slander, and "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*" only expressed the general respect for that helplessness.

But we have changed all that "old-time" honor, all that bygone loyalty of reticence.

We have gone in now for a coarse and cruel chatter which we call eu-

phemistically "candor," but which is in reality nothing but love of scandal, carried to the highest point of indecency.

Now it is the irrepressible interviewer, who lurks in the shadow of the sick-chamber and photographs the details of the death-bed with revolting minuteness; the various stages of disease (it may be) are reported *in extenso*, and surgical and pathological facts flood the magazines and newspapers.

Death is the signal for prying into all corners, publishing every secret, giving forth to the world the most careless as well as the most confidential letters, which no doubt had been dashed off in a moment of unreflecting expansion. Had the deceased committed what the world calls an "indiscretion," the women and children are exhibited in the pages of the memorialist as one exhibits wax figures at a show, and the love which he had cherished in secret and, may be, repented of in agony is beaten out into so many paragraphs of prurient sensationalism, with more hinted at probably than is safe or decent to detail.

Had he an unjust suspicion of men, such as is often the accompaniment of an overworked brain and a diseased body, the expressions used by him on such occasions are scattered abroad, even though a better mind withdrew them before death and there was a full and free reconciliation all round.

Rien n'est sacré pour un sapeur, and nothing is sacred to a biographer of that lower type, in whom the instinct of the jackal and hyena meet.

His articles are written in the tears and blood of his dead friend; but what of that? It gives him both money and renown, and he would have us believe that if he did not positively create the genius which took the generation by storm, or held it breathless in delight, which created a new era in literature or opened a new pathway for science, for statesmanship, or for art, he at least educated, directed, coached, and inspired it. If these are some of the penalties which the illustrious dead have to suffer at the hands of their friends, they fare still worse at the hands of mere acquaintances.

Quem ad finem effrenata audacia jactabit se? Crowds of these men start up like gnats in the evening, round the grave and claim, as their beloved intimate, him who lies dumb and powerless within: him with whom when living they never had more than the most passing, the most superficial intercourse, and would never have been admitted to more. Fancy conversations spreading over all sorts of important topics are reported as having taken place between them; conversations of the gravest moment built on the slender foundations of a passing half-hour's chat; and the most sensitive and reticent of men is suddenly exhibited as a gushing babbler, who gave his confidence unhesitatingly to a chance companion, with neither claim nor merit for such distinction.

Nothing can be in worse taste than all this wretched half-scandalous, half-indelicate gossip. Just as a photograph, where the light has been unskilfully managed, is not like a person because out of drawing and due relation, so the most absolutely exact facts may give a false impression because taken without the context and surroundings belonging to them.

It is not anatomy—it is mutilation and distortion. But it is the fashion nowadays to extol Boswell without understanding him and to justify a bad copy by worth of the original.

OLIVER S. JONES.

ITALIAN WOMEN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

It sounds idle and pedantic to tell the reader that history, ancient and modern, contains tales of crime and sorrow such as cannot be equalled in fiction. No matter if it is the magic pen of Byron which lifts the human body to such heights of poetical splendor that the dazzled eye cannot distinguish right from wrong; or if the writer indulging in the coarser realism of the present age, tries to describe what is actually crawling in the gutter; history is *always* more dramatic!

The women of the fifteenth century in Italy were powerful, and many heroic deeds, as well as many tragedies, of that period can be traced to them. They were reckless, passionate, and lovely! The high born were scholars well trained in Latin, able to discuss philosophical questions and appreciate poetry and the works of art that made Italy the marvel of the world. They were accomplished sportswomen, who besides living, so to say, half their lives on horseback, kept racing horses, which ran and won, bearing their colors, many a prize in the peculiar races, Palio, which still take place in our day in the oldest towns of Italy like Padova and Siena. Those women were haughty, but the requests of the poor reached them in their palaces and were granted. All this we can learn from letters and documents relating to Parisina, which exist in the *Archivio di Stato*, of Modena; and as Byron dwells on her guilt and her death, so do these letters and documents speak of her life, which was too short, although bright and sunny, like that of a beautiful butterfly.

In the year 1418, Nicolo III. of Este, reigning Marquis of Ferrara, took for his second wife Parisina, daughter of Andrea Malatesta, ruler of Cesena, and Lucrezia Degli Ordelaffi, of Forli. Of noble blood, Parisina was only fifteen years old when she married a man many years her senior, who had grown old in the never-ceasing wars of that troubled age, and in the political intrigues that were almost as fierce and unrelenting as war. On entering her new home the young bride found no less than eight illegitimate children of Marquis Nicolo living in the palace with almost as much distinction and honor as if they were his children by marriage. Their mother, Stella dei Tolomei, was living; but strange to say, it was to the care of the young Marchioness that these children were intrusted. The eldest, Ugo, was only fourteen, but he was already celebrated for his beauty, goodness, and bravery. He was his father's pet, but at first was not a favorite with Parisina, whom he disliked so openly that many contemporaries speak of his undisguised hatred for her. But she was of mild heart, young and lovely, her husband being too busy in his schemes and battles to value her refinement and her high-bred charm. We see her taking much interest in her husband's children, giving written orders for their clothes, and providing for their tutors, of whom each child had two besides a retinue of servants. So loose were the morals of the age that neither Parisina nor those about her thought Marquis Nicolo a profligate, and only wondered that he, who tried to waylay every beautiful woman who came across his adventurous path, had made a law by which adultery was punished with death.

After one year of wedded life Parisina became the mother of twins, and she herself announced the happy event to her subjects, in a quaint letter half Latin and half Italian, published with many other letters of hers in the *Nouva Antologia*, of July, 1893. She was a queen in her domains, Marquis Nicolo being sovereign of Ferrara, Reggio, Parma, and several other cities

and territories; and we see that she had twelve ladies-in-waiting (*donzelle*) and six maids (*massare*), who were paid by her and clothed and fed at her expense. She had a great liking for a beautiful villa called Belfiore, which she had furnished with a comfort unknown at that time, while her magnificent but grim castle of Ferrara, containing one hundred and sixteen rooms, was devoid of any furniture, except what was strictly necessary for every-day use. Belfiore and Fossadalbero, both not far distant from Ferrara, were the two places where the Marchioness, with her Court, used to spend summer and autumn reading novels, listening to troubadours, feeding birds of prey trained for a cruel sport, and playing the harp, which, when her twins were hardly five years old, she began teaching them on tiny instruments especially provided for them. Between the time she spent in the country and the months during which she resided in state in her castle of Ferrara, came several journeys: one to Venice in 1422, and another to Padova in the following year—this one a pilgrimage to the Church of the Holy Anthony, for whom she had special devotion.

At this time Parisina was without blemish, and her pursuits, among which charity had a large part, might have been sufficient to fill her life, if an evil spirit had not prompted her husband to try and dispel the enmity that existed between her and his favorite son. To that purpose he brought them together as much as possible; in the country where Ugo also played the harp, and where he on horseback escorted the Marchioness in her chariot, and on her journeys, never devoid of dangers, where Ugo had the care of her safety. When and where did the two who had hated each other begin to love unto death? History has no answer to this question, but we see Parisina suddenly anxious to please her stepson and humor his whims; ordering for him rich clothes, horses, saddles, and weapons of great price. The love which succeeded to hatred certainly lasted some time unsuspected, till the culprits grew bold through impunity, or were obliged to take some one into their confidence; and so it happened that Ugo confided his secret to Rangoni, his follower, and the Marchioness could not hide her guilt from the prying eyes of one of her ladies. She had been kind to her, as she was to almost every one, and had given her on her wedding day a costly outfit, every item of which she had ordered herself. We have the bill and description of the chest, inlaid with gold and painted by a well-known artist, in which furs, linen, jewels, and dresses were inclosed and sent as the gift of her noble mistress to the woman who betrayed her. It seems, according to tradition, that a man by the name of Jovese, who was in high favor with the Marquis and his wife, on crossing the private apartments of the Marchioness, met his daughter, the lady-in-waiting above mentioned, crying bitterly. She told him that the Marchioness had struck her, adding that the latter should beware because she knew all her secrets; and on being closely questioned she told her father all that she knew.

Jovese was devoted to Nicolo, having been his confidential servant and adviser for years, and could, therefore, speak to him openly, even on such a subject. The chronicle says (for here history is dumb) that grief was at first stronger in Nicolo than his thirst for revenge, for he felt that this one blow deprived him of all he loved. He did not act rashly, but had the lovers watched, and he watched them himself until their guilt was proved beyond doubt. Then the two were taken to the Tower called *Dei Leoni*, during the night of March 20, in the year 1425. This was their final parting, for never

did the two meet again on earth, each having a separate prison in the dreadful dungeon which had witnessed so many black deeds. As soon as the astounding news became public, friends and counsellors of the Marquis implored to be granted a hearing, and speaking of the stain that would be left on the name of Este by the death of the two sinners, and pleading their extreme youth, tried to soften his heart. But Nicolo was stabbed to the quick by the treason, and neither the fear of dishonor nor the publicity thus given to the offence detained him from applying the law, which, with ominous foresight, he had provided for his own revenge. So he ordered that his son and his wife and Aldobrandino Rangoni, Ugo's follower, should be beheaded that same night. The block was carried to the dungeon on the night of March 21, and Ugo was the first to be taken from the prison, his beautiful head falling under the sword of the executioner.

Parisina spent the day in her cell in darkness and despair. Guilty as she was, will not those dreadful hours be reckoned as an atonement? She, too, was taken from her prison, advancing reluctantly, almost carried by her executioners, asking piteously at every step the dreadful question—if it was there. Evidently she believed her death would be even more cruel. She thought herself destined to disappear in one of those pitfalls (*trabochelli*) so common in the castles and prisons of that time, where a poor wretch, broken in soul and body, buried alive, would suffer unspeakable torture and die a lingering death. No one had Christian charity enough to spare her that agony; and when, finally, she reached her destination, she trembled only because she saw the block covered with blood. Whose blood was that? Then she asked if Ugo was alive; and when the answer came that he was dead, she said proudly, "Nor do I wish to live now." She divested herself of the ornaments that still adorned her, and, crying bitterly, covered her head and knelt where her beloved had knelt, and put her bare neck on the block where his neck had rested, and which was soaked with his blood. While her lovely head was severed from her body, Marquis Nicolo was raving in his frenzy waiting for the dreadful news, and the two innocent children slept peacefully dreaming of the mother who to them was nothing but purity and love. It seems that when his fury was spent, the Marquis repented of the sentence he had passed on his son, and inquired, with pale lips, if he was still alive? But being answered in the negative, he again began his ravings, saying to the captain of the castle to kill him, too, since he had killed his son. He never expressed any sorrow or remorse for the punishment inflicted on his young wife, nor after some time did he show any sign of suffering, but continued his pursuits of war and politics, as if his hands had never been dipped in blood. A cruel deed, which ought to reconcile the reader to the present age and mild customs of our time, but which leaves the Christian in much doubt and perplexity.

Which of these three sinners deserved pardon, and which of them will have found mercy at the hands of the Almighty?

CEREA.

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THE FINANCIAL MUDDLE.

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I.

THE present is a composite photograph of all the yesterdays which the human race has counted since it began a civilized career. All the thought, improvement, invention, advancement, and exaltation of mankind evolved during its march through the millions of myriads of yesterdays are concentrated, focused, in the present; and our To-day, analyzed, is only a portrait in miniature of an aggregate Yesterday. Our industries, social life, economics—even our fallacies in finance—are merely a repetition of those of former generations, with additions, amendments, and advancements. Thus, while history repeats itself, it also modifies or magnifies itself in various parts. It embellishes or it tones down, represses or intensifies here and there, as human prejudice or desire may dictate. But nowhere do we read of a different air or water in ancient times—as supporters of human life—from that which we breathe and drink to-day. There has been, then, no abrupt repeal, change, or amendment to natural laws during the mighty marches of the years and centuries across this world of ours since it first trembled in elemental space. The laws of light, of sound, of gravitation and cohesion, remain

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potent, exacting, and inexorable as when the revolution of the spheres began and the light of day first flooded the universe with its vivifying effulgence. Under the domination of these relentless laws in a great kindergarten the family of Man has been for thousands of years living and learning and repeating lessons. Until the art of printing came to embalm knowledge and perpetuate it, the learning of each generation was entombed almost wholly with those who developed it. Legends, manuscripts, and traditions transmitted only a modicum of the accumulated lore; and the greater volumes of experience and achievement were hidden in the grave with their authors. Nevertheless, certain of those ideas most essential to the advancement and elevation of the social status were so thoroughly esteemed, debated, and written out, that we, as the heirs of the intellectual wealth of all preceding time, now hoard them in libraries and treasure them in our memories. But we are merely trustees, and as such it is our duty to conserve and bequeath that inheritance to our descendants with as much useful increment as we are competent to evolve or produce, as to each integral part thereof. And as trade is the forerunner of civilization, and commerce its promoter and educator, this age is obligated to the future to improve the old and invent new methods for facilitating exchanges all over the world.

In a barbaric state, barter existed. Direct exchanges of goods for goods obtained. Then, emerging from tribal relations, man instituted various media of exchanges. First, cattle were money. Then came flocks of sheep and goats. The larger cattle-owner was the capitalist. The word "capital" coming from *caput*, a head, and the word "pecuniary" from *pecus*, a flock, illustrate the fact that the basic idea of money was value, both inherent and relative. Later on silver and gold became money. But for centuries they were not coined. Both metals were used to mediate exchanges. But neither of them bore any other marking or certification than that given by the goldsmith or the assayer, who merely verified the weight and fineness. His legend on the lump or ingot of bullion assured the trading public as to its purity and gravity. But standard economists never claim that attestation of fineness and weight, either by an assay office in ancient or by a government mint in modern times, adds value to the metals; though all agree that it increases the facility with which they may measure values and mediate the exchanges of commodities.

Aristotle, who wrote in the fourth century before Christ, had a clearer idea of the character and functions of money, even in that early morning time of commerce, than many statesmen at this high noon of international trade seem to entertain. And that pagan philosopher said :

"Money is an intermediary *commodity* designed to facilitate an exchange of two other commodities."

And Xenophon, writing of Athens a hundred years later, and showing its advantages over other markets, says :

"In most of the other cities a trader is obliged to take commodities in return for those he brings, because the money used in them has not much credit *outside;* with us Athenians, on the contrary, . . . he takes his pay in *ready money*, which, of all negotiable articles, is the safest and most convenient, as it is secured in all countries, and, besides, it always brings back something to its master, when the latter judges proper to dispose of it."

Thus Aristotle saw the necessity of a *commodity* value in the medium of exchange, and Xenophon demonstrated the importance of a general and unfluctuating purchasing power of value in money, to render it universally useful in the facilitation of domestic and foreign exchanges.

Thus we come to, What is value ? Aristotle and the Roman lawyers, among the ancient; and Adam Smith, Whately, Say, and Perry, with a multitude of other modern economists, have declared that value consists in EXCHANGEABILITY. And McLeod says :

"And what does exchangeability depend upon? If I offer something for sale, what is necessary in order that it should be sold? Simply that some one else should *desire* and *demand* it. . . . The sole origin, source, and cause of value is *human desire;* when there is a *demand* for things, they have *value*. When supply remains stationary and the demand increases, the value increases; when the demand decreases, the value decreases, and when the demand ceases altogether, the value is altogether gone."

The currency of a country, therefore, must be always exchangeable for those things which its people desire and demand, and the currency itself must be desired and demanded by those who have the things to sell. The commodity seller buys money ; and the commodity buyer sells money. Each seeks the highest quality in that which he buys, because with it he satisfies a demand ; and in every legitimate exchange there are two demands and two satisfactions. In times of business depression money circulates cautiously and slowly, because people repress desires

for many commodities which under usual commercial conditions they gratify. And thus demand for those goods decreases and their values decline. There are many Americans to-day who have their money hoarded merely because they are afraid to indulge in expenditures which, during a period of redundant circulation, they regarded as absolutely necessary to their daily comfort. Repressing desires, they have diminished or destroyed demand in many lines of goods, and yet an active number of citizens declare that the depression is caused solely by an inadequate *per-capita circulation* of money. Generally those citizens, however, while talking of a per-capita *circulation*, are, no doubt, really thinking about a per-capita *distribution*. But in the distribution of money each person can legitimately get only so much as he can honestly buy, either with a personal service or an exchangeable property or commodity. Each person can get money who has something to sell which some other person desires and demands. It makes no difference how plentiful the money supply may be : if one has no exchangeable service or commodity to offer which other persons desire to buy, he will get none of it.

To illustrate. In a community of 1,000 there may be found a *per-capita circulation* of $100. Investigation, however, proves that one citizen has $75,000, another $10,000, and the remaining 998 have only an average of about $15 each. And yet effusive statesmen, posing as the friends of the poor man, pathetically plead for an increased per-capita circulation, as the only certain panacea for poverty, penury, and want everywhere. But these emotional fiatists never tell how any person, who has nothing exchangeable to offer therefor, is to get his per-capita share. These hysterical publicists frequently indulge in economic paroxysms which, nearly always, result in attempts to promote the public weal by enactment, and in endeavors to provide prosperity by embodying fallacies in the forms of law. They totally ignore the fact that exchangeable things are necessary to circulate money—things desired, demanded, and, therefore, valuable. They forget, seemingly, that there is no need of value measures when and where there are no values to measure.

Among the drought-stricken homesteaders in some parts of the sub-arid regions of Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas, there are for sale to-day no edible commodities ; and all the gold coin of the earth given to those unfortunates on the famine frontier,

upon condition that it shall be used only in purchasing food grown among themselves, can avail nothing in ameliorating their hardships. It would create no exchanges, confer no comforts. A per-capita circulation of $100,000, each, under such restrictions, could alleviate no distress. Food, not funds; clothing, not coin; fuel, not finance—things which are always alert for exchange, because always desired and demanded—can alone assuage their misery. But, by a parity of reasoning, those who advocate more measures of value, a larger number of dollars as the infallible remedy for depressed trade, should now declaim in favor of a larger per-capita circulation of peck, half-bushel, and bushel measures, together with steelyards, and scales, and yardsticks, and foot-rules, among those grainless fields, foodless families, and almost clothesless communities. Yet increased and gratuitous distribution of measures and weights among a hungering people who have neither food to weigh nor fabrics nor fuel to measure, would be a sorry satire upon starvation. But it would be as efficient and efficacious in ameliorating conditions as an increased *per-capita circulation* would be in improving the pecuniary status of those who can offer nothing exchangeable for money which the owners of money desire and demand. The measures of cereals and other material things are useless where there are no cereals or other material things to be measured. And money is absolutely inert and inutile where no values are to be measured and no exchanges are to be mediated. The pioneers of Nebraska, which was opened to settlement in 1854, matured no crops to subsist upon until the autumn of 1855; and, therefore, for their first year's subsistence purchased grain and vegetables and meat from the adjacent States of Iowa and Missouri. And although the tilled area of Nebraska, when the first snow of the winter of 1855 and 1856 fell, was only a few acres, and the population of the Territory very sparse (and, therefore, the necessary and normal exchanges exceedingly limited), there was a large yield of indigenous frontier financiers who fervidly declaimed for more circulating media. These primitive Populists then proclaimed, in that prairie wilderness, the doctrine of commercial salvation and everlasting prosperity through the grace of an increased per-capita circulation. They declared that there was not enough money in Nebraska and adjoining States with which to transact business, and that the Legislative Assembly of the Territory should charter banks to issue money

in volume sufficient to meet the exigencies of trans-Missouri commerce. Those pioneer advocates of financial vagaries and money fallacies used all the arguments, demagogy, and emotional exhortation in behalf of their theory that their lineal economic descendants and disciples use to-day. And thus, during January, 1856, six banks were chartered for the purpose of making more money for circulation in Nebraska. The legislators who voted for them scouted all the teachings of political economy, and defied the inevitable and efficient operation of economic law in antagonism to a statute of their own sapient spawning. And here is the act which created a currency (each of six banks having precisely the same charter) of more than $600,000 in less than six months, ostensibly to be circulated among a population of less than 20,000 men, women, and children, who made up all the inhabitants of the Territory, which then included all the geographical area that now constitutes the two Dakotas, Wyoming, and a part of Colorado. In less than four months from the commencement of this experiment for banishing poverty and producing prosperity by an increased per-capita circulation, the gold currency and its equivalents had disappeared. The far-seeing accumulator of sound money and the non-resident traders had taken it from the limited field of our exchanges, and had hoarded, hidden, and carried it away.

AN ACT

FOR THE CHARTER OF A BANK, TO BE LOCATED IN BELLEVUE, DOUGLAS COUNTY, NEBRASKA TERRITORY, TO BE CALLED THE FONTENELLE BANK OF BELLEVUE.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Nebraska*, That Jno. R. Sarpy, Peter A. Sarpy, Samuel Knepper, Jno. R. Cecil, L. B. Kinny, Philip J. McMahon, Leavitt L. Bowen, Jno. Clancy, their heirs and assigns, are hereby appointed commissioners, and they or any five of them are authorized to carry into effect, from and after the passage of this act, the establishment of a bank, to be styled and called the Fontenelle Bank, and to be located at Bellevue, Douglas County, Nebraska Territory, with a capital of $100,000, which may be increased, at the will of the stockholders, to any amount not exceeding $500,000, to be divided into shares of $100 each; and the said company, under the above name and style, be and are hereby declared capable in law of issuing bills, notes, and other certificates of indebtedness, dealing in exchange, and doing all things necessary to the carrying on of a regular and legitimate banking business, and also, to buy and possess property of all kinds, and to sell and dispose of the same, to contract and be contracted with, to sue and to be sued, to defend and to be defended against in all courts in this Territory.

SEC. 2. That the commissioners herein appointed shall have power to cause books to be opened for the subscription of said stock in such manner and at such times and places as they or any five of them may appoint; that whenever $50,000 is fully subscribed, then those making such subscription shall have power to choose a board of directors, whose duty it shall be to organize said bank by electing a president, vice-president, and cashier, and that in the election of said directors and officers each share subscribed or then held shall entitle the holder thereof to one vote, which may be given in person or by proxy.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the president or vice-president (either of whom shall be competent) and cashier to attach their respective names to all bills or notes issued by said bank to circulate as currency, and that the stockholders shall be each and individually liable for the full and final redemption of such issue, payable at the banking house in gold or silver, and that this charter shall have an existence and be in full force, if faithfully complied with, for the term of twenty-five years from the date of its passage and becoming a law of the Territory.

SEC. 4. The stock of said bank shall be assignable and transferable, according to such rules and under such restrictions as the board of directors may prescribe, who shall have power at all times to make such rules and regulations as may appear for the well-being of said bank, not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States and the organic law of this Territory.

SEC. 5. The directors of the bank shall make, or cause to be made, through their cashier, under oath or affirmation, an annual report to the Auditor of the Territory or State (as the case may be), a full exhibit of the condition of said bank, which report shall be published in three newspapers of this Territory by said auditor.

SEC. 6. This act shall be in force from and after its passage.

Approved January 18, 1856.

Very soon after this manufactory of credit money began to pour its product into trade channels, the superior money had, under the operation of the Gresham law, surrendered the field of exchange to the inferior. And from the date of the letter which Sir Thomas Gresham wrote to Queen Elizabeth in 1558, explaining that good and bad moneys could not remain concurrent in the same country, no more perfect verification of the Gresham law had ever arisen than that furnished by that Territory in the years of 1856, 1857, and 1858. The unyielding vigor of Principle and Truth was as pronounced in Nebraska then as it had been in the Kingdom of Great Britain 300 years before.

Thus after a brief period of pseudo-prosperity, in which all values were feverishly enhanced, there came, in June, 1857, the first warnings of the disastrous panic of that year. In New York the banking and brokerage house of John Thompson, who published a bank-note reporter and counterfeit detector, failed. In

Ohio the great Life and Trust Company went under, and all over Nebraska, and throughout the whole Republic, the baseless, non-convertible paper issues of "stump-tail" currency—as it was termed in the parlance of the time—became utterly valueless as tools of exchange.

To-day we stand perhaps upon the very verge of another era of fiatism. And if the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 can be secured, we shall behold again, in the United States, and on a broader field, the unavoidable and disastrous effect of that law which inevitably prevents the circulation of an inferior and a superior currency, in the same markets, at the same time.

Having, under free coinage, made more silver dollars than the country can float, at a parity with gold, the latter metal will go to a premium. All that we sell to foreigners will be paid for in silver. All that we buy of them will be settled for in gold, and we will pay the premium. Bimetallism, as taught by the free-coinage-of-silver advocates, who maintain that the United States alone can float unlimited amounts of that metal, coined at a ratio of 16 to 1, on a parity with gold, logically leads to mono-metallism in the North American republic, and that one metal must inevitably be silver.

In the *Nineteenth Century* Henry Dunning McLeod says :

> Bimetallism is only part of a system which prevailed in every country for centuries. Statesmen thought that they could regulate the value of commodities by law, and the statute books contained many such laws. But experience showed that such laws were absolutely inoperative, and, after having been abandoned in practice, were, at length, expunged from the statute book. The attempt to restore bimetallism is simply the endeavor to revive this exploded economic fallacy.
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> If it were possible to establish a fixed ratio between gold and silver by international agreement, it would be equally possible to fix the value of all commodities. Innumerable catastrophes are caused by the unexpected change in the value of commodities; why not then fix the value of all commodities, and so remove the cause of multitudes of mercantile calamities?
>
> Agriculturists are suffering the extremest depression from the fall in the value of their products. Why then not fix the value of wheat at a remunerative price by international agreement? If it were printed in all the statute books of the world that the price of wheat should be one dollar a bushel, does any person of common sense suppose that the price of wheat would rise one cent?

And if raising wheat could be made remunerative everywhere, would not everybody seek that line of production ?

But the bimetallists state their case paradoxically when they

proclaim for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. That very phraseology is a confession that there is and can be but one unit of value. The fact that they compare their silver to gold, as the unit of value, as the test of exchangeability, concontradicts their contention for the equal utility and facility of the two metals in mediating exchanges. It is a full confession of the bimetallists that the two metals are unequal. It is an avowal that by law—mere statutory enactment—they propose to make equal, in value, by certain relations, those things which mankind do not equally desire and demand. They affirm that they will create value. They avow that they can stimulate the desire and enhance the demand of the world for silver by a simple "Be it Enacted"—a formulation of fallacies into statutes. It is a plain concession that silver is a commodity which must be measured by a universally accepted measure; and, furthermore, that gold is that measure. Therefore, by implication, the professed bimetallist, in stating his case, admits that he is a gold monometallist.

But it is amazing to find ardent free traders among the zealous advocates of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, because the present tariff provides almost wholly for ad-valorem duties. Such duties, according to the law, must be paid upon the valuation of the commodity imported, computed in the currency of the United States.*

With free coinage, which, we are cheerfully and vehemently assured, will bring about a double price for all the farmers have to sell, there will also then come a double valuation upon all ad-valorem imports which farmers may wish to buy. Then a thousand pounds' worth of English manufacture, bought in London on a gold basis, being imported to the United States, while we are on a silver basis, valued in our market and our money, as the law

* SEC. 25. That the value of foreign coin as expressed in the money of account of the United States shall be that of the pure metal of such coin of standard value; and the values of the standard coins in circulation of the various nations of the world shall be estimated quarterly by the Director of the Mint, and be proclaimed by the Secretary of the Treasury immediately after the passage of this act, and thereafter quarterly on the first day of January, April, July, and October, in each year. And the values so proclaimed shall be followed in estimating the value of all foreign merchandise exported to the United States during the quarter for which the value is proclaimed, and the date of the consular certification of any invoice shall, for the purposes of this section, be considered the date of exportation: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may order the reliquidation of any entry at a different value, whenever satisfactory evidence shall be produced to him showing that the value in United States currency of the foreign money specified in the invoice was, at the date of certification, at least ten per centum more or less than the value proclaimed during the quarter in which the consular certification occurred. (Statutes U. S., Fifty-third Congress, Sess. II., Ch. 349, Sec. 25.)

compels, will cost twice as much denominationally, in silver, as it would in gold. That is, gold being then worth twice as much as silver, instead of paying, on each English pound, as to-day, on a valuation of $4.86, the consumer will be taxed for each English pound's worth of goods, reduced to United States currency, on a valuation of $9.72. Then, as silver declines and cheaper money becomes more and more plentiful, our Free Trade friends who have joined the crusade in behalf of free coinage will sorrowfully observe that they have, by their misinformed statesmanship, erected a mountain barrier to international trade, compared to which McKinleyism was a mere molehill. Free coinage, as advocated by its most enthusiastic and eloquent supporters—those who paroxysmally appeal for the poor people, as against plutocrats—will very soon, if it be attained, double and possibly treble the duties on all the imports which poor people purchase.

These same self-constituted attorneys for the poor, out of their tumultuous and cheerful vocabulary, also plead strenuously in the interests of those whom they felicitously, without definition or identification, call the "debtor classes." Money, they say, has appreciated since some debts were contracted, and, therefore, it is a great hardship upon some debtors to pay as they borrowed. But suppose the money had not been loaned by its owners? Suppose all the owners of money had securely hoarded it, instead of loaning it out, when asked, in each case, would not money, thus becoming scarcer, have appreciated still more by the hoarding? Is the bimetallist, then, in favor of a law providing a penalty for appreciating the purchasing power by hoarding money, and not loaning it? Why should there be no law to prevent enhancement of purchasing power brought about by hoarding, if there must be a statute to mitigate that enhancement which may occur by loaning money?

Frequently, in the early settlements of the West, farmers supplied the new-comers, arriving in the autumn, enough grain, payable in kind, quality, and quantity, to carry them through the next season, and to a matured harvest of their own cereals.

To illustrate. A loaned B 500 bushels of corn worth 25 cents a bushel, January 1, 1894, to be repaid with 550 bushels of corn on January 1, 1895. But, because of the drouth and scarcity of corn in the fall of 1894, it has doubled in price and sells on the first day of this year for 50 cents a bushel. Now by a similar

process of reasoning, the bimetallist should call for a statute enabling A to pay B his 550 bushels of corn with 550 bushels of oats which are worth only 30 cents a bushel. The corn having appreciated, because of the changed relation of the supply of corn to the demand for corn, has worked a hardship, under the inexorable operation of economic law, against B.

And the economic law is an evolution of that natural law which regulates the rainfall and the sunshine and makes crops, either bountiful or meagre. Now would not the same morality, honesty, and sense of justice, which provide for the payment of a money debt created since we were on a gold basis—that is, since January, 1879—in depreciated dollars, made either of silver or any other commodity, also pay a loan of 500 bushels of corn, borrowed in 1894, with 550 bushels of oats in 1895; or, if in corn, then in troy weight instead of avoirdupois; or, if by measure, then with two pecks to the bushel?

Du Maurier describes the wonderful vocalization of Trilby, as

"waves of sweet and tender laughter, the very heart and essence of innocent, high-spirited girlhood, alive to all that is simple and joyous and elementary in nature—the freshness of the morning, the ripple of the stream, the click of the mill, the lisp of wind in the trees, the song of the lark in the cloudless sky—the sun and the dew, the scent of early flowers and summer woods and meadows—the sight of birds and bees and butterflies and frolicsome young animals at play—all the sights and scents and sounds that are the birthright of happy children, happy savages in favored climes—things within the remembrance and the reach of most of us! All this, the memory and the feel of it, are in Trilby's voice as she warbles that long, smooth, lilting, dancing laugh, that wondrous song without words; and those who hear, feel all, and remember it with her. It is irresistible; it forces itself on you; no words, no pictures, could ever do the like!"

But the music was that of her mesmeric master. The potency of his magic swayed her whole being—voice, features, pose, gestures, everything—in one grand, breathing symphony. So the harmonies of civilization, the multifold tones of Trade, all the great choruses and melodies of Commerce—the murmuring stream that turns the mill wheel, the hissing engine on the rail, the plash of the paddle-wheel on inland lakes, the monotonous pulsations of the great hearts of steamships on all the oceans of the globe, the singing wires of telegraph lines hanging in the air, the whir of the electric cars—every movement of a sentient commerce transporting from north to south, from south to north, from east to west, and from west to east, with all its myriad sounds of con-

tented industry—are merely the economic orchestra of Civilization obeying the motions of the magic baton of Demand, wielded by the will-power of the civilized world. These are the marvelous melodies of modern commerce. But the inspiration which gives voice to value, and energizes the many-tongued industries of modern life, advancements, and improvements, is EXCHANGEABILITY based upon demand, which is founded upon desire.

And so, theorize as we may, contend for whatever financial faith we can, and legislate as we will, we shall find at last that in our Present the foundations of finance are, as they were in the Past of a thousand years ago, buttressed by human desires and human demands for exchangeable things. And the Future will finally, perhaps, after many severe strains upon the credit of the Republic, behold the citizens of the United States in their honesty and strength with one voice unequivocally declaring for a unit—a measure of value—a medium of exchange—fashioned out of or founded upon gold. They will thus determine and declare, because that metal has been tested and approved for 500 years by the domestic and foreign trade of all the commercial nations of Europe as the only measure of value, the only facilitator of exchanges which civilized mankind has as yet discovered, adopted, and utilized with nearly universal success and almost complete satisfaction.

J. STERLING MORTON.

II.

THE financial system of the United States is the result of a series of enactments. Each act of Congress upon the subject was passed for the purpose of improving some condition or supplying some want which then existed. The result has been that our system is not in accord with any of the recognized principles of a sound currency. There are at this time nine different kinds of coins and paper money in circulation. The paper currency consists of gold and silver certificates, two kinds of Treasury notes, currency certificates, and national bank notes. The legal-tender Treasury notes, amounting at this time to $346,681,016, had their origin in our civil war. The Treasury or Sherman notes, amounting January 1st, 1895, to $150,823,731, were issued under the Act of July 14, 1890, which act the Democratic platform of 1892 denounced as a political makeshift. It proved to be a Pandora's

box, from which proceeded all manner of financial ills. It certainly produced widespread disaster. The section of the act which required the Secretary of the Treasury to issue Treasury notes in the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month was the principal cause of the financial crisis of 1893, which was in a measure arrested by the repealing act passed at the first session of the present Congress. These so-called Sherman notes and the legal-tender notes, which now aggregate nearly $500,000,000 are all payable in coin. The Treasury Department has universally held that good faith requires their payment in gold coin. There are many persons who are of the opinion that the Secretary of the Treasury should pay these notes in silver, and that such payments would be strictly in accordance with the terms of the contract. This view of the case is predicated upon the fact that if such a contract existed between one man and another the debtor would be justified in paying in either coin, and no lack of good faith could be imputed to him for so doing. But between the government and a private individual as in this case the conditions are materially changed. The government has authorized the coinage of a silver dollar which now contains less than fifty per cent. of intrinsic value as compared with gold. The coinage of silver dollars has been limited, and has now ceased altogether and the government in its various acts, and especially in the Act of July 14, 1890, has declared it to be a part of its policy to maintain the parity of the standard silver dollar with the gold dollar. There can be but one meaning to this declared policy of the government; and that is that the government will make the silver dollars which it has coined as good as gold dollars. The government having made this pledge to the holders of these coins, it is not for it to say to its creditors which is the better of the two or which it will prefer to pay; but it is the right of every creditor of the government to say: "You have declared by solemn enactment that these two dollars shall be equal in value, and I prefer the gold dollar, it being the same in value to you as the other." This determination of the government to pay in gold all of the Treasury notes has made the gold reserves the most convenient resource for obtaining gold for a settlement of all foreign balances and also for replenishing the gold reserves, which our own bankers desire to keep. The constant presentation of green-

backs at the Treasury of the United States, and the demand for their payment in gold, have necessitated the issue of bonds during the last twelve months to the amount of $100,000,000, and the gold reserve is continually being reduced. In view of the fact that greenbacks and Treasury notes will procure gold at any time, they are hoarded by the banks; and silver certificates, which have been issued to the amount of $336,924,504, are principally used for paying dues to the government. The greenbacks and Treasury notes serve the purpose of taking the gold out of the Treasury, and the silver certificates serve the purpose of keeping it out. These conditions have caused the gold reserve to be regarded as the financial barometer of the country; and as the gold reserve goes down, anxiety and uncertainty increase. What remedy can be applied at this time? The Secretary of the Treasury, in his recent report to Congress, has recommended the passage of a bill which, if it shall become a law, will, in a measure, relieve the situation. This measure, known as the Carlisle Bill, proposes to amend the national banking laws so as to dispense with the bond security now required, and to permit the issue of national bank notes to the extent of seventy-five per cent. of the unimpaired capital of the bank, secured by a deposit in the Treasury of the United States of legal-tender and Sherman notes to the extent of thirty per cent. upon the amount of circulation applied for. These bank notes are to be further secured by a safety fund contributed by the banks in the system, amounting to five per cent. upon the whole circulation, and also by a first lien upon the assets of the bank, including the amount which may be received from the double liability of the stockholders. The details of this bill are so well understood that I will not undertake to state them further. The question has been frequently argued, How will such a measure as this relieve the present situation? In the first place it will create a demand for legal-tender notes to the amount of thirty per cent. of the circulation, to be taken out under the act. This demand can only be satisfied by the deposit of legal-tender and Sherman notes. They will therefore be in greater demand than gold itself, for they will perform an important function in business that gold itself cannot perform, viz., form the basis of a circulating medium. It is well known that the mere fact that United States bonds

could be used as a security for national-bank circulation appreciated largely their value; and if such use appreciated the value of the bonds, why would not the similar use created for the legal-tender notes appreciate their value? If legal-tender notes, therefore, were more valuable in the market than gold, they would not be taken to the Treasury for the purpose of demanding gold for them. There is also a provision in the Carlisle bill which authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to use any surplus revenue that may at any time be in the Treasury, in the purchase and cancellation of legal-tender notes. But to prevent the possibility of a contraction of the currency it is further provided that such cancellation shall not exceed the net increase of circulation which may be taken out under the act.

The United States Government, in the issue of the legal-tender and Sherman notes and in its promise to redeem them on demand in coin, has established practically a national bank having a circulation of nearly $500,000,000. There has been for two years past a constant run upon this bank. There are several ways in which banks stop runs of this kind. One is to borrow money of other banks or individuals, the course which the United States has been pursuing heretofore. Another is to change the character of their indebtedness from call demands to time obligations; that is, fund the indebtedness which is due into notes or bonds running for such length of time as will enable the bank to prepare for their payment. This is the remedy which it is proposed by some the government of the United States shall now adopt, viz., fund the legal-tender and Sherman notes into interest paying bonds. But the most effectual mode of stopping a run upon a bank is to re-establish public confidence. As soon as depositors and other creditors are satisfied of the ability of the bank or the government to pay all demands upon it, the desire for immediate payment ceases, and the business of the bank progresses as if no distrust had existed. The Carlisle bill would, if passed, restore public confidence. Its passage would demonstrate that the government of the United States will ultimately pay all its indebtedness. It would establish a currency system which would relieve the government from the obligation and necessity of the current redemption of the circulating medium. The government would retire from banking and leave the currency to be regulated by the business needs of the country.

Some criticism has been made on the Carlisle bill upon the ground, as it is alleged, that it would produce inflation. This criticism is unfounded. There can be no inflation of prices by a currency which is convertible into coin, or into lawful money which is equivalent to coin. In all cases where currency has inflated prices, the increase in prices has been caused by the depreciation of the currency, and not by the volume of such currency in circulation. A convertible currency performs only those functions which coin would perform if the currency were not in existence. If there is more currency in existence than is required for those transactions in which currency actually passes, it will lie idle in the vaults of the banks or in the pockets of the people. There is now in existence in our great cities and in the country generally a large amount of surplus currency. This does not produce inflation. There is simply no use for it in those transactions in which money is actually used. It lies idle in the banks and has no effect whatever upon the prices of commodities. When there is a demand for this currency, it will go out and circulate among the people; and when it has performed those transactions in which it actually passes, it will again return to the vaults of the banks.

There is a prevalent opinion in the minds of many that if the whole money in circulation were doubled, prices would be doubled; and if the currency should be increased to any extent, prices of commodities would be increased in like proportion. This heresy has produced more perplexity and confusion than all the other financial heresies which have ever been advanced. It implies an entire misconception of the functions of money. It is predicated upon the false assumption that all the commodities in the market constitute the demand for all the money, and that all the money constitutes the demand for all the commodities; that all the commodities are to be exchanged for all the money, and thus that the amount of the money is equal to the value of the commodities. John Stuart Mill, one of the greatest writers on political economy, fell into this error, and is responsible in a great measure for its wide dissemination and acceptance by others. A moment's reflection will serve to explode this theory. Argument is scarcely necessary. Facts can be cited. The President of the Bimetallic League of the United States, who appeared before the Committee on Banking and Currency in December last, made

the broad statement that "Prices depend on the proportion of the volume of money in a country as compared with commodities." But when his attention was called to the fact that in France the *per-capita* circulation was $42 and in England $18 and that there was no such difference in prices between the two countries as these figures indicated, he stated that the circulation is supplemented by bank credits, which also affect prices, and that when bank credits are taken into consideration in the two countries the currency of each of those countries is about the same. That statement was hastily made, but its truth is necessary to maintain the theory. A careful investigation, however, shows that the facts do not sustain him. In England the per-capita circulation of gold, silver, and paper money in 1890 was $18, and the per-capita circulation of banking capital, right of issue, and deposits in all banks was $120, making an aggregate per-capita of such circulation of $138. In France the per-capita circulation of gold, silver, and paper money was at that time $42, and the per-capita of banking capital, right of issue, and deposits in all banks was $35, making an aggregate per capita of such circulation of $77. If this theory were true, the prices in England as compared with those in France would be as 77 in France is to 138 in England. The mere statement of the proposition refutes itself, for everybody knows that the difference in prices of commodities in those two countries is the cost of transportation between one country and the other, and the added customs duties which either country may impose. In fact, this is practically the difference in prices between all countries, and the volume of circulating medium, whether it includes the banking credits or not, has nothing whatever to do with the prices of commodities in such country. The aggregate per capita of money and bank credits in other countries of the world in 1890 shows as great a disparity as is shown between England and France. Such per capita in Germany was $43.54; in Russia, $12.66; in Austria, $26.75; in Spain, $28.56; in Belgium, $53.53; in Holland, $58.88; in the United States, $105.40; in Australia, $211.75; and in Canada $53.56.* In view

* The data from which these facts were compiled will be found in two tables of statistics, one in Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics* (1892), page 76, and the other in Richard P. Rothwell's *Universal Bimetallism* (1893), page 6. It is possible that the paper money circulation was embraced in both the tables referred to; if so the per capitas should be reduced as follows: England to $136.68; France to $74 91; Germany to $41.78; Russia to $8.24; Austria to $20.20; Spain to $23; Belgium to $44.68; Holland to $50; United States to $99.16; and Canada to $44.67. The disparity is as great in either case.

of these facts the assumption that the volume of coin and currency, or the volume of coin, currency, and bank credits in a country, determines the prices of commodities in such country is without any foundation whatever.

In the actual transactions of business all contracts are expressed in money, but trade is merely the bartering of one commodity for another. The price is stated in money, and the commodity is first bartered for coin or its equivalent estimated upon the cost of production of each. When a person sells his commodities, he uses the coin to procure other commodities, and thus the barter is complete. But coin is not always passed in the transaction. In fact the most careful investigations in this country and in Europe have demonstrated that less than five per cent. of the transactions in trade are consummated by the passing of actual money, coin or paper. Checks, bills of exchange, and book accounts form ninety-five per cent. of all the moneyed transactions of the country. The five per cent. of all transactions which call for the actual use of money cannot be regarded as equalling the value of the ninety-five per cent. of commodities where no money whatever passes.

International trade is carried on in the same way as domestic. When goods are shipped from one country to another they are paid for by bills of exchange, and these bills of exchange are purchased from the bankers in the respective countries. A thousand millions of dollars worth of commodities may be sent from this country to other countries in one year, and if another thousand millions of products come back to pay for them, there would be no necessity for a dollar in money to pass between the two countries. The exported commodities would simply be exchanged for the imported commodities, and if an equal amount went each way there would be no balance to settle. And this is true whether the value of the goods were $1,000,000,000 or whether it were only $1,000,000. If the trade of this country with another country were only $1,000,000 in a year, and if we should get only $900,000 worth of goods in return, we would be compelled to send $100,000 in gold to make up the difference. So that in this case it would require more money to be paid in $1,000,000 of transactions than in $1,000,000,000, where the values of the commodities exchanged were equal. The transactions in a great city like New York will further illustrate this matter. The Clearing-

House serves the purpose of exchanging one kind of commodity with another. The transactions of the day might amount to $100,000,000, and $1,000,000 of actual money might be all which would be required. The same amount might be required in settling the balances when the aggregate was only $10,000,000. So that the volume of the currency in circulation does not affect the prices of the commodities in the slightest degree. If there is a sufficient volume of money in circulation to perform those transactions in which money is actually passed, any excess of this amount will serve no useful purpose, and will not affect in the slightest degree the prices of commodities.

These general observations will serve the purpose of dispelling any apprehension which may exist in the minds of those who anticipate inflation of prices through excessive issues of bank currency. As before stated it must be assumed at all times that the bank currency is perfectly safe and that the notes will be paid at all times on demand in coin or its equivalent.

It is the opinion of the best financiers of the country that the security provided in the Carlisle bill is ample, and that under no possible conditions could the noteholder ever lose anything. If this bill could be enacted into law it would furnish a currency which would be sufficient under all conditions for the wants of trade and commerce. By reason of the convertibility of the notes, and the further fact that every bank would be required to redeem its own notes, and that notes could be issued bottomed chiefly upon the assets of the bank without requiring the purchase of United States bonds to be deposited as security therefor, there would be perfect elasticity in the system. A country situated as is ours requires an elastic currency. In the seasons of the year when crops are being moved a much larger volume of currency is required than at other times. In Canada it has been estimated that the increase of the paper circulation when the crops are being moved amounts to twenty per cent. upon the whole volume. A similar increase is required in this country. This fact shows that in the United States at least $200,000,000 more are required for the transaction of business when the crops are being moved than at other seasons of the year. Our currency system should be so constituted that this increase would be permitted promptly, and as promptly retired when the necessity for the increase has ceased. The amount of notes that would be

in circulation could not be controlled by the banks. They could not put out a dollar without giving it away unless some person or corporation applied for it and required it for use in his or its business. The man who goes through the South buying cotton and paying for it in bank notes is expanding the circulating medium. The man who goes through the agricultural regions of the country buying grain or cattle is expanding the circulation. The banker is powerless to put one dollar in circulation except such as is required by the business transactions of the country in which currency is actually used. What is needed, therefore, in this country is a sound, sufficient, and elastic circulating medium. Any measure which secures these ends and takes the Government of the United States out of the banking business will bring the desired relief to the Treasury, will establish confidence in our financial system, and give assurance to the whole world that the people of the United States will conduct the affairs of this government upon sound financial principles, and that they will sacredly observe and meet all of its obligations.

WILLIAM M. SPRINGER.

III.

THE embarrassment of our financial situation is occasioned by the necessity of maintaining the paper money issued by the Government upon a gold basis, and this embarrassment is intensified by the fact that more than one-half of the currency issued by the Government is based upon silver—which has been demonetized as full legal tender money by the other principal nations.

In the early days of the Republic the wisest and best men of that time were opposed to the issue of paper money in any form, and in the Federal Convention there was bitter opposition to granting the power of issuing currency to the Government. With the exigencies of the Civil War began the evolution which has brought about the present financial situation. In 1862, for the first time in the history of the United States, notes were issued possessing legal-tender quality. They were, at first, fundable into United States bonds; and, very likely, if this provision had not been repealed, they would, like previous issues, have disappeared from circulation. The Supreme Court, reversing a former de-

cision, made them legal tender for all debts, and gave them permanent circulation as money.

It is not my intention to rehearse, at length, the financial history of the last thirty years, but it is necessary, in order to consider what remedies are best adapted to the present condition of affairs, to briefly review the action of the Government in relation to currency matters since 1862. There were issued under the acts of 1862 and 1863, legal-tender notes amounting to $449,479,222, which were reduced in 1878 to $346,681,016, and that amount was fixed as the maximum of this form of money. The Coinage Act of February 28, 1878, provided for an issue of standard silver dollars weighing 412½ grains, 900 fine, being at about the ratio (as silver is to gold) of 16 to 1. Under this act there has been coined 422,426,749 silver dollars, and while only 57,889,000 of these coins are at present in circulation, silver certificates representing the remainder are in use as money.

In 1890 a law was enacted repealing a portion of the Act of 1878, and directing the purchase each month of 4,500,000 ounces of silver and the issuance of Treasury notes against the same. Under this law (which was repealed in 1893) $150,823,000 of Treasury notes were issued against purchases of silver bullion. In addition to legal-tender notes, silver dollars (and silver certificates representing the latter), and Treasury notes representing silver bullion purchases, laws have been adopted providing for the issuance of gold certificates against deposits of gold coin, and legal-tender certificates against deposits of United States notes. These issues, however, being substantially warehouse receipts, do not bear directly upon the consideration of the general currency situation. The Treasury Department has for years been virtually a bank of issue. In addition to issuing its own currency, the Treasury has acted as redemption agent for the National Bank notes, which are guaranteed by the Government and secured by deposits of Government bonds; and while the practice of a government issuing paper money has been condemned by students of political economy, the paper money of the United States has been eminently satisfactory to our people. Every facility has been given for the transfer of notes from one part of the country to another, thus reducing the price of domestic exchange to a minimum. Mutilated notes have been promptly replaced with new currency, and the Government has

been prepared at all times to exchange the various denominations of money whenever desired. All of our currency, including the notes of National banks, has, since the resumption of specie payments, been redeemable on demand in gold or silver coin at the option of the holder. Unfortunately, however, our Government issues are not upon a proper basis, as more than one-half of the paper money in circulation has been issued against silver, and the balance is simply evidence of debt—a forced loan upon the people.

During the last twenty years the principal nations of the world have gradually been demonetizing silver as full legal-tender money, and now insist that gold is the only money possessing full debt-paying power. It was not remarkable that the demonetization of silver by France and Germany, beginning with 1873, was not then seriously regarded by the people of our country as, at that time, both gold and silver were at a premium in the United States. Furthermore, for several years after the passage of the silver coinage act in 1878, the restrictions imposed upon National Bank note circulation caused a decrease in its volume, this diminution being the result of the continued war tax of one per cent. per annum upon National Bank notes outstanding, and because notes to the extent of only ninety per cent. of the par value of United States bonds deposited as security can be issued by the banks. Hence National Bank notes outstanding have been reduced from $354,128,250 outstanding in 1875 to $201,845,000 on January 1, 1895. The coinage of standard silver dollars and the issuance of certificates against the same only added a sufficient amount of currency to satisfy the demands of increasing business, and as the balance of our trade with foreign countries was favorable to us, our people did not realize that we were issuing an inferior currency. Furthermore, the supply of gold in the country and the amount in the Treasury was ample for all our requirements. Since the resumption of specie payments, until recently, no difficulty has been experienced in obtaining any amount of gold required, either for domestic use or for shipment abroad to settle adverse balances; and although a number of the officials of the Treasury Department, and many of our thoughtful bankers and business-men, have felt that it was unwise for the Government to continue to issue currency, our legislators have been reluctant to make any alteration in our cur-

rency system, as it has for many years proven its efficiency and utility.

For several years past general trade conditions throughout the world have been unsettled, and owing to the low price of agricultural products which are the principal exported articles from this country, and also to the reluctance of investors abroad to purchase our securities or enter upon new business ventures in this country, the balance of trade has been against us. This has resulted in large and frequent shipments of gold to Europe to settle that balance. Under the circumstances it is not unnatural that the present unsatisfactory condition of trade and commerce in this country should be attributed to our complex currency system. As a matter of fact, gold exportations result from causes other than currency conditions. Our unparalleled prosperity in former years induced our people to freely purchase abroad objects of art, luxuries, and many manufactured articles, and while formerly such purchases were offset by shipments of commodities and by sales of securities to European investors (except during brief periods) we now feel keenly the general depressed condition of trade throughout the world. Furthermore, as European investors have of late seriously questioned our ability to maintain gold payments, it is necessary, in order to restore complete prosperity, that we should compete in the markets of the world with our goods and commodities, and also reconstruct our currency system.

We do not share in this apprehension of investors regarding maintenance of a gold issue, and are confident that, even if no change is made in our currency system, our government will maintain gold payments at any cost. Our present financial condition is, in many respects, more satisfactory than it was prior to the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act, which compelled us to inflate our currency regardless of business requirements, and we now realize that whatever may be the relative position of gold to silver, in the commercial world, we are compelled to settle our exchanges upon a gold basis, and we have abandoned the idea of this country alone fixing the ratio between gold and silver as money metals, and our Government must act accordingly.

While the Government cannot evade its obvious duty in the maintenance of gold payments, it is also plain that our currency system should be modified and simplified; but this should be

undertaken only after a most careful consideration of the subject in all its aspects. Our circulating medium should not be subjected to any sudden change which might disturb business confidence. The Government having hitherto provided us with paper money, it cannot discontinue its task without first providing ample safeguards covering bank note issues—if the latter are to supplant our present form of currency. In the mean time it must maintain all of its currency on a gold basis. Furthermore, Government disbursements at present exceed its receipts, and, as this state of affairs may continue for some time, provision should be made to meet any deficiency that may arise. To accomplish this and provide for the maintenance of gold payments and arrange for the retirement of Government paper money, it is necessary that the Secretary of the Treasury should have the power—

First. To borrow money, when necessary to meet deficiency, by issuing therefor short-term obligations under proper restrictions.

Second. To issue bonds payable in gold coin, on short or long time, as may be best adapted to the money market and most advantageous to the Government, so that we may compete in the markets of the world for a sufficient supply of gold to provide additional reserve and maintain all of our paper money on a gold basis.

Third. To issue long-time bonds at a low rate of interest, to provide funds to redeem such Government notes as it may seem desirable to withdraw from circulation from time to time.

These requirements being met, we can then safely consider the question of a larger issue of bank notes to supplant the Government paper money to be retired.

The growth of public sentiment during the past year in opposition to the Government issue of paper money, and in favor of substituting bank-note issues therefor, has been pronounced, and several bills have been introduced in Congress which provide for the issue of unsecured bank notes by both National and State institutions, and suggestions have been made that the United States notes issued in 1862 and Treasury notes issued under the Act of 1890 for the purchase of silver bullion should be retired.

None of the measures pending, however, is sufficiently comprehensive to remedy the evils they seek to correct.

The currency obligations of the Government at the present time

in circulation and in the Treasury (exclusive of gold certificates, currency certificates, silver dollars outstanding, and subsidiary silver) which the Government is compelled to protect by a sufficient gold reserve are as follows :

United States notes	$346,681,016
Treasury notes (under Act, July 14, 1890)	150,823,731
Silver certificates	336,924,504
	$834,429,251

In addition to the above there are $201,845,738 National Bank notes outstanding, guaranteed by the Government, which are in the same category. It is evident that if provision be made for the retirement of the United States notes and Treasury notes of 1890, leaving the responsibility for the redemption of National Bank notes to the banks themselves, the Treasury will still have to contend with $336,924,504 of silver certificates, representing standard silver dollars, and will also be compelled to keep $57,889,090 of silver dollars, now outstanding, at par and interchangeable with gold ; and should any of the bills now pending before Congress providing for the issue of bank notes be passed, such notes might be redeemed in silver dollars which are unlimited legal tender, the silver certificates being redeemable in this coin. It is plain, therefore, that unless the Treasury maintains silver dollars and silver certificates upon a gold basis, a large additional issue of bank notes might force us to a silver basis unless the silver certificates and silver dollars be retired from circulation, in addition to the retirement of the United States notes and Treasury notes.

The National Banking System was established in February, 1863, and for many years it has furnished a most excellent paper currency, secured by deposits of Government bonds with the Treasurer of the United States, and the bank notes are issued under such careful provisions of law that the general public scarcely realizes that they are simply promises to pay, and not actual money. The National Bank notes are redeemable in legal-tender notes, which, in turn, are redeemable in coin. The issue of currency by the Government and the restrictions upon National Banks, heretofore mentioned, have curtailed and reduced the volume of National Bank notes, and the provisions of the Bank Act, which prevent the redemption of more than $3,000,000 of bank notes during any one month, have also been a great disadvantage. The

National Banks for a number of years past have gradually become banks of deposit and discount, rather than banks of issue. This is the natural result of the Government's policy furnishing paper money, and of the restrictions imposed upon National Bank circulation rendering it unprofitable. While some plan providing for the issuance of unsecured bank notes, which would be a first lien upon the assets, a plan somewhat similar to the one now in operation in the Dominion of Canada, or proposed in some of the bills pending in Washington, might be devised that would make the holder comparatively safe, it would be an experiment, which, under existing circumstances might prove costly. Besides, with our present system in operation it is entirely unnecessary to make any radical change in the Bank Act.

The issuing of unsecured bank notes, making noteholders preferred creditors, would undoubtedly disturb depositors, and might cause a very considerable contraction, as bank checks are the principal circulating medium of the country. In times of panic unsecured bank notes would undoubtedly be presented in large amounts for redemption, thus causing heavy runs. This demand, in addition to withdrawal of deposits, would undoubtedly cause suspensions and great sacrifices on the part of the banks; whereas holders of bank notes secured by United States bonds, such as are now outstanding, are not called upon to take any action during a period of financial distress, as their money is not dependent upon the general assets of the bank—the issue department of National Banks being distinct from the banking department, upon practically the same principle as that of the Bank of England.

As the National Bank Act provides for the conversion of State banks into National banks, there would be no undue discrimination against State institutions, and if banks organized under the State laws desire to avail themselves of the privilege of issuing bank notes, it can be no hardship to them to convert themselves under the liberal provision of the law already made for that purpose. Indeed, it would appear that if State institutions should object to this course, they must consider the laws under which they are conducting their business as less restrictive than the National Bank Act, and it would certainly be inexpedient to permit banks to issue currency unless proper restrictions surrounded their business. Undoubtedly much of the excellence of

the National Banking System is due to the fact that it is conducted under the general laws of the United States, which insist upon formal report and examinations and provide for proper reserve against deposits.

It has been claimed by the advocates of the measures now pending in Congress, that bank notes issued freely without security further than a first lien upon the assets of the bank will be a more elastic currency and apt to be more readily retired, in case of redundancy, than it should under the National Bank Act. It is difficult to understand upon what premises this idea was based. There is no good reason why unsecured bank notes should be issued or retired more readily than secured notes.

From the foregoing it appears that the machinery of the National Banking System can be readily made available for the issuance of additional bank notes to replace the paper currency issued by the government, if the following modifications in the law are made:

First. Long-time bonds should be issued by the General Government to take up and cancel its paper money. These bonds can be utilized as security for bank notes.

Second. The tax of 1 per cent. per annum upon National bank circulation should be reduced to ¼ of 1 per cent. per annum.

Third. Banks should be permitted to issue notes to the extent of the par value of bonds deposited as security.*

Fourth. The restriction of the law providing that only $3,000,000 of National bank notes shall be redeemed in any one month should be repealed.

Fifth. In order to maintain gold payments the redemption fund deposited with the Treasurer of the United States should consist of gold coin or its equivalent.

Sixth. The Comptroller of the Currency should be authorized to have printed and continually on hand a sufficient amount of National Bank notes to supply the banks of the country with the maximum amount of circulation permitted by law upon a deposit of Government bonds.

Seventh. National Banks should be permitted to hold a portion of their reserves against deposits in the notes of other banks.

* The Comptroller of the Currency might be authorized to permit banks owning high-rate Government bonds, selling at a premium, to issue notes to substantially the market value of the bonds.

These modifications relate entirely to the issuing of bank notes, and do not disturb or weaken our banks, so far as their operations of deposit and discount are concerned.

In the solution of the currency situation, it is requisite that our entire system should be taken into account before any legislation bearing thereon is had, and no palliative measure should be adopted. The subject is of such vital importance to every one, to the humblest laborer as well as the richest capitalist, that in providing a remedy partisanship should be subordinated to statesmanship. The paper which has been issued by the Government is on a gold basis, and when supplanted by bank notes they also must be maintained upon a gold basis, and this must be done, even if we are compelled to make sacrifices to provide the necessary amount of gold coin for this purpose, for, whatever may be the opinion of the citizens of the United States in the matter, gold is to-day the sole money of full debt-paying power among the principal civilized nations.

H. W. CANNON.

LITERATURE AND THE ENGLISH BOOK TRADE.

BY OUIDA.

I REMEMBER, a little while before the death in the hunting-field of that delightful companion and brilliant gentleman, Whyte Melville, a publisher said to me one day: "Ah! You know, if your books sold like Major Melville's we could afford to give you as long prices as we give to him." The publisher was not aware that I and Whyte Melville were friends. The latter, however, came to dine with me a few evenings later, and I told him what had been said. He stared, laughed, and pulled his long auburn moustache. "Well, by Jove! that's droll!" he said, with much amusement. "If the fellow didn't tell *me* last week that if my books sold like yours he could pay me double and treble!"

I have since been sceptical of all the utterances of the trade. They are just now, according to their own statements, almost *in extremis* in England. Accepting the declaration as a fact (which I do not, because every day there crops up some new publishing firm, which would not be the case if "publishing" spelt "ruin"), it is worth while to seek out the cause, or causes, which have led to the state of things which allows publishers to plead penury. As I have said, I do not believe in their poverty-stricken circumstances the least in the world, but what are the circumstances which enable such a *miserere* to be sung in chorus by them?

In the first place there are many too many of them in numbers, and in the second there are many too few of them who have any intellectual judgment. What should we think of a wine merchant who had no palate for wine? Yet the publisher is generally without any literary palate at all. Who is it who is responsible for all the trash and twaddle poured from the English and American printing-presses? The publisher clearly. If he were not ready and willing to be *accoucheur*, these wretched

bantlings would never see the light. It is appalling to behold the amount of paper, ink, and typographical labor which is yearly wasted on bringing out works which should have been put on the fire, which should indeed never have been written at all. Take up any newspaper which publishes the announcements of books, and you will see twenty rubbishy volumes, which ought never to have occupied the time of compositors and binders, to one work of any ordinary interest and excellence. I asked a London publisher not long since why this ghastly amount of imbecile and ungrammatical works which see the light of type is ever issued. He answered me in these startling terms: "It does not matter very much whether a book is good or bad; if it be *new* a certain number will always be sold to the libraries, sufficient to pay the expense of bringing it out and leave us a certain margin of profit. When an author is celebrated, one has to pay him so much that he is rather a loss than otherwise; it is only when a writer of great talent does not know his value, *i. e.*, at the beginning of his career, that he is of any use to us, though of course his name always sets off our columns."

And although I am, as I have said, sceptical of the utterances of the trade, I do believe this; for in verification of the latter portion of the speech I call to mind the reply of another publisher, of whom I inquired if a certain sensational price attributed to him by the newspapers for a novel of a famous writer had really been paid, and who answered: "Yes, my house gave that, but we never saw it back again, nor one-half of it." For this reason the trade does cherish mediocrity, and worse than mediocrity, because out of these they get safe trade profits; small perhaps, but sure, because if a book be "new"—it may be rot—it will, nevertheless, be put in circulation. Abettor and aider of the publishers in thus thrusting rubbish down the throat of the public is the press, which almost invariably reviews this rubbish with patronizing amiability, when it ought, if it did its duty, not even to mention its existence.

The circulating libraries are, of course, als great factors in the demand for rubbish in the shape of books, for a demand there must be or there would not be so large a supply. The circulating libraries find that their readers require a large variety of books, and are, for the chief part, entirely indifferent to the quality of them,

only demanding the quantity. Therefore the libraries desire a continuous flow of new works. Now, it is of course obvious that of good books, books really worth being read, there are not a dozen, perhaps not half a dozen, in a year, whether of fiction or of *belles-lettres*. What can the librarian do? He must fill his boxes; he must respond to the lists sent by his clients; he could not persuade them, if he tried, to read what they call contemptuously "old books"; they will not read the same book twice, although if it be a fine book, whether a novel or not, it requires and deserves to be read several times.

He does not offer them works of twenty or fifty years ago, though they may never have read them; he must have for his clients what he calls "box-stuffers"—*i. e.*, any amount of trash so long as it is "new." He thus offers to the publishers their small but sure premium on the production of trash, and trash is multiplied like bacilli. The recent demand of the two great circulating libraries of England to be allowed to dictate the price of novels did not excite the attention which it ought to have done. For the consumer to dictate prices to the producer is not a way to improve trade. These two great libraries consider themselves in a position to do this, because they are, practically, the only buyers of books in Great Britain. They supply all the smaller circulating libraries, and, I believe, all the clubs and societies and institutions. They have an enormous power, and they consider that they have a right to use this power to insist on paying so much and no more. I imagine that if they choose to stand out, the publishers will yield to their demands. This attempt at dictation on their part has caused a great deal of nonsense to be written about the three-volume form of publishing novels. In these comments on the three-volume novel it is always assumed that the novel is of much greater length on account of the volumes to be filled by it than it would otherwise be. This is an entire mistake; *La Terre*, or *Le Nabab*, or *Le Moulin Frappier*, although only in one volume, are every whit as long as a three-volume novel, are indeed longer. It is the larger print of the three-volume form which spreads the matter over nine hundred odd pages. Writers of the press, treating of this subject, invariably say that to fill three volumes the writer draws out, by padding, a story naturally designed to fill only one. Now, if an author does do such

a horrible thing, he does not deserve to be in print at all. "Padding" is, as I understand this much-abused word, irrelevant matter injudiciously and inharmoniously introduced into a story to make it longer than it would naturally be. It is not conceivable that a writer of any genius, or even of any talent, would do anything of the sort. Inferior writers might do so, but then the whole of their work is padding, where it is not piracy. A writer of intellect and judgment knows, of course, that there are themes which require slight and suggestive treatment, and others which require long and elaborate development; he composes a short story or a long romance, according to the exigencies of his subject. I could not have stretched out *Pipistrello* or *The Dog of Flanders* into three volumes without ruin to them. I could not have compressed *Ariadne* or *Moths* into short stories without ruin to them. Every subject requires its own especial treatment and size of canvas, as does a picture. You do not paint a miniature on a six-foot wall, nor a fresco on a square inch of ivory.

The short story as opposed to the long romance is as the miniature to the fresco. They are entirely different to each other. I consider the short story much the more perfect as pure art. It is more concentrated, more delicate, more ideal; that is, when it is excellently well done, like *Boule de Suif*, like *Deux Rivales*, like *Yvette*, like the short stories of Paul Heyse, or those of Edmondo De Amicis. But the short story is only adapted to pathos; when humorous it is odious; and it never could replace the long romance if intricate events, complicated characters, or the portraiture of contemporary society is to be undertaken. Where would be *Vanity Fair* if reduced to the limits of a short story? I repeat I consider the short story is the most exquisite form of fiction, as the sonnet is of poetry; but the *Iliad* or the *Inferno*, the *Orlando* or *The Tempest*, could not be put into a sonnet, and no more could *Gil Blas* or *Waverley*, *Adam Bede* or *L'Impérieuse Bonté*, be put into a short story.

In France this is perfectly well known, and in Germany and in Italy, and even in Spain; but in England the idea that fiction is an art, and a very fine art, has been entirely stifled and obliterated under the deluge of trash, shot like rubbish from a dirt cart, which they dare to call literature. In no other country of Europe is there any such unmitigated rubbish poured

out from the press as there is in England, and multiplied, as I have said, like microbes in gelatine. For the English mind is essentially inartistic, and only becomes artistic in its very higher forms when these become genius.

A critic has recently said that it would be well to abolish the long novel in England because all English readers invariably skip half that they have to read! These dear creatures would skip half a pamphlet as certainly as they would skip half a folio volume. The skipper of books is always a skipper, and had much rather play cricket, or darn stockings, than read any books at all. It is a fact that the English reader reads very loosely and indifferently, and when he or she reads fiction has a shame-faced puritanic kind of feeling that he is wasting his time. The average English reader has a vague confused memory that Hetty Sorel was seduced by Evan Harrington, that Mrs. Nickleby was Lady Dedlock, and that Pelham, after much tribulation, married Becky Sharp. "That beautiful book of yours," said an English reader to me the other day, "about a dog, you know; it was somewhere, I forget where, and had something dreadful done to it, and yet it served its master; I can't remember exactly, but it was beautiful and made me cry." I suppose she meant *Poussitte.*

This is the reader for whose enjoyment, and at whose request, the "box-stuffers" are produced. This is the reader who has brought about the state of things under which the English publishers are groaning. "Trade is bad," say these gentlemen; but the badness of trade ought to have nothing to do with literature. Short of a siege, like the siege of Paris, no external events ought to trouble the repose of the library. On the contrary the more disturbed, distressing, and unintellectual be the course of public events (as it is at the present hour), the more welcome should be the repose which the serenity of our books begets in us, and the welcome change of thought which they bring with them.

Nor can I see why the badness of other trades should affect the book trade in England, because books are so little bought there. Very cheap editions are the only forms on which the Briton spends his money; he likes something which he can leave behind him in the train without too much regret. Books are the things which English people, gentle and simple, can do without most easily. They read, also, in a muddle-headed kind of way. They read

when they are tired, when they are traveling, when they are alone after dinner, and when they want to go to sleep. When they can do anything better or more amusing they seldom read. They have comical ideas, also, as to the composition of books. Writing seems to them similar to the treadmill. They cannot understand why, when a writer might be at Ascot or Hurlingham, or playing tennis or dining out, he should prefer instead to devote himself to the work he is creating. "It must take it out of you so," they will remark. Literary composition seems to them like taking a mud-bath or drinking Carlsbad waters—a thing which nobody would do if he were not obliged. That it can be the supreme joy and consolation and interest of a writer's life they would not believe if Tolstoi and Daudet and Loti and Mallock and Ibsen all swore it to them.

There is another matter in which, to my views, great libraries are as much at fault, even more so, as when they desire to dictate the prices of books. It is when they attempt to constitute themselves the censors of opinion, the judges of what the public should or should not read. It is as monstrous for a librarian, or a committee of librarians, to exclude a work which is asked for from their bookshelves, on the score of its immorality, as it would be for a grocer to refuse to sell a customer tea because he thought it bad for the nerves. The purveyor has no business to dictate the tastes of his supporters. The public is the sole judge of what it wishes to read. If the wickedest book in the world be in demand, the circulating libraries, which are merely the go-between, uniting the publisher and the reader, are bound to supply it. Its character is no affair of theirs. They are not Popes or police officers, nor is the public a child or a ward in Chancery.

I do not believe that the English book trade is affected by what is called the financial depression of the times; I believe it has gorged itself on its own trash, like the boa constrictor who lately swallowed its own blanket and died thereof. It suffers also from what every other trade suffers from in this century, the overcrowding of its ranks. What are wanted are a few great publishing-houses—a very few. Instead of what should be this choice few, there are scores of firms imbued with the same views of selling books as a grocer has of selling sugar and spice. Regarded merely as a trade, how far,

how very far, is the publishing trade of London removed from that of Paris! I contrast the cheapest French editions of my books with those of the cheapest English editions of them, the first so neat and simple in their glossy plain paper covers, with their good paper and admirable type within, and the second so atrocious in the gaudy pictorial cover, which is deemed needful to attract the eyes of the British multitude! Even in what is called the "Library Edition" (Heaven save the mark!) there are inferior type and inferior paper, in a rough red common cloth cover. Why cannot the French editions be imitated?

A long while ago I remember a London firm produced a cheap edition of Mrs. Gaskell's novels and those of others whose names I forget, in a charming pale lavender-grey paper cover (boards) solidly bound and stitched, and excellently printed. But I remember also that the publisher of it told me regretfully that it did not sell on the railway bookstalls, and that he had been obliged to substitute a vulgar cloth cover. What a melancholy picture of the literary taste of the British Isles!

I am informed that Mr. Morris's books are very beautifully printed and bound; I have not seen them, so cannot judge; but their prices are high, such as will only tempt bibliophiles. What is wanted in England are the cheap editions of books as well printed and turned out as such editions are in Paris. If the two great circulating libraries want to bring about a reform, they had better address themselves to this question, but, of course, they would not do so; cheap books, well turned out, would be the death-knell of their own industry; and it is not they who can be expected to teach the English nation to buy books. I fear the "box-stuffers" have a long life before them for this reason: that they are eminently useful to these great libraries.

Imagine if these great libraries had had nothing during the last six months to offer to their subscribers except George Meredith's *Lord Ormont*! And yet *Lord Ormont* is the only work of originality and note which the past six months have seen issued in London. But what would the subscribers say if, in return for their guinea, or their two or three guineas, they only received *Lord Ormont*, and again *Lord Ormont*, and yet again *Lord Ormont*, and nothing else? So the "box-stuffers" are hailed with open arms by the librarians, and *Lord Ormont* rubs sides with them on the bookshelves. Herein lies the real secret of the decline of

the book trade, and not in any reaction from the distress in other trades. "An open-air race which does not read" was the famous definition of the English race by Lord Beaconsfield; and in a great measure the definition is true. But it sometimes does wish to read, or it would not subscribe to the libraries; and it is a pity that it is obliged to accept the "box-stuffers" as mental pabulum.

The "box-stuffers" should cease to exist; no longer should the clever compositor toil for them, or paper be soiled for them, or newspapers be choked by worthless reviews of their worthless nonentities. The "box-stuffer" is to literature what the cad is to modern cities, and he should no longer degrade the art which he apes and injures. It is due to this intolerable pest that the great art of fiction is regarded as a mere pot-boiling profession by the English publishers and the English press.

In *éditions de luxe*, also, how far behind France is England! There is no bibliophile public to purchase in England such magnificent volumes as are published and eagerly bought in France. The fine artistic volumes of the great art publishers of Paris are sometimes imitated and brought out in a London garb, but they are no longer the same; their text is often mutilated, their illustrations ill copied, or ill printed when the original blocks are secured, and the binding is always utterly inferior. English purchasers are grudging of their money where books are concerned; and when an Englishman, noble or gentle, is in pecuniary difficulties, the first thing he sacrifices is his library.

Although there are still many Englishmen who buy from Mr. Quaritch and his fellow-collectors, there are many more who sell to him; and some great library or other goes to the hammer every season. There is no prince in England who sets the example of loving books, and spending nobly on them, which has been so long set in France by the Duc d'Aumale. Nor in the English nobility are there any such devoted patrons of books as are in France the Duc de Rivoli, the Duc de la Tremouille, the Marquis de Villantreys, the Marquis de Roys, the Baron Pichon, the Noailles, the d'Estrées, the Montmorencys, the d'Harcourt, and many others as illustrious. The first thing which the nobleman who is pressed for money sells is his library, as I have said, and the first thing the man of the middle classes, as the country squire, does when he is embarrassed, or obliged to retrench, is to

give up his subscription to the circulating library and to tell his sons and daughters that they must buy no more books.

The late Duke of Albany had a very intelligent and tender love of books, and, had he lived, it is probable that his influence might have induced English society to care more for literature. But he died in his youth, and there is no one in his family who possesses either his taste or his culture. It is not on writers that a royal or imperial bibliophile and scholar could produce any effect: the writer is better away from the enervating and imprisoning atmosphere of any court; but on the reading public, or the public that does not read, such a prince might produce a grand effect, and he might set the example, as does the Duc d'Aumale, of preferring a lettered leisure to the foolish and restless gyrations and common-place pleasure so dear to most royal persons. But Leopold died with the violets on the Mediterranean shore, and in England the "box-stuffer" flourishes apace, and the book trade continues to destroy true literature, as the violets are pressed to death to serve the commerce of Bond street shops and distilleries in the Strand.

AUGUST, 1894. OUIDA.

POLITICS AND THE FARMER.

BY THE HON. BEN. F. CLAYTON, PRESIDENT OF THE FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS.

WE are confronted with the fact that every business interest of the country is under some kind of combination, and should be met by like combination on the part of the great producing classes; not with selfish and unreasonable demands, but by placing the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of the various States in possession of the necessary information required to protect and to build up the productive industries of the country.

As shown by the Census report of 1890, the farm values of the United States are as follows:

Farms and improvements	$13,279,252,649
Farm product, 1890	494,247,467
Live-stock	2,208,767,473
Farm implements and machinery	2,460,107,454
Grand total	$18,442,375,043

This gives agriculture in the United States about thirty per cent. of the entire wealth of the nation; and if we include the land interest, with all legitimately belonging to it, it amounts to fully sixty-six per cent. In discussing this question, the Secretary of Agriculture in his annual report truly says that the agricultural interest "represents thirty million people, or nearly one-half of our present population." He further says:

"It may be broadly stated that upon the productiveness of our agriculture, and upon the prosperity of our farmers, the entire wealth and prosperity of the whole nation depend."

And again:

"The trade and commerce of this vast country, of which we so proudly boast, the transportation facilities so wonderfully developed during the past quarter of a century, are all possible only because the underlying in-

dustry of them all, agriculture, has called them into being. Even the products of our mines are valuable only because of the commerce and the wealth created by our agriculture. These are strong assertions, but they are assertions fully justified by the facts and recognized the world over by the highest authorities in political economy."

The farm is the true source of wealth to the people of the United States. The product of the soil, the raw material gathered from the field, the forest, and the mines, constitute the foundation upon which rest every occupation. From the farm, the people engaged in mechanical pursuits, in the arts, or in the varied professions must be fed, clothed, and warmed. The vast and various resources of the farm have called into being every art that adorns every useful invention and every science that enlarges the boundary of our field of knowledge. The transportation of the tremendous quantity of farm product has called into existence the railway system, into activity the ocean steamers that sail upon every sea and to every known market. For manufacturing its material there have been erected establishments whose smoke darkens every sky. Its product furnishes employment to labor, and life and activity to our great commercial centres. American agriculture, standing in the breach between great contending forces, the friend of law, of order, and of all occupations, becomes the impartial arbiter between the discordant elements of society, and is the first to feel the shock of financial disaster and commercial depression.

The great political revolution of 1892, with its threatened change of governmental policy relating to the industrial interests of the country is, it is alleged, the cause of the late business prostration. In verification of this we quote from most eminent authority.

President Harrison, in his message to Congress in 1892, says :

"That the general conditions affecting the commercial and industrial interests of the United States are in the highest degree favorable; that there has never been a time in our history when work was so abundant or when wages were so high."

President Cleveland, eight months later, in the face of crop prospects the magnitude of which had seldom been seen, in his proclamation convening the extra session of Congress, said :

"That distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation which pervades all business circles have already caused great loss and damage to our people, and threaten to cripple our merchants, stop the

wheels of manufacture, bring distress and privation to our farmers, and withhold from our workingmen the wage of labor."

In his message to the extra session of Congress, he said :

"With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial fear and distrust have sprung up on every side, values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have involved every branch of business."

These two pictures, drawn by master artists—the leaders of the two great political parties—were a true representation of the condition of the business of the country at that time. That of General Harrison was at the close of more than thirty years of practical operation of a policy under which the wealth of the nation had increased from $16,159,616,068 in 1860 to $62,-610,000,000 in 1890, notwithstanding the loss of some $10,000,-000,000 during the war. The condition of the country, as portrayed by Mr. Cleveland, is equally true, and could have been brought about only by the threatened change of a long-established policy. As soon as it was demonstrated that the new administration was in a position to make good the promises of its so-called reform on certain lines, without waiting for the actual repeal of existing laws, capital became uneasy, deposits were withdrawn from banks, money went into hiding-places in lieu of investment, merchants purchased with caution; factories scaled in time and wages or put out their fires; railways brought to bear the most rigid retrenchment in labor and in expenditure; mines were closed, business-houses suspended, banks ruined, laboring men thrown out of employment, strikes ordered, and the home market for farm products was destroyed. Nor has the substance of the foreshadowed "reform" revived the prostrated industries, as its friends anticipated it would.

A review of the present Congress and the occupation of its members will relieve farmers of responsibility for disastrous legislation. The biography of the Fifty-third Congress, furnished by its members, discloses the fact that out of a membership of four hundred and forty-four the farmers have thirty-five in the House of Representatives and one in the Senate; that the Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture of the Senate comes from an obscure State as to agricultural resources and records himself as an attorney, the only farmer on the committee being from

a homestead in North Dakota. Ten of the eighteen comprising the House Committee, including the Chairman, follow the law as a profession. The great States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Missouri have each one farmer; and the heart of the great agricultural region—Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa —have no farmer in either branch of Congress. The only chairmanship controlled by the agricultural members of the House is that of the Committee on "Ventilation and Acoustics"; otherwise the farmers of the House are practically disfranchised. This is contrary to the eternal fitness of things, and yet it is about the average representation accorded to the productive industries of the country throughout the history of the American Republic.

Neither of the two great political parties are to blame for this condition of things; the fault lies at the door of the farmer, and is a sad comment on the agricultural voter. His mistake is in not being at the caucus or the primary of the political party to which he belongs; in not recognizing the fact that when the local caucus adjourns, the doors are closed, he is in honor bound to support the candidate and to accept the situation. He has no redress except to bolt the ticket of his party. He should have spent the short time required, once or twice each year, in securing a good farmer, merchant, or professional man to represent him in the higher councils of his party.

It is granted that labor has equal right with capital to organize, but the right of either or any organization to disturb or to destroy the business interest of the country is denied. Past experience with both of these elements, for the last eighteen months, leads us to the conclusion that we have reached the time for Congressional intervention in order to check rash movements, and that they should be enjoined from interfering with traffic until proper investigation is obtained. While the price of farm product is largely governed by supply and demand, yet there is no business so sensitive to spasmodic action of capital or labor. The clogging of the channel of trade is disastrous, nor is railway rate war of practical benefit to the farmer and the shipper of live-stock but often a damage in producing unsettled and overflowed markets, which always follow cut rates. Labor strikes not only deprive men of employment and lessen their ability to purchase the necessaries of life, but they retard the regular flow of farm

product to the markets. These being largely perishable, heavy loss is the result, and what is not perishable rapidly accumulates to be thrown on the market in such quantities as to create seriously decreased prices.

Representing a large per cent. of the population of the entire country, any organization to which the farming element would be loyal could approach the Congress of the United States with great confidence of success in securing a respectful hearing. The greatest, and, in fact, the only difficulty in the way, is the problem of maintaining such an organization. Not because of a want of intelligence, for the best brain of the nation has come from the farm; but because the financial conditions of the farming class are so varied, and the farmers are so evenly distributed throughout the rural districts, that a concentration of power cannot be accomplished so uniformly and harmoniously as with other great interests.

Farmer organizations in the past have been a flat failure. They have been manipulated in the interest of political parties and to advance the interests of political leaders. The Grange organization of the early seventies was a magnificent effort in the right direction. As long as it adhered to the object for which it was organized, it commanded the respect of the leading political parties, but when it entered the muddy pool of politics it soon lost its power for good. The Farmers' Alliance, which took the place of the Grange, was soon wrecked on the same political reef. These failures have caused thoughtful and practical representative men of the great productive interests of the country to look in a different direction for necessary influence to secure legislation in behalf of our great interest. It is through the non-political action of the "Farmers' National Congress of the United States of America" that much has been accomplished, and through which much more may be accomplished.

The principles of this organization are contained in one short sentence of the first section of the Constitution, which says: "Its object shall be to advance the agricultural interest of the Union." The organization is non-political in character, with the same representation as the Congress of the United States, with the addition that the presidents of all State agricultural societies and agricultural colleges are members by virtue of their offices. The delegates, who hold office for two years, are ap-

pointed and commissioned by the Governors of the several States. The object of the organization is two-fold in character. First: It seeks to mould and shape such legislation as the interest of the farmer requires, and to present it to State and national legislative bodies for their action. Second: It has a literary programme by which it seeks to elevate the great masses now engaged in agricultural pursuits to a position in keeping with that occupation.

Annual meetings have been held in St. Louis, Chicago, Indianapolis, Louisville, Nashville, New Orleans, St. Paul, Washington, Topeka, Montgomery, Council Bluffs, Lincoln, Savannah, and at Parkersburg, West Va. At each of these sessions resolutions have been adopted asking for such legislation as the productive interest of the country requires. These resolutions have been sent to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, and have been printed and placed upon the desk of every member of Congress.

Nearly every important demand made by this Congress upon our national legislative body has been favorably considered. It demanded the passage of the Interstate Commerce law; it demanded that the Secretary of Agriculture be made a cabinet officer; that the Signal Service be enlarged; that infectious disease of live-stock be stamped out; that adulteration of human food be prevented; that our rivers and harbors be improved; that the irrigation of the arid districts be encouraged; and that agricultural products be given the benefit of the same protective policy extended by the government to other great interests.

The fact of the Farmers' National Congress being non-political in its character does not preclude the discussion of political questions. Directly or indirectly all questions demanding legislation affect the productive industries, and they are to be discussed freely, fairly, and impartially. The Governors of the several States have been prompt in their appointment of representative men from every branch of that industry as delegates; and the literary programmes, prepared three months in advance of each meeting, have been carried out by splendid speakers and writers, many of whom have a national reputation. The organization has been a gradual growth until it has become permanent, and its influence with the Government at Washington is second to that of no other.

BEN. F. CLAYTON.

THE NEW PULPIT.

BY THE REV. H. R. HAWEIS, M. A.

I.

Does it exist?

It is always best to declare, concerning anything desirable, that it already exists. As prophecy often brings its own fulfilment, so assertion will often create a fact. The man who believes in the mind cure and denies pain is not unfrequently rewarded.

Now, we want a New Pulpit; the laity intends to get a New Pulpit, and, what is more, a New Pulpit is on its way.

The Early Christian Pulpit of Clement, Polycarp, and Ignatius was kept alive with the personal recollections of Jesus Christ. "*I*," as Polycarp used to say, "*who have seen the Apostles.*"

The Mediæval Pulpit lived on church ceremonials and the lives of the saints; the Reformation Pulpit lived on the Bible, chiefly seen through the eyes of Luther. But what does the Modern Pulpit live upon? Doctrinally, on the dried pippins of the past! It has nothing distinctive. Its methods are a mixture—"The mixture as before."

"Well, but," asks the anxious inquirer, "what can you want more—if you are a Christian—than the life of Christ, the organization of worship, the records of saintly lives and the study of the Bible—is not that enough for the pulpit?"—which sounds very well until you come to ask one question—"How does the modern pulpit deal with all this material? As Hamlet says, "*the readiness is all!*"

II.

Now, I do not think, with some lively journalists, that in the near future the sermon is to be crowded out by the leading article—facts point in another direction. Indeed, I am glad to see

sermons habitually reproduced in the American papers on Monday and commented upon on Tuesday. This does not mean the extinction of the pulpit by the Press, but the affiliation of the Press to the Pulpit. Here, as elsewhere, America leads the way. The New Pulpit is already alive over there ; that is why the Press is busy with it. It has hardly begun to be thought of over here; that is why the newspapers, as a rule, pay no more attention to our Sunday sermons than to the debates in Convocation—the improbability of anything of interest or importance being said in either case is too great.

III.

It may be asked what I mean by the NEW PULPIT.

A pulpit in touch with the life of the period. A pulpit up to date ; interested in what is interesting ; capable of refocusing religion ; quick to note when a phrase is outworn ; resolved to find why clever men won't listen to sermons ; convinced that every pursuit, occupation, discovery, and faculty of man should have a moral thrust and prepared to give it. A pulpit of this kind has little to fear, but something to learn, from leading articles. The Press can never be the Preacher's master, but it may and should be his indicator ; let him keep his finger upon its pulse if he would play upon the hearts of his people.

IV.

Sermons will never be crowded out by the Press so long as the people crowd in to the preacher. The old pulpit not only will be, it has been, superseded—it is stricken with dogmatic ague, it is palsied with fear ; it would persecute if it could, but it can't, for it has ceased to inspire convictions worth persecuting. The New Pulpit has nothing to fear except a certain timidity and distrust which eyes all novelty askance—as those who taste a new food turn away, yet soon after maybe ready to fall on it ravenously.

V.

Between the old and the New Pulpit stands the Transition Pulpit, just as between Moses and Christ stood the Talmud ; and between Mohammed and the New World stand the elaborate commentaries and traditions of Islamism. Were it not for the

Transition Pulpit no one would ever listen to sermons. No one could sit through a Tillotson, a Barrow, or even a Simeon, or a Wesley now. A Latimer, a South, or a Sterne might get a partial hearing—not because of the doctrine, or the once much admired form, but on account of the wit.

Things move apace. It is strange to think how only some twenty years ago in our high churches, St. Paul's at Brighton for instance, a short-sighted gentleman, with a MS. held close to his nose, would get off such sentences as "our Holy Mother the Church, whose blessed decrees we are bound to submit to, commands us this day to bow in thankful adoration in memory of the Holy Innocents, who were slain at Bethlehem. The blessed Cyprian, etc., etc.," and so on for about twenty minutes and not more.

This sort of thing received its *quietus* with the appearance of Dr. Liddon, who was never under the hour. Whilst pinning his faith to the old theological watchwords, and attributing an extreme importance to the utterances of the blessed Cyprians, Chrysostoms, and other religious antiquaries—great lights in their own day—Dr. Liddon brought such a wealth of illustration to bear upon his subject, and affected such a familiarity with current 'ologies and sciences, that his listeners almost forgot the patristic anacronisms in the nervous rhetoric and philosophical flavor of the nineteenth century.

VI.

Liddon was a transition HIGH CHURCH preacher.

Only about forty years ago Hell-fire was still the favorite and apparently ever-enjoyable theme in most LOW CHURCH pulpits. This was the sinner's appropriate doom; and the forensic substitution of the Saviour's merits, and acceptance of the same by the believer—this was the easy, if somewhat mechanical, deliverance announced, with almost demonstrative precision. Mr. Spurgeon, prince of so-called evangelical or Low Church preachers, began stoutly with these two dogmatic "battle-horses"; but whilst sticking to them, as Liddon stuck to the fathers, the wealth of anecdote, the pungency of wit, and the quaint personal applications made his hearers almost forget the dying dogmas upon which he certainly, with an orator's true instinct of current feeling, harped less and less the longer he lived.

VII.

The great transitionist preacher of the more liberal or so-called BROAD CHURCH school was W. F. Robertson, of Brighton. He stuck very closely to the Bible, and thought it his duty to present, in some form or other, what are called the cardinal doctrines of the Christian religion, all of them singularly absent from the sermon on the mount, *e. g.*, eternal punishment, the divinity of our Lord, the inspiration of the Bible, justification by faith, baptismal regeneration, and so forth. Nothing is left out or ignored in Robertson's precious, though fragmentary, volumes. But what goes home in Robertson's teaching, what made his sermons so instantly popular throughout America, was their *modernity*. Their poetry, their sympathy, their extreme clearness, nothing of the past sacred because of the past—only because of the present. "Act, act in the living present, heart within and God o'erhead."

IX.

"Your criticism is too destructive," says the Pew. "You take away the subject-matter of High, Low, and Broad Church doctrine, with a chance remark that it is not to be found in the sermon on the mount, and what is left for the New Pulpit?"

Let me not be mistaken. Because many doctrines, evolved by the church, and put forward as essential to Christianity, are not to be found in the direct teaching of Christ, it does not follow that they are not true, or that the dogma, which once enshrined, but now obscures, them, does not hold in suspension a certain amount of true teaching or "Doctrine." It is the business of the New Pulpit steadily to deliver theology from the exploded watchwords, which, like "the blessed word Mesopotamia," lull the listener to sleep, in order that living doctrine may come out of dead dogma. We must never forget that what is now dead dogma was once living doctrine—*it was the likeliest statement*—what seemed most true at the time. It is not clear statement that we renounce—but riveting the form of statement suitable to one age upon all succeeding ages.

For instance, the Old Pulpit said, "The Bible is the word of God."

The New Pulpit says, "*The word of God is in the Bible.*"

The Old Pulpit said, "The Bible is an inspired history."

The New Pulpit says, "*The Bible is the history of an inspired people.*"

The Old Pulpit said, "The Bible is infallibly inspired."

The New Pulpit says, "*The Bible is inspired, but not infallible.*"

The Old Pulpit said, "I believe in the resurrection of the body."

The New Pulpit adds, "*I believe in the survival of the ego and the continuity of the individual in some suitable, though at present unknown, form*, under some suitable, though at present, unknown conditions, and so forth.'"

This is not a theological article. It aims rather at defining the historical position and prospects of the modern pulpit and indicating the conditions of its vitality.

The first and foremost need is re-statement up to date; the grand Maurician recognition that never a dogma so dead but what it stands for a vital truth. Disengage the truth, reset, re-state the truth, give it currency once more.

Take up every one of these orthodox dogmas, and in the very process of saying "they *were* true," "they *are* true, they are *no longer* true," the light long obscured will begin to shine out of them like a mortuary lamp from the darkness of the sepulchre. If the preachers throughout Christendom will take up the gospel of re-statement alone, they will have their work cut out for them, and their reassuring text should be, "*We come not to destroy, but to fulfil.*"

X.

In all this there is nothing new; every few hundred years all forms have to be revised—in law, in politics, in science—and all expressions of truth have to be modified.

The church is not a building. Neither the Temple at Jerusalem, nor St. Peter's at Rome is final. The church is a vine—a living, growing vine—it is always outgrowing outself.

The Christianity of the Apostles is no longer quite Christ. The fathers are not quite Apostolic. The schoolmen are far away from the fathers whilst building their sepulchres. The later Mediæval, I had almost said *Medicean*, church is already distinct from the schoolmen. Luther breaks with the Pope. We are on the point of breaking with Luther—if we have not already done

so. With Calvin we have quite broken. And so, in its outward form and expression, it is true of Christianity as of all things in heaven and earth, and in the waters under the earth—"The old order changeth, making place for new, and God fulfils Himself in many ways"—or, as the Apostle has it: "He taketh away the old, that He may establish the new."

Truly, the New Pulpit has its work cut out for it.

XI.

When the New Pulpit has succeeded in re-stating what it believes, it will be in a position to tell people how to act. But the preacher cannot do that, unless he knows what modern life is. It won't do to pride himself on never reading any books, as some of the High Church clergy do, or upon never going to any entertainments, as some of the Low Church clergy do. The pulpit teacher who undertakes to show that the world was made in six days is quite as much out of the New Pulpit as the pastor who thinks young people should not dance, and that all theatres are sinks of iniquity.

The first thing is to see life as it is, things as they are; and to burn the men of straw and other stage properties of the Old Pulpit. When a clergyman gets into the pulpit he too often seems to enter an unreal world, and a very silly unreal world. He is content with argument which any schoolboy can see through, and utters sentiments, the inconsequence or inanity of which he would not expect any human being to tolerate from him on his own hearth-rug.

XII.

A great deal of superannuated nonsense is talked about *preaching the Gospel.* There is no age which does not find fault with the past age; there is no sect which does not find fault with every other sect, for not *preaching the Gospel*: and I never yet knew an able minister who could fill his church, who was not denounced by the ass across the way whose church was empty, for not *preaching the Gospel.*

There is only one way of preaching the Gospel as Christ preached it, and that is to make teaching cling close to, deal with, and control current life.

The relations between a clever swindler and his employer, a

woman plying her broom diligently, a clamorous widow worrying a police magistrate, the children in the street playing their vulgar little games and singing their vulgar little songs, the processes of digestion, the weather (that inexhaustible and invariably interesting topic), the occupations of Hodge, the secrets of fishing, the art of making bread or bottling wine—these were the topics of the Divine Preacher.

The religious world of the period thought them very much beneath the dignity of the pulpit, but the hungry sheep who looked up and wanted to be fed were "*very attentive to hear*" about all this. It was indeed a New Pulpit, with not much about Moses or the prophets left in it; the old Shibboleths were quietly dropped out. This seemed to please the people mightily, but it disgusted the accredited teachers who dealt with nothing but texts and eternal explanations of texts, all the time neglecting "weightier matters." As Lord Brougham said of the schoolmasters of his period, "*They were failures themselves, and they taught failure.*"

XIII.

But how can you teach without a body of sound doctrine? No one supposes that Christ was not armed with a body of doctrine—that He did not come with a message from above; but the doctrine in His method was not held up like a jingling bauble and shaken outside a man to terrify or astonish; it was woven into very fibre of man's heart and melted into every experience of his life. I am sick of such silly clap-trap as "Politics in the pulpit? O fie! What has the pulpit to do with politics?" Why, so long as politics have got to do with the excesses of party spirit, so long as men are bought and sold in our political shambles like brute beasts that have no understanding (let alone morals), so long as the country's good name is prostituted and the interests of millions bartered for messes of private pottage, the pulpit must have to do with politics—or be impeached by all good men for its scandalous reticence.

What has the Pulpit got to do with commerce? What has commerce got to do with *meum* and *tuum*? with rings of capitalists banded together outside the control of the law, to perpetrate jobs and create monopolies, ruining legitimate industry and forcing on strikes, fit to tar and feather a free constitution with ignominy, whilst hurrying city after city into rapine and

murder? God help the preachers if they have nothing to say about commerce. Of such let it be written: "They are all dumb dogs: they cannot bark."

XIV.

And what has the Pulpit to say to the stage?

"*Retro Satanas!*" Is that all? Or, "You go your way; I go mine"? That is better, but not good enough. It may be quite true that the green-room is no more the place for the cleric than the church vestry is for the actor; but that is not because the vestry is all holy and the green-room is all corrupt, but because the stage player's and the preacher's functions are distinct, although at moments they may overlap. We do not seek for lawyers in hospitals or doctors in law courts, but there may come occasions when a doctor may have to give evidence in a law court, when the case impinges on his special business; and there may come times when the preacher may have to bear witness in the pulpit for or against a stage play, when the moral plane is impinged upon and ideals of conduct are dealt with or betrayed for better or for worse. The late Frederick Denison Maurice, although no friend of the stage as it existed in his day, nevertheless said that when Macready produced "*Ion*," a play of high and noble tendency, the London clergy ought to have put on their largest white ties and sat in the pit. If the clergy want their strictures on the stage to take effect—and there is almost as much to mend in the administration of the stage as there is in the administration of the church—they should at least take care to know something about the stage and its modern professors.

After listening the other day to the wholesale denunciation of the theatre by an elderly and altogether well-meaning clergyman, I asked him when he came down from the pulpit if he had ever been to the the theatre or knew an actor. "God forbid!" said the good man.

Still, I confess to a distrust of this new alliance between parsons and ballet-girls, and all this clerical extolling of the antics of the dance; not because ballet-girls may not be respectable people and dancing a very legitimate art, but because it is not the province of the clergy to consort ostentatiously with ladies of the ballet or to pose as votaries of Terpsichore, any more than it is the business of

the lawyer to superintend cooking or calisthenics. I have personally a sort of prejudice against church and stage guilds. I love a good play and am honored with the friendship of several of our foremost actors. I have been at their theatres and they have been at my church, but there is something to me priggish in singling them out as a class—why not a Church and Sculptors Guild or a Church and Costers Guild? Let people come to church to worship, and let them go to the theatre to laugh or cry or recreate their minds. By all means let the church supply the actor with wholesome guidance, a lift in conduct, and an aspiration in life; an escape from a too sordid realism into a spiritual ideal. May the stage meet a legitimate want and become, not only a recreation, but a comfort and a safety-valve. But the parson has no more business to condescend to the actor than the actor has to truckle to the parson. Let them meet as men and brothers, each laboring as best he can in his own vocation—on parallel, not antagonistic, planes. But the moment you have a Church and Stage Guild, each has something up his sleeve, and each knows it. As men and brethren their intercourse may be natural, unaffected, and delightful. As members of a guild they become self-conscious, and the charm and sincerity of social intercourse die. The parson enters on his high horse and the actor rolls in on his hobby, and as they meet and shake hands the parson's aside is "*You're not good enough for me,*" and the actor's aside is "*You're not clever enough for me.*"

But, whatever view may be taken of the situation, one thing is quite certain: that if the parson will not reckon with the play-actor, the play-actor intends to reckon with the parson. Parsons brought before the footlights are now quite common, and no high-class drama is complete without two or three little sermons, generally in the mouth of a frail lady; and these things are written for our learning.

XV.

And what has the Pulpit got to do with books and newspapers? Why, the Pulpit should have something to say about every novel that has a run, from *Robert Elsmere* to *Dodo*. Neither the half-truth of the one nor the cynicism of the other should pass unexposed or unrebuked.

When Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*

appeared—the twin personalities of good and evil wrought out in one man—every pulpit in the land ought to have seized on so fruitful a theme, at a moment when the genius of a novelist and a real seer had made the air electric.

XVI.

Again, the New Pulpit has its work cut out for it if it will enter the lists with journalism. Every day disputable articles, and articles dangerous to morality, or requiring ethical reply, or indicating new currents of moral or religious life, pass unnoticed and unpreached on, greatly to the detriment of the pew and the impoverishment of the pulpit. But it is just the thoughts and discussions of the week-day that cry aloud for some Sunday comment.

Can't the clergy point out the moral thrust of this or that *cause célèbre*—the iniquity of this *suppressio veri*—the immorality of this or that political dodge or double shuffle—the unjustifiable character of such and such filthy report, or dubious paragraph, or semi-libellous class of statement, which is not intended even to convey information—only to sell an edition ?

I venture to say that Jesus would not have allowed these things to pass unchallenged in the streets and offices of Jerusalem.

XVII.

This is an age of science, and a pulpit that ignores science must run the risk of being itself ignored.

How came it about for instance that preachers, almost to a man, missed the turn of the tide when the stream of materialism, after rolling on towards the cataract of despair, seemed about to plunge into the yawning Gulf of Atheism, but was suddenly checked and diverted by a sentence in Professor Tyndall's famous address at Glasgow, which, after all, only embodied a scientific confession that had to be made sooner or later, viz., that the universe and its order could not be accounted for by matter and force alone, as usually conceived, but, as Büchner has it, by matter and force + x? "Before," said Tyndall, "you can find the promise and potency of all life in matter, you must radically change your conception of matter, and then, etc., etc.," all would go swimmingly. "You must," added G. H. Lewes, "have matter and force specially determined under peculiar and complex relations." Here

was the preacher's opportunity. Instead of twaddling on about Genesis and the six days, or denouncing men of science as Atheists and their research as dangerous, the preachers should have risen in their pulpits throughout the country, and sung a pæan on the scientific collapse of raw materialism. "Pray, how," they should have cried, "can you slip in 'special determination and peculiar and complex relations' without having slipped in 'mind' or 'purpose' in the earlier stages? My friends, do you not see it is the old hat trick, a cornucopia of wealth? You simply put into the scientist hat what you want to get out of it, and 'Evolution' *le voilà*!" But, no! Tyndall's address fell on deaf ears, the clergy not knowing, as usual, the things which belonged to their peace.

The New Pulpit has to watch, not only the progress, the discoveries, the dogmatisms, and the assumptions, but also the confessions of science. Indeed, as Lord Salisbury pointed out lately at the British Association, what science does not know and can't do is quite as instructive as its triumphs and its truths; only he forgot to encourage the New Pulpit to take up the parable, and would possibly have been shocked at such a recommendation.

XVIII.

Lastly—Science and Occultism. What has the pulpit to say to such a combination? As to occultism, abject incredulity or rabid denunciation seems for the mass of the clergy the only alternative, and both are equally out of place at this time of day. Ah! when shall we find in the pulpit the judicial spirit of an Oliver Lodge or a W. Crookes?

At the fag end of a paper like this it is impossible to discuss adequately the present attitude of the pulpit towards Spiritualism, Theosophy, Christian Science, and other modern nineteenth century forms of the occult; but the complacent doctrine that sundry abnormal things occurred as related in old Jewish annals, and even as late as the first thirty-three years of the Christian era, and for perhaps a few years later—but outside those limits all phenomena of a similar kind never occurred at all—is a theory which only belongs to the theological bigot; whilst the scientific bigot, with a dogmatism almost as *naïve*, makes a clean sweep of all abnormal phenomena whatever, both in and out of the Bible.

It is the old story. When facts are against orthodox science or

religion, so much the worse for facts; but such methods can have no place in the New Pulpit—which will certainly maintain that whatever God Almighty has permitted to be true in history cannot really be opposed to any other kind of truth.

XIX.

What a sphere there is open to the preacher of the coming day! He may not be a politician, but he hunts politicians; nor an expert in dancing, but he knows when dancing is devilish; nor a playwright, but he can tell a good play from a bad; nor a novelist, but he judges the tendency of fiction; nor a man of science, but he estimates the importance of scientific discovery to moral order, and he ought to arrive at some conclusion about its relation to the occult, for it must be a matter of supreme interest to him and to everybody else, whether or not in these days a possibility, a hope, or even a faith in a life after death is ever to be converted into a scientific certainty.

XX.

Amongst the discoveries of this marvelous age—and an age of miracles could hardly be more staggering—not the least noteworthy would be the establishment, on scientific grounds, of the survival, if not the immortality, of the soul. Mr. Stead, we all know, looks hopefully, in spite of numerous failures and still more numerous frauds, to spirit-photography. But that is only one method of possible demonstration, and the sifting of strange evidence in a dozen different, but converging, directions is going on apace all round us.

XXI.

If only the Preacher knew it, the whole worlds belongs to him. The time is past when he need knot his discourse with texts. If he leaves a few out no one will miss them, any more than Bible readers notice the entire omission of the word "God" in the book of Esther.

If, for a little while only, the pulpiteer would cease to drag about the familiar dogmas, shout the old watchwords, demolish the poor man of straw and pound the infidel, people would be so grateful; and even the infidel, who is often only the truth-seeker in disguise, might come to church. What we now want in the Pulpit is freedom, range, sincerity, and common-sense—

the spirit of a thousand texts without the recitation and set explanation of one—the divine life not copied by, but applied to and absorbed into, the Nineteenth Century.

XXII.

The Christ at Chicago or in London would probably not look much like the Christ of Palestine, and would certainly not adopt the methods or the rabbinical forms of teaching, or the costume or the customs familiar to, and suitable to, the people of His day —but the New Pulpit should stand for the freedom of Christ's utterance, the reach of His sympathy, and that discernment of the signs of the times without which no ministry can be prophetical and no pulpit alive. The age waits. There is only one man who, whatever estimate we may have formed of him personally, has ever approximately grasped the true functions of the New Pulpit, and that man was Henry Ward Beecher.

H. R. HAWEIS.

RECOLLECTIONS OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

BY ANDREW LANG.

BEFORE attempting to give any "Reminiscences" of Mr. Stevenson, it is right to observe that reminiscences of him can best be found in his own works. In his essay on *Child's Play*, and in his *Child's Garden of Verse*, he gave to the world his vivid recollections of his imaginative infancy. In other essays he spoke of his boyhood, his health, his dreams, his methods of work and study. *The Silverado Squatters* reveals part of his experience in America. The Parisian scenes in *The Wrecker* are inspired by his sojourn in French Bohemia; his journeys are recorded in *Travels with a Donkey* and *An Inland Voyage*, while his South Sea sketches, which appeared in periodicals, deal with his Oceanic adventures. He was the most autobiographical of authors, with an egoism nearly as complete, and to us as delightful, as the egoism of Montaigne. Thus, the proper sources of information about the author of *Kidnapped* are in his delightful books.

"John's own John," as Dr. Holmes says, may be very unlike his neighbor's John; but in the case of Mr. Stevenson, his Louis was very similar to my Louis; I mean that, as he presents his personality to the world in his writings, even so did that personality appear to me in our intercourse. The man I knew was always a boy.

"Sing me a song of the lad that is gone,"

he wrote about Prince Charlie, but in his own case the lad was never "gone." Like Keats and Shelley, he was, and he looked, of the immortally young. He and I were at school together, but I was an elderly boy of seventeen, when he was lost in the crowd of "gytes," as the members of the lowest form are called. Like

all Scotch people, we had a vague family connection ; a great-uncle of his, I fancy, married an aunt of my own, called, for her beauty, "The Flower of Ettrick." So we had both heard ; but these things were before our day. A lady of my kindred remembers carrying Stevenson about when he was "a rather peevish baby," and I have seen a beautiful photograph of him, like one of Raffael's children, taken when his years were three or four. But I never had heard of his existence till, in 1873, I think, I was at Mentone, in the interests of my health. Here I met Mr. Sidney Colvin, now of the British Museum, and, with Mr. Colvin, Stevenson. He looked as, in my eyes, he always did look, more like a lass than a lad, with a rather long, smooth oval face, brown hair worn at greater length than is common, large lucid eyes, but whether blue or brown I cannot remember, if brown, certainly light brown. On appealing to the authority of a lady, I learn that brown *was* the hue. His color was a trifle hectic, as is not unusual at Mentone, but he seemed, under his big blue cloak, to be of slender, yet agile frame. He was like nobody else whom I ever met. There was a sort of uncommon celerity in changing expression, in thought and speech. His cloak and Tyrolese hat (he would admit the innocent impeachment) were decidedly dear to him. On the frontier of Italy, why should he not do as the Italians do? It would have been well for me, if I could have imitated the wearing of the cloak!

I shall not deny that my first impression was not wholly favorable. "Here," I thought, "is one of your æsthetic young men, though a very clever one." What the talk was about, I do not remember ; probably of books. Mr. Stevenson afterwards told me that I had spoken of Monsieur Paul de St. Victor, as a fine writer, but added that "he was not a British sportsman." Mr. Stevenson himself, to my surprise, was unable to walk beyond a very short distance, and, as it soon appeared, he thought his thread of life was nearly spun. He had just written his essay, *Ordered South*, the first of his published works, for his *Pentland Rising* pamphlet was unknown, a boy's performance. On reading *Ordered South*, I saw, at once, that here was a new writer, a writer indeed ; one who could do what none of us, *nous autres*, could rival, or approach. I was instantly "sealed of the Tribe of Louis," an admirer, a devotee, a fanatic, if you please. At least my taste has never altered. From this essay it is plain

enough that the author (as is so common in youth, but with better reason than many have) thought himself doomed. Most of us have gone through that, the Millevoye phrase, but who else has shown such a wise and gay acceptance of the apparently inevitable? We parted; I remember little of our converse, except a shrewd and hearty piece of encouragement given me by my junior, who already knew so much more of life than his senior will ever do. For he ran forth to embrace life like a lover: *his* motto was never Lucy Ashton's—

> "Vacant heart, and hand, and eye,
> Easy live and quiet die."

Mr. Stevenson came presently to visit me at Oxford. I make no hand of reminiscences; I remember nothing about what we did or said, with one exception, which is not going to be published. I heard of him, writing essays in the *Portfolio* and the *Cornhill*, those delightful views of life at twenty-five, so brave, so real, so vivid, so wise, so exquisite, which all should know, which I could not re-read just now. How we looked for "R. L. S." at the end of an article, and how devout was our belief, how happy our pride, in the young one!

About 1878, I think (I was now a slave of the quill myself), I received a brief note from Mr. Stevenson, introducing to me the person whom, in his essay on his old college magazine, he called "Glasgow Browne." What his real name was, whence he came, whence the money came, I never knew. G. B. was going to start a weekly paper. Would I contribute? G. B. came to see me. Mr. Stevenson has described him, *not* as I would have described him. He was "not my sort," and, like Mr. Bill Sikes's dog, I have the Christian peculiarity of not liking dogs "as are not of my breed." G. B.'s paper, *London*, was to start next week. He had no writer of political leading articles. Would I do a "leader"? But I was *not* in favor of Lord Lytton's Afghan policy. How could I do a leader? Well, I did a neutral-tinted thing, with citations from Aristophanes! I found presently some scribes for G. B. What a paper that was! I have heard that G. B. paid in handfuls of gold, in handfuls of bank-notes. Nobody ever read it, or advertised in it, or heard of it. It was full of the most wonderfully clever verse in old French forms. They were (it afterwards appeared) by Mr. W. E. Henley. Mr. Steven-

son had met him, while he was doing his series of *Hospital Sonnets* in Edinburgh, and they became very close friends. Mr. Stevenson himself astonished and delighted the public of *London* (that is, the contributors) by his *New Arabian Nights*. Nobody knew about them but ourselves, a fortunate few. Poor G. B. died, and Mr. Henley became the editor. I may not name the contributors, the flower of the young lions, elderly lions now, there is a new race. But one lion, a distinguished and learned lion, said already that fiction, not essay, was Mr. Stevenson's field. Well both fields were his, and I cannot say whether I would be more sorry to lose *Virginibus Puerisque* and *Studies of Men and Books*, or *Treasure Island* and *Catriona*. With the decease of G. B., Pactolus dried up in its mysterious sources, *London* struggled and disappeared.

Mr. Stevenson was in town, now and again, at the old Savile Club, which had the tiniest and blackest of smoking-rooms. Here, or somewhere, he spoke to me of an idea of a tale, a Man who was Two Men. I said "William Wilson!" and declared that it would never do. But his "Brownies," in a vision of the night, showed him the central scene, and he wrote *Jekyll and Hyde*. My "friend of these days and of all days," Mr. Charles Longman, sent me the manuscript. In a very common-place London drawing-room, at 10:30 P. M., I began to read it. Arriving at the place where Utterson, the lawyer, and the butler wait outside the Doctor's room, I threw down the MS. and fled in a hurry. I had no taste for solitude any more. The story won its great success, partly by dint of the moral (whatever that may be), more by its terrible lucid visionary power. I remember Mr. Stevenson telling me, at this time, that he was doing some "regular crawlers," for this purist had a boyish habit of slang, and I *think* it was he who called Julius Cæsar "the howlingest cheese who ever lived." One of the "crawlers" was *Thrawn Janet*; after *Wandering Willie's Tale* (but certainly *after* it), to my taste, it seems the most wonderful story of the "supernatural" in our language.

Mr. Stevenson had an infinite pleasure in Boisgobey, Montépin, and, of course, Gaboriau. You see, there was nothing of the "cultured person" about him. Concerning a novel dear to culture, he said that he would die by my side, in the last ditch, proclaiming it the worst fiction in the world. It was nothing of

the kind; very much the reverse; but it was *not* to his taste or mine, what a vain people supposes. I make haste to add that I have only known two men of letters as free as Mr. Stevenson, not only from literary jealousy, but from the writer's natural, if exaggerated, distaste for work in his own line, which is very different in aim and method from his own. I do not remember another case in which he dispraised any book; and in this instance what he said was "only his fun." I do remember his observations on a novel then and now very popular, but not to his taste, nor, indeed, by any means impeccable, though stirring. Mr. Stevenson's censure and praise were both just. From his occasional fine efforts the author, he said, should have cleared away acres of brushwood, of ineffectual matter. It was so, no doubt, as the writer spoken of would be ready to acknowledge. But he was an improviser of genius, and Mr. Stevenson was a conscious artist.

Of course we did by no means always agree in literary estimates; no two people do. But when certain works—in his line in one way—were stupidly set up as rivals of his, the person who was most irritated was not he, but his equally magnanimous contemporary. There was no thought of rivalry or competition in either mind. The younger romancists who arose after Mr. Stevenson went to Samoa were his friends by correspondence; from them, who never saw his face, I hear of his sympathy and encouragement. Every writer knows the special temptations of his tribe: they were temptations not even felt, I do believe, by Mr. Stevenson. His heart was far too high, his nature was every way as generous as his hand was open. It is in thinking of these things that one feels afresh the greatness of the world's loss; for "a good heart is much more than style," writes one who knew him only by way of letters.

It is a trivial reminiscence that we once plotted a Boisgobesque story together. There was a prisoner in a Muscovite dungeon.

"We'll extract information from him," I said.

"How?"

"With corkscrews."

But the mere suggestion of such a process was terribly distasteful to him; not that I really meant to go to these extreme lengths. We never, of course, could really have worked together;

and, his maladies increasing, he became more and more of a wanderer, living at Bournemouth; at Davos, in the Grisons; finally, as all know, in Samoa. Thus, though we corresponded, not unfrequently, I never was of the inner circle of his friends. Among men there were school or college companions, or companions of Paris and Fontainebleau, cousins, like Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson, or a stray senior, like Mr. Sidney Colvin. From some of them, or from Mr. Stevenson himself, I have heard tales of "the wild Prince and Poins." That he and a friend travelled utterly without baggage, buying a shirt where a shirt was needed, is a fact, and the incident is used in *The Wrecker*. Legend says that once he and a friend *did* possess a bag, and also, nobody ever knew why, a large bottle of scent. But there was no room for the bottle in the bag, so Mr. Stevenson spilled the whole contents over the other man's head, taking him unawares, that nothing might be wasted. I think the tale of the endless staircase, in *The Wrecker*, is founded on fact, so are the stories of the *atelier*, which I have heard Mr. Stevenson narrate at the Oxford and Cambridge Club. For a nocturnal adventure, in the manner of the *New Arabian Nights*, the critic already spoken of must be consulted. It is not my story. In Paris, at a café, I remember that Mr. Stevenson heard a Frenchman say the English were cowards. He got up and slapped the man's face.

"*Monsieur, vous m'avez frappé!*" said the Gaul.

"*A ce qu'il parait,*" said the Scot, and there it ended. He also told me that years ago he was present at a play, I forget what play, in Paris, where the moral hero exposes a woman "with a history." He got up and went out, saying to himself:

"What a play! what a people!"

"*Ah Monsieur, vous êtes, bien jeune!*" said an old French gentleman.

Like a right Scot, Mr. Stevenson was fond of "our auld ally of France," to whom our country and our exiled kings owed much good and some evil.

I rather vaguely remember another anecdote. He missed his train from Edinburgh to London, and his sole portable property was a return ticket, a meerschaum pipe, and a volume of Mr. Swinburne's poems. The last he found unmarketable; the pipe, I think, he made merchandise of, but somehow his provender for the day consisted in one Bath bun, which he could not finish.

These trivial tales illustrate a period in his life and adventures which I only knew by rumor. Our own acquaintance was, to a great degree, literary and bookish. Perhaps it began "with a slight aversion," but it seemed, like madeira, to be ripened and improved by his long sea voyage; and the bitter news of last week has taught me, at least, the true nature of the affection which he was destined to win. Indeed, our acquaintance was like the friendship of a wild, singing bird and of a punctual, domesticated barn-door fowl, laying its daily "article" for the breakfast table of the citizens. He often wrote to me from Samoa, sometimes with news of native manners and folklore. He sent me a devil-box, the "luck" of some strange island, which he bought at a great price. After parting with its "luck," or fetish (a shell in a curious wooden box), the island was unfortunate, and was ravaged by measles.

I occasionally sent out books needed for Mr. Stevenson's studies, of which more will be said. But I must make it plain that, in the body, we met but rarely. His really intimate friends were Mr. Colvin and Mr. Baxter (who managed the practical side of his literary business between them); Mr. Henley (in partnership with whom he wrote several plays); his cousin, Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson; and, among other *literati*, Mr. Gosse, Mr. Austin Dobson, Mr. Saintsbury, Mr. Walter Pollock knew him well. The best portrait of Mr. Stevenson that I know is by Mr. W. B. Richmond, A. R. A., and is in that gentleman's collection of contemporaries, with the effigies of Mr. Holman Hunt, Mr. William Morris, Mr. Browning, and others. It is unfinished, owing to an illness which stopped the sittings, and does not show the subject at his best, physically speaking. There is also a brilliant, slight sketch, almost a caricature, by Mr. Sargent. It represents Mr. Stevenson walking about the room in conversation.

The people I have named, or some of them, knew Mr. Stevenson more intimately than I can boast of doing. Unlike each other, opposites in a dozen ways, we always were united by the love of letters, and of Scotland, our dear country. He was a patriot, yet he spoke his mind quite freely about Burns, about that apparent want of heart in the poet's *amours*, which our countrymen do not care to hear mentioned. Well, perhaps, for some reasons, it had to be mentioned once, and so no more of it.

Mr. Stevenson possessed more than any man I ever met, the

power of making other men fall in love with him. I mean that he excited a passionate admiration and affection, so much so that I verily believe some men were jealous of other men's place in his liking. I have met a stranger who, having become acquainted with him, spoke of him with a touching fondness and pride, his fancy reposing, as it seemed, in a fond contemplation of so much genius and charm. What was so taking in him? and how is one to analyze that dazzling surface of pleasantry, that changeful shining humor, wit, wisdom, recklessness; beneath which beat the most kind and tolerant of hearts?

People were fond of him, and people were proud of him: his achievements, as it were, sensibly raised their pleasure in the world, and, to them, became parts of themselves. They warmed their hands at that centre of light and heat. It is not every success which has these beneficent results. We see the successful sneered at, decried, insulted, even when success is deserved. Very little of all this, hardly aught of all this, I think, came in Mr. Stevenson's way. After the beginning (when the praises of his earliest admirers were irritating to dull scribes) he found the critics fairly kind, I believe, and often enthusiastic. He was so much his own severest critic, that he probably paid little heed to professional reviewers. In addition to his *Rathillet*, and what other MSS. he destroyed, he once, in the Highlands, long ago, lost a portmanteau with a batch of his writings. Alas, that he should have lost or burned anything! "King's chaff," says our country proverb, "is better than other folk's corn."

I have remembered very little, or very little that I can write, here and now; and about our last meeting, when he was so near death, in appearance, and so full of courage—how can I speak? His courage was a strong rock, not to be taken or subdued. When unable to utter a single word, his pencilled remarks to his attendants were pithy and extremely characteristic. This courage and spiritual vitality made one hope that he would, if he desired it, live as long as Voltaire, that reed among oaks. There were, of course, in so rare a combination of characteristics, some which were not equally to the liking of all. He was highly original in costume, but, as his photographs are familiar, the point does not need elucidation. Life was a drama to him, and he delighted, like his own British admirals, to do things with a certain air. He observed himself, I used to think, as he observed others, and "saw

himself" in every part he played. There was nothing of the *cabotin* in this self-consciousness; it was the unextinguished childish passion for "playing at things" which remained with him. I have a theory that *all* children possess genius, and that it dies out in the generality of mortals, abiding with people whose genius the world is forced to recognize. Mr. Stevenson illustrates, and perhaps partly suggested, this private philosophy of mine.

I have said very little; I have no skill in reminiscences, no art to bring the living aspect of the man before those who never knew him. I faintly see, myself, the eager face, the light nervous figure, the fingers busy with rolling cigarettes; Mr. Stevenson talking, listening, often rising from his seat, standing, walking to and fro, always full of vivid intelligence, wearing a mysterious smile. I remember one pleasant dark afternoon, when he told me many tales of strange adventures, narratives which he had heard about a murderous lonely inn, somewhere in the States. He was as good to hear as to read. I do not recollect much of that delight in discussion, in controversy, which he shows in his essay on conversation, where he describes, I believe, Mr. Henley as "Burley," and Mr. Symonds as "Opalstein." He had great pleasure in the talk of the late Professor Fleeming Jenkyn, which was both various and copious. But in these *noctes coenæque deum* I was never a partaker. In many topics, such as angling, golf, cricket, whereon I am willingly diffuse, Mr. Stevenson took no interest. He was very fond of boating and sailing in every kind; he hazarded his health by long expeditions among the fairy isles of ocean, but he "was not a British sportsman," though for his measure of strength a good pedestrian, a friend of the open air, and of all who live and toil therein.

As to his literary likings, they appear in his own confessions. He revelled in Dickens, but, about Thackeray—well, I would rather have talked to somebody else! To my amazement, he was of those (I think) who find Thackeray "cynical." "He takes you into a garden, and then pelts you with"—horrid things! Mr. Stevenson, on the other hand, had a more free admiration of Mr. George Meredith than I can assert for myself. He did not so easily forgive the *longueurs* and laxnesses of Scott, as a Scot should do. He read French much; Greek only in translations.

Literature was, of course, his first love, but he was actually

an advocate at the Scottish Bar, and, as such, had his name on a brazen door-plate. Once he was a competitor for a Chair of Modern History in Edinburgh University; he knew the romantic side of Scottish history very well. In his novel, *Catriona*, the character of James Mohr Macgregor is wonderfully divined. Lately I read some unpublished letters of Catriona's unworthy father written when he was selling himself as a apy (and lying as he spied) to the Hanoverian usurper. Mr. Stevenson might have written these letters for James Mohr; they might be extracts from *Catriona*.

In turning over old Jacobite pamphlets, I found a forgotten romance of Prince Charles's hidden years, and longed that Mr. Stevenson should retell it. There was a Treasure, an authentic treasure; there were real spies, a real assassin; a real, or reported rescue of a lovely girl from a fire at Strasbourg, by the Prince. The tale was to begin *sur le pont d'Avignon*: a young Scotch exile watching the Rhone, thinking how much of it he could cover with a salmon fly, thinking of Tay or Beauly. To him enter another shady tramping exile, Blairthwaite, a murderer. And so it was to run on, as the author's fancy might lead him, with Allan Breck and the Master for characters. At last, in unpublished MSS. I found an actual Master of Ballantrae, a Highland chief—noble, majestically handsome—and a paid spy of England! All these papers I sent out to Samoa, too late. The novel was to have been dedicated to me, and that chance of immortality is gone, with so much else.

Mr. Stevenson's last letters to myself were full of his concern for a common friend of ours, who was very ill. Depressed himself, Mr. Stevenson wrote to this gentleman—why should I not mention Mr. James Payn?—with consoling gayety. I attributed his depression to any cause but his own health, of which he rarely spoke. He lamented the "ill-staged fifth act of life"; he, at least, had no long hopeless years of diminished force to bear.

I have known no man in whom the pre-eminently manly virtues of kindness, courage, sympathy, generosity, helpfulness, were more beautifully conspicuous than in Mr. Stevenson, none so much loved—it is not too strong a word—by so many and such various people. He was as unique in character as in literary genius.

ANDREW LANG.

PROBLEMS IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

BY SENATOR ORVILLE H. PLATT, OF CONNECTICUT.

POLITICAL and social problems in the Indian Territory are unique, complicated, and pressing. The name "Territory" is misleading. It suggests the existence of an ordinary Territorial government, when, in fact, there is no organization except that of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes of Indians, viz., the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. The last-named tribe has little more than the usual tribal government, and may be practically omitted when considering the questions arising there. Each of the other tribes named has an organized government copied in form from that of the United States, a written constitution, a legislature composed of two houses, written and published laws, elections, courts, judges, juries, civil officers, and indeed all the forms and methods of self-government. Each tribe claims to be an independent nation with every attribute of sovereignty—in fact, a foreign power. The Indian is not a citizen of the United States, but of the "nation" to which he belongs. In conversation he speaks of "our" government and "your" government as an Englishman would. Our courts neither exercise nor claim jurisdiction in controversies or offences between the members of the several tribes. It is insisted that the United States has by repeated treaties so recognized these "nations" and guaranteed them autonomy that any interference whatever on our part would be violative of national honor.

We have, then, the startling proposition that within the boundaries of the United States four other republics have a rightful, independent existence, free from our control, and that our only possible relation to them as separate governments is an obligation to continue their existence. It needs only the statement of such

a claim to show how much of perplexity and probable trouble it involves. If these alleged nationalities were composed of our own citizens, with common habits, occupations, and ambitions—if, for example, four counties in the State of New York claimed to be separate and complete republics, free from State or National control—it would be a most perplexing situation; but when the citizens of these Indian "nations," who have so little in common with our people socially or commercially, regard themselves as aliens, cherishing, not unnaturally, perhaps, a feeling of latent hostility, and retain in great degree Indian traits, characteristics, and traditions, the problem becomes very serious.

The question naturally arises, How did this state of affairs originate, and why does it continue? Without exactness as to dates, it may be said that prior to 1830 the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws lived in States east of the Mississippi River, occupying or roving over large tracts of territory claimed by them respectively as their own. Conflicts between them and the whites were constantly occurring, and the land and hunting grounds claimed by them were constantly encroached upon, till life became intolerable both for whites and Indians.

In General Jackson's administration a plan was developed by which the lands claimed by the Indians were to be purchased and they themselves were to be removed west of the Mississippi. This plan was carried out in the years between 1830 and 1840. The lands comprising all that country which has been marked on our maps as Indian Territory, including the present Territory of Oklahoma, were given in exchange for lands east of the Mississippi, and in addition large cash payments were made, which constitute the trust funds now held in the Treasury for the respective tribes. They have parted from time to time with their title to lands not actually occupied, so that our Government has reacquired the Oklahoma lands and opened them to settlement; and the Indian Territory now comprises only the lands at present occupied by these several tribes.

This country is about as large as the State of Indiana, equals that State in fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, and surpasses it probably in coal, minerals, and valuable timber. It is occupied by the respective tribes in separate sections under patents granted by the United States. These patents in each instance convey the lands to the tribe so that the title is in the whole tribe

—a title in common. Each tribe has its own lands, and no interest in the lands of the others except that, by agreement between themselves, the Choctaws and Chickasaws have a joint interest.

The alleged guarantees that these Indian "nations" shall have complete autonomy and perpetual existence are embodied in certain stipulations on the part of the United States in various treaties, which without lengthy quotations may be summarized as follows: Agreements that these Indian tribes should never without their own consent be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any State or Territory, but should have the right to make and carry into effect all laws for the government and protection of the persons and property within their own country belonging to their own people, or of such persons as had connected themselves with them, if such laws were not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States and the so-called intercourse acts of Congress; also, that the United States should protect the Indians "against interruptions or intrusions of citizens of the United States who may attempt to settle in the country without their consent," and should remove such persons from their country if they should find lodgment there; also, that the several tribes should have the sole right to determine questions of Indian citizenship. From the treaties it is also perfectly clear that each tribe took the title to its lands in trust for the equal benefit of all its members. In some of the treaties it is expressed that every Indian "shall have an equal right with every other Indian in each and every portion of the Territory"; and such is the unmistakable meaning of all.

Referring to accounts of the negotiations of the treaties containing these alleged guarantees of continuous independent government, there can be no difference of opinion as to the reason for them. These stipulations were inserted upon the express request of the Indians that they should be permitted to live by themselves, and while thus living regulate their own affairs, and that white people should not be permitted to "obtain a lodgment there." The treaties imply a promise on the part of the Indians to live by themselves, as certainly as they contain a promise on our part that they should be protected against the intrusion of whites. The letter as well as the spirit of these treaties was to secure to the Indians exclusive occupation of the country for the

equal benefit of all members of the tribes, and self-goverment in their isolation. Neither party ever contemplated a continuance of the tribal or Indian governments when a few should have appropriated all the land and when white people should by invitation of the Indians have come to "secure a lodgment" and outnumber the Indians four to one. Nor can it be supposed that it was intended that these Indian governments should be perpetuated when they no longer answered the purpose of government either for Indian or white.

Great changes have taken place since the original negotiation of these treaties. The country to which those Indians removed was then a thousand miles beyond the westernmost limit of civilization. Its adaptability to civilized life was probably unsuspected. The Indian then lived largely by the chase. The buffalo and antelope were to be found on the plains; other large and small game in the hills. It was an ideal hunting-ground. No one looked forward to the time when wheat, corn, and cotton should be raised there for shipment to different States and foreign countries; when seven railways should traverse the territory, and twenty thousand miners should be engaged in bringing its underlying coal to the surface; when three hundred thousand white people should reside there with the consent of the Indians; when towns and cities should spring up as if by magic; when the telegraph and telephone should connect it with the outside world, and the requirements of modern business enterprise should grow more pressing day by day. The desert has blossomed; the wilderness is under cultivation. The new conditions must be confronted and dealt with. Five separate Indian governments, dealing only with Indian citizens and their property, are no longer adequate, or, indeed, tolerable. There must be government there for whites as well as for Indians, and it must be adapted to the wants of both.

The presence of so many white people in this Indian country needs explanation. Laws have been passed by each of the Indian governments which permit Indian citizens to secure the use of as much unoccupied land as they may choose to appropriate by fencing or other method of occupancy. Complying with the letter, but in violation of the spirit, of these laws, immense tracts of fertile land have been appropriated by individual Indian citizens. In such appropriation, the white man, who has become

an "Indian" merely by intermarriage, has taken the land until at the present time it may be said with approximate accuracy that less than five hundred Indian citizens, a large proportion of whom have not a drop of Indian blood in their veins, have secured and occupy nine-tenths of the agricultural and grazing land of the country. Sometimes occupancy is secured by fencing, sometimes simply by ploughing a furrow around the tract. Some of the holdings thus secured by white "Indian" citizens exceed 100,000 acres in extent. In the Creek Nation sixty-one persons have thus appropriated and hold 1,237,000 acres, practically all the valuable arable and grazing land belonging to the nation. This is perhaps the most glaring illustration of land monopoly prevailing there, although among all the tribes it is true that a few persons have acquired and are holding most of the valuable land.

Very few full-blood Indians, if any, are among these great landholders. The white Indian has been the most rapacious. The mixed bloods have engaged in this wholesale appropriation to some extent. As a rule, however, the full blood and most of the mixed bloods are practically shut out from the occupancy of the land. The trust created by the conveyances from the United States to the Indians, under which the lands were to be held in common for the equal benefit of the members of the tribe, is thus utterly disregarded.

To cultivate these immense holdings, tenants are required. The land monopolist, therefore, rents his holding in sections to white farmers, or in the "nations," where renting is forbidden by law, resorts to the fiction of employing white laborers, and the Indian councils or legislatures issue permits for the white laborers who thus come to occupy the land held by the white or half-breed Indian landlord. Over the farming area of the country there are settlements of white farmers occupying with the permission of the Indian land monopolist and paying rent to them either in money or in kind. The whole agricultural land has thus been settled up as really and as truly as in Oklahoma. This involves the necessity of towns, trades, professions, and the business methods of white civilization. Buildings for trade and residence are erected upon lots, the use of which is conveyed to the white occupant by the Indian landholder, and this kind of occupancy is rapidly increasing.

Probably nowhere else in the world since the time of the feudal barons has there been a condition of society demanding reformation equal to that now demanded in the Indian Territory. As might be expected, the Indian citizen landholders control the Indian governments absolutely, and no law can be passed in Indian legislatures interfering with their greed ; and any law which they desire enacted for their benefit is secured either by appeals to prejudice, by threats, or by open bribery. The landholder has thus acquired his holding without cost to himself, and is as secure in its possession under the present *régime* as if he had a patent from the United States.

The full-blood Indian, as a rule, is poor, shiftless, and ignorant, without ambition and without opportunity. He cannot acquire any land beyond a miserable holding of an acre or two in the mountainous country. The opportunities for further development and civilization are absolutely denied to him, while his patrimony is absorbed by the rapacious white Indian or half-breed. In every particular the progress of the full-blood Indian has been arrested. He is not advancing, he is retrograding.

Modern observation and thought have reached the conclusion that allotment of land in severalty, and citizenship, are the indispensable conditions of Indian progress. Neither one is possible while the present Indian governments continue. The share of the common Indian has been as truly stolen from him as if he had been driven off the land by white men. There will never be a division and allotment until Congress shall take the matter in hand and compel it ; and the longer this is delayed the greater is the probability that justice will never be done the Indian.

When the Dawes commission went to the Territory to negotiate for allotment it is believed that a majority of the members of the different tribes desired it, but they were soon given to understand that it would not be safe to advocate it openly. When a delegation, which came in fear and trembling to say to the commission that they hoped the land would be allotted, was asked to sign a petition to that effect, the reply was : "We can't do that ; it lightens behind the trees at night."

The fact is, these so-called Indian governments are failures. They are controlled absolutely by the few Indians who have acquired the lands in the manner described. They are not Indian republics ; they are white oligarchies. The purchase of legisla-

tures, of courts and juries, and of the entire civil and criminal administration, is open and unblushing, and virtually undenied. The Indian governments no longer protect life, liberty, and property. There is good authority for saying that during the past year there have been over two hundred and fifty murders committed in the Indian Territory by and among Indians, who, including negro citizens, do not exceed 67,000 ; yet not a half-dozen murderers have been punished, and in a great majority of the cases proceedings have never been instituted. In an Indian newspaper just received, among the news items there is this allusion to the situation showing as perhaps nothing else can how cheaply human life is regarded among the Indians. The item reads : "There is altogether too much killing in the nation."

It is to be observed that the white people living in the Territory are entirely without government. They have no part in the Indian governments, nor can the Indian governments make laws for them. They cannot vote, they cannot have municipal organization, they can have no school system, no public construction of roads or bridges, no taxation, and none of the privileges and responsibilities of American citizens. In the white towns some voluntary schools for white children are maintained ; but in the agricultural localities there are no schools, and the white children are growing up with positively no teaching. As a consequence of this unsettled, unorganized condition of society, the country is a resort for desperadoes and refugees, and crimes and depredations are rampant.

This statement of the situation of affairs, not exaggerated but rather understated, shows that there must be a change of government there ; that the Indian governments are no longer adequate or useful. The stipulations in the treaties made with those Indians that they should be permitted to govern themselves, and that white people should not be allowed to dwell among them, are no longer obligatory. The moral obligation to keep the letter of a treaty ceases when the reason for the treaty no longer exists and the other party to the agreement has failed to carry out the original purpose and spirit of the treaty. That the reason for the guarantees on the part of the United States no longer exists is unquestioned ; that the Indian governments no longer hold their lands for the equal benefit of the members of their tribes is equally undeniable.

Has the United States no duty to perform in such a state of affairs? Was it absolved from every duty and obligation to protect and secure the welfare of the Indians belonging to those tribes when by treaty it agreed that they might govern themselves in their desired isolation? Was it absolved from all obligation to protect white citizens who might be invited into that country by the Indians themselves and to provide for their welfare?

Our obligation to the Indian demands that we should secure for the common Indian of those tribes his rights now denied to him, and give him the opportunity for advancement in civilization and happiness. Our obligation to the white citizen of the United States, whom the Indians have encouraged and invited to dwell among them, demands that we should take such steps as will secure to him the reasonable rights and privileges of citizenship.

The situation is rapidly growing worse. If Congress may not act when 300,000 white people are domiciled there, it will have no better right to act when there are a million white people there. Unless something is speedily done, a condition of things will soon be developed which will shock our whole people. The problem is so complicated that it is impossible within the limits of this article to discuss the best method of reform and relief. One thing is certain—whatever is done must be done by Congress. The white men, who going through the farce of Indian marriage have become Indian citizens, and the half-breeds have already despoiled the real Indian of his land. The Indian legislatures and courts are the creatures of the land monopolists, and the longer Congress postpones the work of securing to Indians and white men alike their just rights in the Indian Territory, the greater will the injustice and wrong become, and the more difficult the enforcement of a remedy.

ORVILLE H. PLATT.

THE MATRIMONIAL PUZZLE.

BY HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN.

It is amazing with what unanimity the authors of all ages have reviled woman. But this very vilification is a tribute to her power. The barbed arrows of epigram with which the poets, from Horace and Virgil to Swift and Heine, have assailed their "dearest foes" have in most cases been disguised billets-doux or replies to rejected ones. The scandalous ode which the Roman man-about-town addressed to Lydia (*Parcius junctas quatiunt fenestras*) was notoriously an effusion of spite, prompted by a withdrawal of favors. In the case of Socrates, who said much severer things, we know how defenceless he was in the hands of his Xantippe; and it would have been cruel to deny the poor man the comfort of a few malicious epigrams at the expense of the sex. He was too wise to address them to Xantippe herself. For we are informed in what style that estimable lady retaliated when his remarks displeased her. The bucket of cold water with which she is said to have responded to his *repartées* would be likely to cure the most abandoned epigrammatist. Well, here are some of the observations in which he sought a vicarious revenge:

"Marriage is honey and wormwood. Why is it that the wife is so apt to spill the honey and leave nothing for her husband but the wormwood?"

"Believe no woman, even if she had risen from the dead."

"Woman is the fount of all evil."

"The love of a woman is far more to be feared than the hate of a man."

There is a sense in which both the first and the last of these epigrams are true, and the perpetual iteration of similar sentiments in the literature of all lands and ages certainly does indicate that, in a way, they embody the experience of the race. There surely can have been no collusion between the Greek

philosophers and the authors of the Hindoo Vedas, nor between either and the bards of the old Norse "Edda." And yet they all agree in representing marriage as a pitfall and love as a thing to be feared rather than desired. Take for instance the following quaint passage from the High Song of Odin (Havamal) in the "Elder Edda":

"The word of a girl
Let no man trust,
Nor that which a woman speaks.
On a whirling wheel
Her heart was made;
And fickleness dwells in her bosom.

"A flying arrow
Let no man trust,
Or the falling ebb-tide,
Or fresh-frozen ice,
Or the ringed snake,
Or a bride's fair speech,
Or a broken sword,
Or a playful bear,
Or the page of a king.

"For the love of woman,
Whose heart is crafty,
Is like unto riding
On a smooth-shod horse
On slippery ice;
On a fiery two-year-old
Which is all untamed;
Or like unto sailing
In a rudderless ship,
In a raging storm;
Or as if a cripple
Would catch a reindeer
Upon a glacier.

"But frank shall my speech be:
For both sides I know.
Fickle is man's mind
Also to woman.
When fairest we speak her
Falsest is our thought.
That may fool the wisest.

"Sweetly shalt thou speak;
Gifts shalt thou offer
If woman's love thou would'st win.
Praise the lovely one,
Praise loud her beauty,
Flatter her, if thou would'st win her."

It is Odin, the sage father of gods and men, who offers this cynical advice to all intending candidates for matrimony, but evidently with no great expectation of having it followed. As if to emphasize the inapplicability of his maxims, he proceeds to relate some of his own gallant adventures in which he failed to practice the wisdom that he desired to impress upon others. But it is highly significant that he gains in one of these love affairs the gift of song, which more than compensates him for his loss of dignity. This gift of song, I take it, is but the symbol of that enrichment of soul and consequent widening and deepening of nature which no one can attain who evades the normal experience of the race. It was clearly meant that all men, as well as all women, should marry; and those who, for whatever reason, miss this obvious destiny are, from nature's point of view, failures. It is not a question of personal felicity (which in eight cases out of ten may be more than problematic), but of race responsibility. The unmarried man is a skulker, who, in order to secure his own ease, dooms some woman, who has a rightful claim upon him, to celibacy. And in so doing he defrauds himself of the opportunities for mental and moral development which only the normal experience can provide. He deliberately stunts the stature of his manhood, impoverishes his heart and brain, and chokes up all the sweetest potentialities of his soul. To himself he is apt to appear like the wise fox that detects the trap, though it be ever so cunningly baited; that refuses to surrender his liberty for the sake of an appetizing chicken or rabbit which may after all be a decoy, stuffed with sawdust; while, as a matter of fact, his case is that of the cowardly servant in the parable, who, for fear of losing his talent, hid it in a napkin, and in the end was deemed unworthy of his stewardship.

The epigrams on matrimony which abound in all languages, if not prompted by disappointment or resentment, are usually dictated by the narrowest prudence. They have either emanated from the crustiest kind of bachelors or from henpecked Benedicts. One of the few exceptions I can recall is that of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who declared that the only thing which reconciled her to being a woman was that she could never marry one; and it was George Sand who so beautifully illustrated the truth of her own *bon mot*—"A woman always needs a support to lean on; but if she takes two, she falls." Goethe, whose personal

experience was not a happy one, derided the idea that marriage was intended for our personal gratification; but for all that he declared that it is "the beginning and the pinnacle of civilization."

"It makes the rough man gentle," he says; "and it gives the cultivated man the best opportunity to practise his gentleness." In "Iphigenia in Tauris" he has most nobly celebrated the mission of woman as a civilizer who softens savage hearts, refines rude manners, and makes a thousand flowers grow where before only prickly weeds flourished.

That the type of women which he has immortalized in Iphigenia is able to perform this miracle it were vain to deny; and if that type were only a little less exceptional, marriage would soon cease to be the knotty problem that it is. It would cease to be a correctional discipline and might approach the realization of the foolish hopes which enticed you to pass its portals. But a transport of perpetual beatitude would, I fancy, be an unwholesome thing, and would seem to be interdicted by the providential arrangement which furnishes every rose with thorns, deposits a worm in the core of the apple, and insinuates a discord even into the music of the spheres. I do not mean to imply that it is the wife who introduces the discord any oftener than it is the husband; and if literature appears to give a different impression, it is because literature until recently has spoken bass rather than soprano. To my mind, there is an everlasting gulf fixed between the masculine and the feminine pole of creation which can never be completely bridged. In its innermost being each remains to the other mysterious and incomprehensible. You may parley as much as you like, suspend hostilities, make unconditional surrender, and with the most honorable intentions vow everlasting peace; and yet the next morning your wife will rise with a strange chill in her manner; your intercourse, no matter what you do, will be pitched in a wrong key, and silence and speech will be equally irritating and dangerous. A fool you are if you try to discover the cause of her displeasure. The chances are ten to one that she is herself unable to state it. It is simply a mystery—the eternal mystery of sex.

It is the fashion nowadays to minimize or utterly ignore this radical difference between man and woman. It is the fashion to charge all incompatibility and consequent misery solely to man's account, and represent the woman as an abused and misunder-

stood archangel. "What is the reason that so many marriages are unhappy?" asked a revered sentimentalist in last year's Woman Suffrage campaign; and amidst a burst of applause he replied, "It is man's selfishness."

It would, in my opinion, have been fully as correct, or as incorrect, if he had answered, "It is woman's selfishness." As a matter of fact, it is six of one and half a dozen of the other. Women of the upper classes have been petted and deferred to almost from babyhood, and have been taught to regard themselves as privileged persons. Every stone is carefully removed from their path, reality is expurgated for their benefit, their very religion is refined and tempered to their delicate constitutions. One need not go so far as the Swedish Count Oxenstjerna, who declared that the religion of women consisted in serving God without being discourteous to the Devil. But it is undoubtedly true that as individuals they have lost rather than gained by being shielded and protected from all rude and painful contact with reality. And in so far as the so-called Woman's Rights Movement has for its object to develop a sturdier self-reliance in girls, and thereby lift them out of their condition of immaturity and tutelage, I heartily sympathize with it. You cannot artificially limit experience without impairing growth, diminishing the chances of survival, and blighting the germs of character. Every child which comes into the world, whether male or female, has, abstractly speaking, a full right to know the life into which it is born; to test its educational value, and by its rough and trying discipline to develop whatever powers there may be slumbering in it.

"Whether women, when they have learned to stand alone, will want to marry I do not know; but that they will be unwilling to accept marriage on the present terms I hold to be highly probable. Their preference would, no doubt, be to claim the benefits both of their old protected condition and their new estate of quasi-emancipation. But, as Ibsen* says, it is the soul which must revolt; and their souls have not yet revolted. They like too well the flowers, the sugar-plums, and the compliments of their gilded servitude to exchange them for the votes and responsibilities and drudgeries that must follow in the train of the equality for which they are aspiring. There are no privileges

* H. H. Boyesen's *Commentary on the Writings of Henrik Ibsen*, p. 216.

which do not also involve duties. If women are the equals of men, they are not entitled to dower in their husbands' estates, any more than husbands are entitled to dower in the estates of their wives. If at the same time they jostle men in their professions and become their competitors in the struggle for existence, the chivalrous sentiments with which they are now regarded will not long survive. They must make their choice with their eyes open. Either—or! There is no middle way, no combining the privileges and shirking the disadvantages of two conditions, so diametrically opposed.

It is because they are trying to do this very thing that such a large number of women, at the present time, make such wretched wives. They are the transitional types which are neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, and therefore fit badly into every position. If they desire equality, independence, and development of individuality (which is surely a legitimate desire), they ought to have the courage to face celibacy and renounce matrimony. For equality in matrimony is an "iridescent dream." Nature herself has done her best to interdict it. And as for independence, it is like the Blue Flower of the German Romanticists, which is always beckoning to you from the distance, whose fragrance intoxicates you; but which vanishes between your fingers if you attempt to pluck it. Surely the last place to look for it would be in matrimony. If the one partner is solar, the other has to consent to be lunar. One or the other must be the satellite. Two suns were never yet known to revolve in the same orbit. It would result in a cosmic cataclysm. It were too much, perhaps, at this late day, to expect an American wife to walk by what Carlyle called the lamp of obedience, which, however inconvenient, is yet a safer guide to happiness than the wayward lamp of independence which nine dear little damsels out of every ten now keep concealed under their wedding-gowns. "I want to live my own life," you now hear them cry on every hand; and there can be no objection to such a resolution, if they are also competent to make their own living, and have the courage to make it alone. Surely the husband surrenders his independence when he marries, and it would be absurd for the wife to expect to retain hers. Strike steel against steel and sparks will fly. Take two flinty, wilful, unmalleable characters, unite them in marriage, and they may be trusted to go to housekeeping in a neat and

commodious little purgatory, with fire and brimstone for daily diet.

"But love," cry my emancipated damsels, "where does love come in in your philosophy? Who cares for *Hamlet* with the prince left out?" Love, permit me humbly to remonstrate, delights not in self-assertion, but in self-surrender; and all this loud trumpeting of independence will make the shy little god hang his head with shame, if it does not frighten him away altogether. Even though he be present at the wedding, it takes a wise and generous landlord to induce him to remain. Where he is a life tenant, all problems dissolve into roseate vapor. Where he is not present they bristle with a thousand wounding prickles, like the quills upon the fretful porcupine. I saw him yesterday sit at table between a middle-aged statesman and his wife; and it was beautiful to witness how ignorant they both were that there was anything problematic in the relation between man and woman. It seemed to them as simple, natural, and satisfactory as it must have seemed to Adam, before the serpent began to talk philosophy to Eve. It was after that fatal discourse on the higher education that their matrimonial sky darkened and troubles began to thicken. Then the raven croaked in the Garden of Eden, the nightingale sang out of tune, and the turtle-doves fell to quarrelling in the Tree of Knowledge.

Matrimony had become a problem.

H. H. Boyesen.

WHY WE NEED A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

BY PROFESSOR SIMON NEWCOMB.

THE idea of founding a great university at the seat of government of the United States is as old as the Constitution. The subject was considered by the makers of that instrument, and it may fairly be inferred from the debates that it was dropped only because, under the clause relating to the District of Columbia, Congress had ample power to found a university. Washington took such interest in the project that he bequeathed to the nation in aid of it a sum which at the time appeared munificent, and which would have insured its successful foundation had the fund been securely and profitably invested. It is even said that he selected, on the banks of the Potomac, as a site for the institution, a hill which was afterward occupied by the old Naval Observatory. Presidents have formally recommended the measure, and philosophers and statesmen have shown its expediency. Yet we have entered upon the second century of our national existence without its having advanced beyond the preliminary stage of a bill before Congress.

A national university at Washington seems to me one of the most pressing of our public needs, and one which would long since have been supplied had not strong reasons in favor of doing so been very generally overlooked. I ask leave first to call attention to the harmony of the project with our general educational and political system. In the educational system, three grades or orders are now generally recognized—the common school, the gymnasium or college, and the university. Corresponding to these we have three political powers, on each of which one of these grades of education may legitimately call for assistance. The common-school education is one which every one aims to acquire, and of

which all feel the usefulness. It is of universal interest, and is therefore very properly supported by local institutions, towns, cities, and counties. In the next grade we have the education of the college and the professional and technical schools. The appliances necessary to this education cannot be adequately supplied by the local authorities, and the several States of the Union therefore make provision for it. This recognition of its usefulness has met with the approval of all parties, and is a just source of national pride. The eminent reasonableness of the policy is justified by the consideration that this order of education is of importance to the entire state. If we assume that half a million of the population are required in the learned professions, it is necessary that this number of young men should be properly trained for their duties to society, which are essentially of a public character.

With these two orders of education our political powers have hitherto stopped. But there is a third order, now generally known as post-graduate, which the needs of our time are bringing into prominence. Experience shows that the country and the world has important uses for men who have pursued more advanced studies than those of the college and the medical or law school. The number of such men who are needed is indeed small. One out of a thousand of the whole population, even one out of ten thousand, would suffice. Their utility to the social organism is not to be measured by their numbers, but by their functions. Their work is not only of State, but of national, importance. It is therefore eminently fitting as well as necessary to the perfection of our educational system, that the General Government should provide for the training of this class. That this has not long since been done arises from two causes : a belief that the need is adequately supplied by existing institutions, and, perhaps, a failure to recognize the true value and significance of the higher education.

In saying this I do not intimate that there is any lack of public appreciation of the higher education as a very excellent and noble feature of our social system. In no country is such education more liberally supported by individual effort. The munificence of our wealthy citizens in the endowment of institutions of learning and professorial chairs is not paralleled in any other country. Even were it maintained that these gifts are not always prompted by a pure love of learning for its own sake, and

that the perpetuation of the name of the donor is often a powerful motive, the contention would not weaken the argument. The very fact that the donor takes this method of securing fame shows that learning is honored by our people. If he made the mistake of confounding popular interest with public honor, he would undoubtedly found a national institution for the practice of some form of athletics, rather than a professorial chair.

But it is one thing to say that our public and representative men hold learning in high honor, and quite another to say that they plainly see its relations to the practical work of the nation. The prevailing view is that, while scientific progress and profound learning are very important factors in our national greatness, they are of little or no help in shaping public policy or guiding the work of an administrator. Yet careful thought will show that the higher education has a place in the social organism corresponding in importance to that of the brain in the physical organism, and that its functions are becoming more and more important with the increasing complexity of social and political conditions. If we should go back in imagination three centuries, and repeat the history of the world during that time, with the omission of only one man out of ten thousand, we would reach a nineteenth century with nothing distinctive to boast of. Take out Galileo, and a few other possible men of genius who might have made his discoveries, and we should have no knowledge of the laws of force and motion. Take away Copernicus, Kepler, Newton, and perhaps a hundred men who might possibly have replaced them, and we should have no knowledge of the laws governing the universe. Take a few physical investigators out of each generation, and we should know nothing of the force of steam. Take away a few professors who during the last century amused themselves with investigating the curious properties of electricity, and we should have no knowledge of the practical uses of that agent. Take out a few philosophers, and we should not have our present ideas of human rights, liberties, or popular government. Had one man in a million been taken from each generation we should reach the end of the nineteenth century with the world in the condition of the sixteenth.

If genius has now no such field for its activities as it has had in the past, it is also true that never has civilization had to deal with so many problems requiring both genius and learning for their solu-

tion as at the present moment. Fifty years ago our country was inhabited by individual men, who had few relations, either of commerce or sympathy, with men outside their own community. To-day our sixty millions of inhabitants are parts of a single organism, whose muscles are the railways, and whose nerves are the telegraph, both binding them so closely that every throb in the remotest part is felt through the whole. Thirty years ago labor unions were unknown outside their own places of meeting, and the labor question scarcely existed. To-day this question interests the entire community, and the problem of dealing with it is one of the most troublesome with which we are confronted. Our fathers devoutly accepted, without question, the weather which Providence gave them. We are chafing against our inability to so regulate the aërial currents that they shall water the arid plains into fertility, and asking whether we cannot so change the climate as to populate these plains. To our forefathers the Indians were simply perverse men, for whom the alternative was to be educated into citizens and preached into Christians, or suffer merited death as cumberers of the ground. We are beginning to look at them in a different light, and may hope ere long to base our policy in dealing with them upon a scientific basis.

That the solution of such problems as these should be aided by the highest ability and greatest skill that the government can command goes without saying. But our public does not get the full benefit of these agencies owing to the wide separation between the men who make our laws and deal with these problems, and the men devoted to study and research. The absence of close points of contact between our politics on the one hand, and our literature, art, and science on the other, is a remarkable feature of our political situation. It is true that our government does not fail to avail itself of college graduates to perform the technical duties for which their education fits them. It has been said—and I have no occasion to contest the truth of the statement—that we have a larger body of able scientists in the departments at Washington than at any other capital in the world. But these men have no voice in legislation, except such as appears in an appropriation bill. Their positions prevent them from being powerful factors in shaping the government policy, and render it undesirable that they they should become such factors. What we want is a closer

touch between our public men on the one hand, and the higher education, not only in Washington, but in the country at large, on the other hand. The natural and appropriate medium for this would be a national university.

If it be admitted, as I think it must, that the influence of the intellect and culture of the nation upon its politics would be in every way beneficent, then we meet the question how that influence may be increased. A great mistake has been made in supposing that a national university at Washington means the founding of an American Paris, toward which all men of learning shall gravitate, thus lessening the influence of local centres. I therefore beg leave to point out that the effect would be directly the opposite, and that one of the public functions of the university would be the representation at the capital of the learning of the country at large. How little danger there would be of its attracting more students from the existing universities than it would stimulate to go thither is shown by the influence of the Johns Hopkins University upon the higher education throughout our land. The generous rivalry growing out of the efforts of this institution to do more than any other for the higher education has resulted in an increase in the facilities for the higher education at all our principal centres of learning, and in the number of students availing themselves of those facilities. We may confidently anticipate that a national university would have the same effect; that our colleges would everywhere exert themselves to come up to its requirements, that the patrons of those colleges would second their efforts, that the most talented youth would everywhere be stimulated by the consciousness that our political powers honored learning, and that every university in the land would become a more powerful factor than it now is in conferring upon the nation the benefits to be derived from the learning of its graduates.

Illustrations of the immediate practical usefulness of such an institution are not far to seek. Within the past thirty years untold losses in wealth, with their accompaniments of great suffering, have been caused to thousands of our people through settling on the arid lands of the West, under the belief that a change of climate would take place with cultivation. The accident of two or three summers of unusual moisture seemed sufficient to show the truth of the theory in question, and led to the

rejection of more thorough considerations, which would have shown that a change of climate cannot be thus produced. Scarcely had the settlers reaped more than the first scanty crop before years of drouth set in, forcing whole communities to abandon all that was left of the product of their labor. Now, I make bold to say that, had the project of Washington to found a great university at the national capital been carried out, this would not have occurred. Among the subjects of research at such an institution would naturally have been climatology, especially that of our own country. From the very position and objects of the institution a study of this subject would have been prosecuted on an extended scale and founded on better data than those which have actually been used. Able men, desirous of diffusing the most accurate knowledge, would have studied, not only the history of climate in general, so far as it could be learned from records of centuries of observation, but they would also have inquired more carefully into the causes on which climate depends than our existing institutions of learning have had any occasion to do. The natural result would have been that this knowledge would be so diffused in government circles, that not only would no encouragement ever have been given to settlers to try their fortunes on the arid lands, but the latter would have had sources of information within their reach which would have guarded them against their hasty experiment.

I have seen but two reasons against the project which it seems necessary to consider. One is that the wider scope of the teaching at our leading universities, especially the establishment of courses of post-graduate instruction, renders a national university unnecessary. The argument has been met by almost all that has been said in the present paper. Our existing universities do not perform the functions of a national one as we have described them. If it should be claimed that through their graduates who enter into public life they form a connecting link between political thought at the national capital and the intellectual thought of the country at large, the mere statement of the claim would show how extremely slender is the link, and how far it comes from fulfilling the requirements of the situation. It may also be said that we already have more institutions of learning than are necessary, and that we should rather aim to strengthen those which exist than to establish a

new one. But the very object of a national university would be to correct a part of the evil arising from the scattering of our higher education over so many minor points. Formerly many of our colleges had preparatory schools attached. But experience showed that such a school was a positive disadvantage to the college. Now nothing need be said against the present practice of a student remaining at college after he has taken his first degree, in order to further pursue some special line of study. But the main object of a national university will be to concentrate a large amount of research and teaching ability upon those graduates of our colleges who wish to enjoy the advantages which come from association with men wholly devoted to the most advanced studies.

It is also said that party politics will enter into the management of such an institution, and that we shall have political professors as we have political men in other departments of the government. More than thirty years of observation and experience at the national capital have convinced the writer that there is no danger of this result. Politicians are practical men, and as a class are as earnestly desirous of promoting the public welfare as the people at large will permit them to be. The existing institutions of learning at the national capital, which are dependent upon government support, are in no way hampered by their connection with politics.

Finally, the advantages of the national capital in the way of libraries, collections, and the presence of technical facilities for study are very great. These facilities all the departments of the government are ready to place at the disposal of students with a liberality which might be considered as verging upon imprudence. The fact that Washington is a political centre, and the supposed focus of all political activity, would be an advantage rather than a drawback to an institution of learning. The students would be led to take that wide interest in public affairs which it is so often complained that our men of learning do not feel. Any disturbance of that serenity of thought essential to learning would amount only to a wholesome distraction, and would at the same time afford valuable object-lessons in the application of theory to practice.

SIMON NEWCOMB.

THE PSYCHICAL COMEDY.

BY CHARLES SEDGWICK MINOT.

It is foolish to search for marvels. The wise search for truth. Yet there are many who have done and are still doing the former, and in so far as they are seeking to find marvellous faculties of the human mind they are performers in the psychical comedy, and their acts and opinions form the basis of this article.

The attempt to find psychical marvels has been twofold in its chief manifestations,—it is being made in one way by the Theosophical Society and in another way by the Society for Psychical Research.

Why is it that so many persons have been carried away by their enthusiasm over those possibilities which have been claimed for man of late? It seems to me that our mental atmosphere is still surcharged with vague yearnings and with discontent at the natural limitations of man and of his life. Many persons, who often unconsciously are infected by these yearnings, feel dissatisfied with the Christian ideal and with the Christian acceptance of the limitations of life. Such unrelieved aspirations lead to Felix Adler's Society for Ethical Culture, send Matthew Arnold after "something not ourselves making for righteousness," or beguile others of less judgment to commune with spirits at mediumistic seances. But all alike seek for liberation from the limitations of human life, and yet they all appear profoundly unconscious of the labor, patience, and thoroughness which are necessary to win new knowledge. In the following pages I shall endeavor to show that the Theosophical Society has no claim to serious consideration, and that the Psychical Society has not met the conditions of scientific investigation in its researches upon thought-transference and phantasms—in short,

I shall endeavor to show that the psychical comedy is a drama of misdirected effort.

There is a goodly number of people who believe or half believe the extraordinary doctrines known as esoteric Buddhism, to which Mr. Sinnett first drew the attention of the reading public. All that Mr. Sinnett claims* is that esoteric Buddhism is "a mine of entirely trustworthy knowledge, from which all religions and philosophies have derived whatever they possess of truth." But then one does not expect prophets nowadays to be humble, especially not one who rivals even Ficino in adopting the erroneous superstitions of his age. Mr. Sinnett believes in the trustworthiness of his esoteric "mine," because its value is proved by a series of magical performances by a clever woman who called herself Madame Blavatsky! These proofs are narrated in the *Occult World* by Mr. Sinnett. The most extraordinary is one that occurred during a picnic party of our author's with Madame Blavatsky and others; an extra tea-cup was wanted and Madame Blavatsky procured one,—Sinnett tells us, by magic,—to match the set they had in use; the cup was found where she told the servants to search. To the exoteric the preliminary hiding of the cup is an arrant probability; but Mr. Sinnett, being unable to prove that Madame Blavatsky did hide the cup, is sure that she did not. Therefore, what we call a very shallow trick he calls a miracle, and, of course, everything a magician says must be true, so the esoteric faith in Madame Blavatsky is implicit and unquestioning.

This personage, who has become somewhat known as the founder of the Theosophical Society, was of Russian origin, and is said to have been born in 1831. As described by her friends, she appears to have been a singularly ill-natured, bad-tempered, unjust, unreasonable, and selfish person. They also asserted that she possessed marvellous knowledge, which placed her far above ordinary humanity in intellectual and moral power. The view is piquant. She came to America in 1873, stayed for some time, and wrote an esoteric treatise, entitled *Isis Unveiled*. While here she encountered a worthy but seemingly credulous gentleman (Colonel Olcott), and I believe principally through his co-operation started the Theosophical Society. The members of the society were to enjoy access to Madame Blavatsky's marvellous

* *Esoteric Buddhism*, p. 26 (first American edition).

knowledge, which was asserted to be derived from the secret teaching of very learned and superlative Orientals. Subsequently the headquarters of the society were transferred to India, where there was theosophic prosperity. Established in India the prophetess made many converts, the most important of whom was Mr. Sinnett. By a series of clever influences she worked upon him and gradually won him completely. She forged letters to him, which purported to come from one of the esoteric masters, a so-called Mahatma. These letters arrived magically; it was explained to the recipient that each letter was disintegrated, then passed through all intervening obstacles and finally reintegrated in the air near Mr. Sinnett and appeared intact before him. This method of correspondence seems to me far better than the present post. What he learned from these letters the docile disciple has put together in the work mentioned above, with the title *Esoteric Buddhism.*

Meanwhile another set of influences had begun to stir the public mind. In the background of the life of Western nations, and especially in the United States, were the vague wonders of spiritualism, clairvoyance, and mesmerism. The more intelligent have been inclined to deride the subject, while still holding a covert belief in there being something behind it all. This feeling led some into the psychical societies; others, less conservative, into esoteric Buddhism. Women especially were subject to the contagion. Some were merely interested; but there were, and are, many carried away by their enthusiasm for the delusion. It is a part of this movement that reveals itself in the deplorable success of the "mind-cure," and of the so-called "Christian Science."

What is to be said of Sinnett's *Esoteric Buddhism*? There is but one judgment defensible: it is as worthless rubbish as intelligent people were ever induced to give serious attention to. The magnitude of the author's claim we have measured already by a quotation. It is part of his task to show that all that is true in science and in religion agrees with his revelation; that is, with what Madame Blavatsky revealed to him. He accordingly makes several attempts to demonstrate that great scientific discoveries of the western world are mere items of Oriental esoteric knowledge. These attempts, however, are made with that presumption of which only excessive ignorance is capable. For ex-

ample, part of his system involves the existence of a great continent which formerly occupied the place of the present Atlantic Ocean. The hypothesis of such a continent was formerly under consideration by geologists, but has been positively rejected. Nevertheless, Sinnett writes: "Science has finally accepted the existence of the great continent," etc. Again, his cosmogony requires the absence of the missing links between species, and he can explain why naturalists find no missing links; as a matter of fact, they have found a great many. Again, he asserts that the vegetable precedes the animal in the process of development, but it is not true. It is true that Mr. Sinnett and his Mahatma are both gloriously ignorant of the elementary truths of natural science. To a naturalist a few pages would suffice to reveal that the very confirmations assumed by the author are based upon gross misconceptions and are often the most flagrant contradictions of the doctrines he advocates. In short, the facts of science are uncompromisingly against esoteric Buddhism. Another peculiarity of the book is that there is not one single iota of evidence for any one of its principal dogmas—it is all bare assertion. If anything more against it were needed we might point out that it is a numerical system of philosophy, being founded on the number seven; it is well known that numerical philosophies belong to the past and are incompatible with modern knowledge. The success of Sinnett's book must be attributed to its apparent plausibility, which might naturally mislead readers who were unfamiliar with the natural sciences and therefore would not at once recognize the worthlessness of the author's misconceptions of facts. Success it had, to an unusual measure, largely because readers were unconscious of its weakness, but chiefly because it fitted with a popular idea of evolution, and taught that we have many latent qualities, of which thought-transference is one, which we can cultivate. People like to be perfectible much more than to be perfect.

The most cruel blow to esoteric Buddhism came from Mr. Richard Hodgson, a talented and very conscientious investigator, who was sent out on behalf of the English Society for Psychical Research to examine into the theosophical phenomena. Upon his arrival in India he found that two of Madame Blavatsky's confederates, a man named Coulomb and his wife,* had quarrelled with

* See Mr. Hodgson's Report, *Proc. Soc. Psych. Research*, Part IX., p. 207.

her, and in revenge exposed the very commonplace tricks by which she had inspired, sustained, and magnified the faith of her followers. The most important phenomena were those of the letter-delivery by disintegration. The theosophists provided themselves with a little cabinet, which they called "the shrine," and placed upon the wall of one of their rooms. In this shrine were placed their letters of inquiry. The shrine was then closed, and while it was closed the letters disappeared and were replaced by the answers. The disciples believed that the letters were removed by disintegration, or the magic power of their occult instructor or Mahatma. He lived, they were told, in Thibet, and the answers were composed by him, disintegrated in Thibet and reintegrated in the shrine. Mr. Hodgson found that the shrine had a false back, by which it was accessible from Madame Blavatsky's bedroom, and the letters, which purported to come from the Mahatma, were ascertained to have been written by Madame Blavatsky in an assumed hand. Hence the exoteric conclusion of fraud on one side of the shrine and credulity on the other. Of course the leader was not alone ; among her probable confederates was that Mr. Mohini, whose social success in London and Boston was one of the side scenes of the psychical comedy. Madame Blavatsky was certainly one of the most successful of impostors, and though not as entertaining as Collet, nor as clever as Cagliostro, yet she might well have deemed herself the peeress of the "Veiled Prophet of Khorassan," having founded a religious cult on shallow fraud.

Thus the theosophic attempt to widen the scope of human faculties collapses in the presence of scientific investigations.

The Society for Psychical Research has a very different history. It has always been under the leadership of honorable and earnest men. It has not only never had the slightest taint of fraud in its own proceedings, but it has also done invaluable services in exposing Madame Blavatsky and other charlatans and especially in studying the tricks employed by false mediums. It has endeavored to establish certain conclusions regarding phenomena of an order not hitherto admitted in science. Of its positive constructive work as a whole my own opinion is unfavorable, especially as regards its claim that telepathy and phantasms are objective realities.

The society may be said to owe its origin to the persistence of

spiritualists in their claims. For there were some English gentlemen, who thought that there might be some residuum of truth in spiritualism, and in order to test the accuracy of this opinion they founded in 1882 the Society for Psychical Research, with headquarters in London. The leaders in this society have been W. F. Barrett, Edmund Gurney, F. W. H. Myers, and H. Sidgwick. In the first formal publication of the society it was claimed that they had secured experimental proof that one mind could obtain ideas directly from another without the intervention of any of the ordinary channels of sense. The assertion was startling, for it was made by earnest and able men. It must have brought comfort to many a theosophist and spiritualist and have seemed the first sheaf in the harvest of conversions to their long-maligned views. Thought-transference, or, as it has been also termed, "*telepathy*," soon became a familiar subject of discussion. Meanwhile the society continued its work actively and gathered many wonderful stories of telepathy and apparitions. Indeed the work has been pushed with immense industry and is still going on.

In 1884 Professor W. F. Barrett visited America, and by his enthusiasm led to the formation of an American Society for Psychical Research, with headquarters at Boston. Another similar society has been formed recently in Australia. At present the American society is a branch of the English.

The early and rapid success of the English society must be attributed to the claim advanced by its leaders that they had obtained strong experimental evidence in favor of "telepathy." The alleged evidence consisted chiefly in a series of tests with the Creery family,* in which there were several children and a servant woman all capable of mind-reading. They were subjected to numerous trials by the three leaders of the psychical society, Barrett, Gurney, and Myers. In their report these gentlemen say † that their "great preoccupation throughout was to guard against delusion," and they imply that they successfully excluded deception. They also assert that "it seems not too much to say that the hypothesis of mere coincidence is practically excluded." It has since turned out that the children did have a system of signalling, which, though very simple and of a

* Report of the Committee on Thought-transference, *Proc. Soc. Psychical Research*, Part I., p. 13.

† *Proceedings Soc. Psychical Research*, Part I., p. 28.

kind likely to be noticed, none of the committee did notice; so that they were not expert enough to exclude deception.

All the English experiments on telepathy, so far as they are known to me, have been of the same type. One person, called the *agent* thinks of some simple idea, and another person called the *percipient* states after a short interval what idea he believes the agent's attention has been concentrated upon. By hypothesis the agent's mind transfers the idea directly to the percipient's mind, and the object of the experiments is to show that the percipient will state the idea in the agent's mind correctly so often that the coincidence cannot be explained on any theory of chance. Usually, if not always, both agent and percipient have been told the class of ideas to which the experiments were to be confined. For instance both performers know that a playing card is to be thought of, or a number of two digits. It is evident that by this means the chances of correct guessing are enormously increased. But in the majority of experiments there is still another factor, which has been neglected, which vitiates the experiments because it renders the chances of correct guessing very great indeed.

In the experiments referred to, the agent was allowed to choose the idea of a given class—for example, to select a playing card. In such cases there is by no means an equal chance for all the ideas, but on the contrary there is a much greater chance for one special idea, which is by far the most likely to occur to the agent. Moreover, the same idea is likely to occur to the percipient, because both agent and percipient follow the same laws of mental habit unconsciously. To illustrate with playing cards again, both agent and percipient are likely to think first of the ace of spades. If the agent is asked at once again to name a playing card, it is exceeding probable that he will not name the same one, but another, and probably the card next in order of unconscious preference; the same is likely to occur with the percipient. These statements are based upon three reports which I made to the American Society for Psychical Research * and upon material still unpublished. The unconscious preponderance of a very few ideas is simply enormous, and, were it not demonstrated by very large statistics, would be incredible. Equally startling is the uniformity of the mental habit in different persons. In view

* *Proceedings Amer. Soc. Psychical Research*, Vol. I.

of these facts we must conclude that not a single experiment, in which the agent was allowed to select an idea from a class of ideas known to the percipient, can afford valid evidence of thought-transference. All the English experiments of this kind fail to fulfill the conditions of scientific investigation. It was a grave mistake to assume that with playing cards the chances of coincidence are 1 in 52. They are more nearly 1 in 5 or 10, but they have not been actually calculated.

In later experiments, especially with numbers of two digits, the English investigators have obviated this difficulty by selecting the number for the agent by chance. But even in these experiments the conditions for drawing correct inductions are not fulfilled. If thought-transference is a reality, then the numbers thought of by the percipient must *not* follow the percipient's mental habit. To make a rigorous demonstration, the percipient's mental number habit should be first determined; then the agent should be given the numbers somewhat in excess, which the percipient is not likely to think of readily, and, if then these numbers were reproduced by the percipient, it would indicate that there was some other factor at work than the usual mental habit. Up to the present time no evidence has been offered to show that the mental habit of the percipient was changed. Yet this is obviously indispensable if the experiments are to give any evidence of thought-transference. In this case, also, the demands of a scientific proof are not met. Nor do the experiments with drawings bear criticism better.

The reproduction of drawings by alleged thought-transference seemed at first to afford a remarkable proof of the reality of the phenomenon, but precisely in regard to that proof a more scientific examination of the matter forces us into extreme scepticism. The experiments we have made in America show that if a large number of diagrams are made (5,000) very many of them are alike, though they are drawn independently in sets of ten by 500 different people,* and there are here similar chances for coincidence to those with the cards. Of the English drawings supposed to have been reproduced by thought-transference nearly all are such as we know people are likely to draw, and as the probability of similar unconscious preferences in two individuals is very great, the probable reason in many cases why the percipient thought of

* *Proceedings American Society for Psychical Research*, Vol. I.

the same diagrams as the agent is not thought-transference, but identity of metal habit.

A few of the drawings were of a more complicated character, notably those in the trials conducted with Messrs. Smith and Blackburn under the auspices of the English Psychical Society.* In this special case it is possible to explain the apparent thought-transference by the hypothesis of intentional collusion between the performers, at least in great part. That the diagrams can be reproduced from descriptions, I have ascertained by trial, and that in many of the Smith-Blackburn experiments there was opportunity for signalling cannot be denied; therefore it is quite possible that in this instance the percipient was told by his confederate what to draw. That mere watching is not enough to guard against possible deception by expert collusionists is well known. This is emphatically illustrated by the slate-writing experiments by Mr. S. J. Davey, who, by conjuring, does very wonderful feats in that classic art. He obtained reports from a number of persons of what he had done, and these reports he has in part published in the Proceedings of the Psychical Society † together with comments to show how grossly inaccurate the reports usually are. Mr. Davey informs us that he does his tricks while the attention of the witness is turned from him. Yet Mr. A. Podmore states that he "was attentively regarding *both* slates," but in reality there was an interval of two or three minutes during which his attention was called away. Mrs. Johnson writes, "we are all quite certain that the slates were never out of the hands of one or the other of us." So it goes on with a long succession of reports, all erroneous. At the close of his interesting paper Mr. Davey says: "In conclusion I may say that the results of my investigation as to the possibilities of conjuring in relation to 'psychography' have been a revelation to myself, no less than to others. I am aware that in addition to the methods which I have employed for producing 'slate-writing' there are other methods, which I know to be conjuring, but which have not yet been shown to me; and I should certainly not be convinced of the genuineness of spiritualistic phenomena of this kind by any testimony such as I have seen recently published in great abundance, which presents so many

* See *Proceedings Psychical Society*, Vol. I., p. 1.
† *Proceed. English Soc. Psychical Research*, Vol. III., p. 405.

close analogies to the reports of my own conjuring performances."

Mr. Hodgson, in commenting on these experiments,* has pointed out that Mr. Davey's feats are so incredible, *not one of the sitters having seen him write,* that we should have to assume a spiritual or occult agency if we had to rely only on the reports of witnesses. Mankind are inattentive, careless, and forgetful to a degree we are just beginning to discover. Now, the application of these remarkable demonstrations of human untrustworthiness to the experiments on thought-transference is evident, but yet not evident enough to warn the English investigators. The most impressive tests of which we have accounts are those the value of which depends upon the attentive watchfulness of the investigators. Now, we have not only the proof from Mr. Davey that attention is not a really sufficient guard, and that essential incidents may be utterly unnoticed, but also the proof from the collapse of the Creery case, that the English observers have been inattentive and unobservant in precisely the manner Mr. Davey's slate-writing tests render probable. In relying to the extent they have done upon watching with sustained attention, the English experimenters have again failed to come up to a scientific standard, and they leave fraud an open explanation for many of their results.

The English committee have sought to strengthen their case by calculating the probabilities of a given result, which they make out one in a million or trillion or more of chances. They forget that when we say a thing is improbable—meaning there is only one chance out of a large number of its occurring—we really assert that it is *certain to occur* some time. In this mathematical sense *Rien n'est sûr que l'imprévu* is an axiom. They forget also that the likelihood of an occurrence is estimated, not by the probability of a particular occurrence, but by the probable error of each observation. This is not the place for a lesson in mathematics, therefore it must suffice to merely allude to the fallacy of Mr. Gurney's estimate of the probabilities of thought-transference.

Our American experiments have been absolutely negative, though many thousands of trials have been made. In one case there was an indication of possible mind-reading of numbers, but

* *Proceed. Soc. Psychical Research,* Part XI., p. 381.

an analysis of the experiments enabled me to show that the guessing was the result of a number-habit,* not of thought-transference. Professor Pickering's ingenious study † of certain astronomical observations, where thought-transference might have come in, gave a negative result likewise.

After a thorough examination of the evidence adduced, I am brought to the conclusion that thought-transference, even as a hypothetical explanation, is a superfluous conception. It seems to me that the English committee have been seeking marvels and not the truth, and that they have found the marvel and not found the truth. Yet they deal with thought-transference as an established fact! but, one may well ask, can a natural fact be established by wishes and enthusiasm?

Having accepted thought-transference, the English authorities utilize it liberally to explain the appearances, known as phantasms now, and called apparitions and ghosts formerly. The fullest exposition is given to these views by Mr. Edmund Gurney in his bulky work on *Phantasms of the Living*, which is based on the material accumulated by the English Psychical Society. The majority of the material is formed by the stories of apparitions told by various persons, to confirm which an immense labor has been expended to secure corroborative evidence. This is presented as fully as possible, and the author and his collaborators have evidently striven to be candid, and have worked earnestly. The stories are nearly all very simple; a person perceives a figure of some individual with whom he is closely associated, usually by strong affection; the person is startled, either by the mere sight of the figure or by its look, or sometimes by a remark or two the apparition makes; in other cases merely the sound of the voice, generally making an appeal of some sort, is heard, and nothing is seen; the vision is always brief and almost always purposeless; frequently there is some peculiarity about the disappearance of the figure, which demonstrates that it could not have been a corporeal being; finally in a great many cases the time of the apparition coincides more or less closely with the time of death of the person whom the phantasm resembles.

There are two ways which a scientific man would naturally follow in studying the material presented in these stories, either

* *Proceed. American Soc. Psychical Research*, Vol. I., p. 86.
† *Proceed. American Society Psychical Research*, Vol. I., p. 35.

that of the psychologist or that of the ethnologist. Neither of these methods has been followed by Mr. Gurney and his colleagues. The psychologist would at once tabulate the results; determine the proportion of phantasms seen by men and women, their relation to the age of the percipient, the time of day, etc. He would have sought for every possible factor in the percipient's condition. I ventured to suggest to the late Mr. Gurney the importance of utilizing the material scientifically in such ways as have just been indicated, and was not a little surprised at his reply to the effect that this was not worth while, thought-transference being a demonstrated fact! The ethnologist would have studied the ghost stories of the various races of mankind and sought to ascertain whether English stories are more than survivals of the folk-lore and superstitions of ruder civilizations. In the proceedings of the American Society is a report showing that rudimentary superstitions still prevail to a great extent among educated New Englanders. That the stories in question are folk-lore survivals is, of course, *a priori*, the most probable explanation of their occurrence among us, and until that theory is set aside there is no occasion to advance any other. The fact that the stories are individual and personal is entirely in accordance with their being myths as well, while the further fact that the stories present scarcely any variety save of name, date, and place, the incidents being very uniform, emphatically suggests myth stories. Belief fixes what may happen in the way of marvel, something arouses the idea that the marvel is occurring, and inaccuracy of attention, of observation, and of memory completes the story to the proper scheme of the myth. The only way to effectively prove that the ethnologist's explanation of cotemporary phantasms is erroneous is to show that for other folk-lore stories, which are obviously untrue, there is no such evidence at all—and this has not been done. So far as I am aware the only attempt to do so is that of Mr. Gurney,* and his argument is, to my mind, worthless. He has studied through the literature of lycanthropy and like superstitions, and finds naturally no first-hand accounts. That conclusion is interesting, and corrects the false notion that there was more or less of such evidence; but it has little bearing on the question in hand. If Mr. Gurney had shown that there was no evidence of

* *Phantasms of the Living*, Vol. I., p. 172–185.

magic exerting effect on persons at a distance, or that there was no direct evidence of an astrological horoscope being fulfilled, he would have gained some defence for his position. Intelligent persons now believe that when magic worked or astrology was verified, it was an apparent result, and not due to magic or astrological factors acting as true causes. Such confirmations as occurred were due to coincidence. If it were proved that such coincidences were very rare, then if the confirmations of the cotemporary apparitions were proved to be much commoner, Mr. Gurney would have had a basis for his argument. It is the failure to meet the conditions of proof, which characterizes so much of the psychical research, appearing again.

Common intellectual prudence obliges us to hold to the folk-lore explanation of modern psychical stories, so far as mere actual chance coincidence is insufficient. Nothing has yet set aside this explanation, which, on the contrary, is favored by the illusions of memory to which Professor Royce has called attention. We must decline to accept thought-transference as probable, much less as proven, and it is at once unjustifiable and unnecessary to employ it to explain the phantasms of the dying, which appear to distant friends, by assuming that the dying man transfers the thought of himself to another's mind at a great distance.

Psychical research has not demonstrated either telepathy or the reality of ghosts. It has not raised them even to the rank of respectable hypotheses. I have devoted much time to these problems, for if the views advanced were correct their importance could not be overestimated. At first the weakness of the proof was not known. Now that the conclusions have become negative, I still do not regret the time spent in a vain search, for the mere recognition of error clears the way for truth.

The theosophical and psychical movements are akin in their origin, their development, and their failure: in their origin, because they were born from the love of the supernatural and the hope of discovering occult human faculties; in their development, because they grew outside the pale of strict scientific inquiry; and in their failure, because their conclusions are barren. They are far asunder in rank, for the theosophical movement lived on folly and imposture, while the psychical research movement lived on earnestness and honorable effort.

The failure of psychical research should teach us a profound

lesson—the lesson that literary training sets limits to the faculties. The leaders of the Psychical Society are literary men, and have shown that, though they excel in literature, they have not the training to carry out a difficult scientific investigation. It is one thing to study books, but it is an utterly different thing to study nature. It is the difference between studying a tombstone and a living hero. Nature hides her facts in labyrinths of details; she is secrétive and shrouds herself in mysteries. One who is accustomed to turn to a book and easily consult the desired page, cannot readily understand the precautions which are requisite to approach an unknown fact of nature. Years of special training are necessary to acquire the rudiments of this art. Of the qualities which those who investigate nature must possess, almost the first is humility, the willingness to accept what we find, without insisting on finding what we seek. Utter self-renunciation, when in the presence of a fact, is the first necessity of scientific investigation. In psychical research, as it exists to-day, we miss this trait, and in its place we find the pride of established convictions.

CHARLES SEDGWICK MINOT.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

II.—THE OPPONENTS OF THE PRINCE-PRESIDENT.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

In my previous chapter, I spoke of Princesse Mathilde as the prompter of Louis Napoleon before and after his election as President of the Second Republic. At the first blush that admission may appear a contradiction of my statement to the effect that the future Emperor was thoroughly aware of the magic potentiality contained in the name of Napoleon. But no actor, whether great or little, and however letter-perfect and certain of his audience, can afford to dispense with a prompter; for, known or unknown to the player, there may slip in among that audience a section hostile to him and bent upon "queering his pitch"—the expression is not elegant, but it is appropriate, as theatrical authorities will tell one. That section, numerous or the reverse, may work jointly or separately. It may post its members singly in different parts of the house or gather them into a serried phalanx, as was done during the "Tamburini Rows" at Her Majesty's Theatre more than fifty years ago.* It may express its hostility openly by hisses and catcalls, or by pretended and exaggerated marks of approval and sympathy. Nay, more; it may enlist in its cause a fellow-actor of the comedian to hamper him on the very stage.

To continue the theatrical metaphor for another moment. The members of that "omnibus-box," or, to use the French term,

* A word to the wise. The "Tamburini Rows" have been immortalized by Barham in the *Ingoldsby Legends*. But I cannot explain every allusion I may have occasion to use in the course of these articles. Many years ago I wrote in a preface to one of my books: "The writer who has time to explain everything has not much to write. The reader who is too indolent or indifferent to look up references ought not to read." I hold that opinion still.

"*loge infernale*," who had determined to "queer Louis Napoleon's pitch," either in furtherance of their own and strictly personal aggrandisement or for the purpose of showing what an inferior "mummer" he, Louis Napoleon, was in comparison with the great classical actors they had selected for the part of rulers of the French—they, the members, all adopted the tactics enumerated just now. Among them, Lamartine is the only one entitled to a certain amount—a very small amount—of respect. He, at any rate, fought Louis Napoleon with uplifted visor, and would fain have avoided fighting altogether. The consciousness that his motive for fighting was not a lofty one may have bred the reluctance; for the poet-historian of *Les Girondins* had not an invincible conviction of his infallibility in all things, like the poet-pampleteer of *L'Histoire d'un Crime*, nor a facility for blinking unsavory facts connected with his own ambition, like the historian of *The Consulate and the Empire*. Lamartine was more honest and more honorable than either Victor Hugo or Adolphe Thiers, though that is not saying much. Joseph Méry, the friend of the elder Dumas and Balzac, the genial, amusing, and almost matchless humorist, who is scarcely known to English and American readers, but who ought to be known to every one, Méry, who rarely said an unkind word of any one, openly averred that Lamartine proclaimed the Second Republic on the 24th of February, 1848, as a means to stave off his most pressing creditors. Lamartine's subsequent explanation of his action on that day virtually substantiated Méry's indictment, for the poet admitted that at noon on that historical Thursday, "the establishment of a republic was farthest from his thoughts." But if he forsook his royalist faith, he was in no way pledged by any of his previous utterances either to Bonapartism in its ostentatious republican form as advocated by the "nephew of his uncle," or to republicanism in its Cæsaric form as interpreted by the "uncle of the nephew." Unlike Goethe, Heine, Byron, Hugo, and the rest, Lamartine had never worshipped at the shrine of the deified Corsican lieutenant of artillery; he had endeavored, though unsuccessfully, to drag down the idol and impose silence on its high-priests by that one, scathing line—

Rien d'humain ne battait sous son épaisse armure;

he had opposed the removal of Napoleon's remains from St.

Helena and their triumphal reception in Paris, and when defeated, his cry of surrender had been, as it were, prophetic. "Very well," he exclaimed, "bring back his remains, seeing that nothing less will satisfy you. Let the pedestal to his statue be the column ;* after all, the work is his, the monument created by him, but at any rate, do this : write on the socle, 'To NAPOLEON ALONE.'"

Thus, nearly a score of years before the *coup d'état*, Lamartine saw and felt whence and whither the wind blew. At that very moment the son of the great Napoleon was dying at Schoenbrunn ; the second son of the great Napoleon's brother and Hortense de Beauharnais had died a twelvemonth before without issue ; the least dangerous to the welfare of France, from Lamartine's point of view, and also the least enterprising were gone ; the most daring, the mother and the third son, remained, and the poet-statesman guessed at, if he did not absolutely know, their temper. Louis Napoleon's attempt at Strasburg four years later (1836), his second attempt at Boulogne-sur-Mer four years after that (1840), and his writings during his subsequent confinement at Ham, could have left no doubt in Lamartine's mind with regard to Louis Napoleon's further plans ; and Lamartine's first thought and care when the hour for the execution of these plans had obviously struck, was their frustration. On the 2nd March, 1848, Louis Napoleon and Lamartine met in secret ; and the poet prevailed on the prince to return to England. Few of the real particulars of that interview, of the argument employed by Lamartine to induce Louis Napoleon to that step, have ever leaked out ; I may honestly claim to possess some slight information on the subject, denied to others. Truly, that information is open to the charge of being one-sided, considering that it was gathered from the lips of the Emperor himself a couple of years after his accession, at what time a national subscription was set afoot to relieve Lamartine of his debts, to which fund the Emperor contributed a handsome sum.

"If he were the merest rhymester instead of being one of the greatest poets of contemporary France, I should still owe him that much," remarked Napoleon III. during one of those occasional con-

* The Austerlitz column, better, though wrongly, known as the Vendôme, whence the statue had been removed in 1814 after the entry of the Allied Troops into Paris. Lamartine's speech dates from 1832, when it was proposed to reinstate the statue.

versations with my relatives to which I have alluded elsewhere.* "I owe him that much for his treatment of me in March, 1848. Neither Thiers nor Changarnier, and least of all Cavaignac, would have acted like that had they been in Lamartine's position. I feel certain they would not have counselled me to return to England, but opposed that return with all their might when once they had me in their power, for I was virtually setting at defiance the decree of banishment against our family, which had only been specially relaxed in favor of my uncle Jérôme and his children—a proof, by the bye, that Louis Philippe was not afraid of them and that he was afraid of me : so I could not have been the utter nonentity people said I was. I should not like to say for certain what Thiers or Changarnier would have done with me, though I have a pretty correct idea ; as for Cavaignac, he would have had me shot as, I am sorry to say, my uncle had the Duc d'Enghien shot, that is, without the formality of a trial. Republican though he professed to be, he had all the making of an irresponsible tyrant in him ; republican though he was, he would not have scrupled to pose as a kind of avenger of the son of the Duc de Condé, and, what is more, the people would have let him do it, even if he had condescended to apprise them of his intention. They would probably have applauded if they had only been told of the accomplished fact ; first, because the masses are prone to applaud accomplished facts, or at any rate to acquiesce in them, provided they are accomplished boldly and promptly. If Louis XVI. had had the Tennis Court at Versailles surrounded and shelled instead of letting the proceedings take their course, there would have been no Revolution. Secondly, Cavaignac, if he had deigned to give a reason at all for thus disposing of me so unceremoniously, could have given an apparently valid one. He could have represented me as having come to overthrow the newborn Republic, and not with the intention of serving it as a French citizen. He might have been correct or not in that assertion, that is not the question. The people would have acquiesced, for it is a lie to say that the people side with the weaker ; they side with the stronger, and during the first days of March, 1848, it was not only the people but the populace that had the upper hand, not the *bourgeoisie* as in 1830, although the people in 1848 allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by a set of

*My *Paris Note-Book*.

the meanest and most contemptible *bourgeois* that ever lived. To this wholesale statement there are only two exceptions, Lamartine and Emile de Girardin, both of whom thoroughly despised the *bourgeois*. Lamartine's impecuniosity notwithstanding, there was not an ounce of greed in his composition; Girardin, in despite of his affluence, was not quite so indifferent to money, but his support of the Second Republic was due to other than money causes. There was, to begin with, a personal as well as a political feud between him and M. Guizot; apart from the resentment he felt against the whole of the aristocracy on account of the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of his father. *I take it,*" added the Emperor in a most significant tone, "*I take it to be more noble to father a child which one knows not to be one's own than to deny the flesh of one's flesh, the blood of one's blood, because it happens not to be born in holy wedlock.*" * He had, moreover, a grudge against Cavaignac for having given him a terrible fright, of which I will tell you one of these days.

"As for Changarnier," the Emperor went on, after a few moments, "he would have done with me what the Bourbons did with Ney; that is, given me a public trial, a kind of spectacular melodrama in some specially constituted court, and in which he would have endeavored to run me very hard as the hero of the play, for he was conceited and idiotic enough for anything, and as long as he succeeded in drawing public attention to himself, he would not have minded drawing public attention to me. What Victor Hugo would have done in Lamartine's stead, it is impossible for me to say. He might have treated me as he treated his imaginary opponents in the Chamber, viz., credited me with sentiments and projects altogether foreign to my heart and mind, in order to 'place' an eloquent speech. He might have had me tried and sentenced to death for the sake of writing another immortal *Dernier Jour d'un Condamné*; I might have become at his pen *le plus grand des Napoléons*, instead of *Napoléon le Petit*, but my posthumous greatness would have been less useful to me and to France than my actual littleness. All nonsense apart," the Emperor interrupted himself with a smile, "I am not at all sorry that I incurred the enmity of Victor Hugo, though I

* The first part of the sentence in italics is unquestionably an allusion to the frequent doubts cast upon Louis Napoleon's own legitimacy; the second, a condemnation of the conduct of General Alexis de Girardin with regard to his natural son. General de Girardin did not behave well to him even after he had "legitimized" his "love-child."

yield to no man in my admiration of him as a poet. But I did not want a constant repetition of Boileau's line to Louis XIV.—'*Cessez de vaincre, sire, ou je cesse d'écrire*;' and I should have inevitably had that line over and over again if I had retained his friendship. The age of the *Roi Soleil* is passed, probably never to return as far as the fulsome and non-critical worship of a ruler is concerned. The poet has had to make room for the historian and leader-writer, especially in regard to living sovereigns. The poet who would endeavor to drown critical appreciation with indiscriminate panegyrics of the sovereign thus criticised, would most likely drag that sovereign into the current with him; at any rate he would make him look ridiculous; and in France ridicule maims when it does not kill, especially if it be leveled at a civilian; and according to a great many, I was only a civilian, and a sorry one at that.

"What Thiers would have done with me had he been in Lamartine's place, I repeat, it is equally impossible for me to say," the Emperor went on. "I have often tried to think it out, but must frankly confess that I dared not pursue my thoughts to their logical conclusion. I am certainly not less prone than others to think evil of my fellow-men, but I fancy there is a tacit compact between my mind and my heart—say, between my understanding and my conscience—to find extenuating circumstances for an enemy, and that Thiers is my personal enemy, to an even greater extent than my political one, I have not the faintest doubt. I sometimes think that if Thiers had had the disposal of me at that time, there would have been neither a summary execution as in the case of Cavaignac, nor a public trial as in the case of Changarnier or Hugo, but a kind of *escamotage*. I should have disappeared, whether temporarily or permanently would have depended on circumstances. There might have been a second mystery of the 'Iron Mask' in history, for Thiers is a mental and moral as well as a physical coward who would not have had the pluck to resort to secret assassination, and there was no Lady Macbeth by his side to screw his courage to the sticking point. Cavaignac is a brute, but has the courage of the brute. Changarnier has courage also; it is not the courage of Henri IV., of whom it was said, '*Son courage riait*;' Changarnier's courage grins rather than laughs, and is more or less theatrical, like that of the Prince de Condé, who opened the trenches at Lérida to the

sound of a score of violins; it is the dandy courage of some of the captains under Louis XIV., but it is courage for all that. Nor is Victor Hugo a coward. 'Show me how a man sings and I will tell you how he will fight,' Carlyle, whom you admire so much, has said; and I fancy the axiom is generally though not invariably true. Enough. All these men, Lamartine included, have courage; Thiers, I repeat, has none. His 'courage' spells 'craft.' Lamartine had the courage to show me indirectly that he was afraid of me, by advising me to return to England. I say indirectly, for he did not put it in that way; he alleged that there was danger to me, not to him; but his fear strengthened my courage; and that is why I owe him a good turn, which I have endeavored to repay by heading the national subscription for the settlement of his debts with a handsomer sum than I would have given had he been simply the great poet he is."

This, then, was Louis Napoleon's opinion of the men with whom he had engaged in that game of political bluff which lasted for more than three years, though only two kept playing to the last. Lamartine threw up his hand almost directly after the first deal, *i. e.*, when he had objected to Louis Napoleon's joining the game at all —and found that Louis Napoleon meant to join it in spite of his objection; in other words, that neither intrigue nor threats would keep him out of France.* For, immediately after the disturbances in June,† during which Cavaignac had virtually given himself away by showing the kind of game he meant to play henceforward, Louis Napoleon slipped into Paris while the streets around the Northern Railway station were still encumbered with the remains of the barricades. "I was compelled to leave my luggage in the cloakroom and to make my way on foot to the house of my friend who had offered me his hospitality. I only carried a very small carpet-bag," said the Emperor afterwards, when recounting the incidents of his arrival. "I had scarcely gone a hundred yards when I was stopped by an old woman. 'I say, young man,' she cried, 'just put a paving stone or so in its place; help us to get a bit straight; as you see we are all at sixes and sevens, some one must put an end to the confusion.' 'That is exactly what I have come here for, madame,' I replied. The old

* The order for Louis Napoleon's arrest, transmitted by telegraph to every prefect and sub-prefect in France on the 12th of June, 1848, and posted up in every commune almost immediately afterwards.

† Not to be confounded with the revolt of June, 1849, which was quelled by Changarnier.

woman did not know how absolutely true these words were; I myself have often pondered them since, and invariably been reminded in connection with them of that incident in Edmund Kean's life when he trudged to Drury Lane in the snow on the night of his first appearance on that stage which was to witness his greatest triumphs."

Cavaignac's first and practically last hand was a bad one from the outset; nevertheless he "came in" and drew cards, trusting first to his own faculty for "bluffing"; secondly, to that same faculty as displayed by those who were betting on his hand; namely, the whole of the staff of *Le National*, founded eighteen years previously by Thiers and Armand Carrel and edited at the period of which I treat by Armand Marrast. That staff ought to have been warned, by the fate of one of the founders of the paper (Armand Carrel), of the danger of excessive "bluffing," nay, of the mortal penalty attached to such "bluffing." But a few months of phenomenal sneers in that respect had made them absolutely reckless. *Le National* literally governed France for a little while,* and its members fancied they would be allowed to continue governing, if Cavaignac should succeed in his candidature for the Presidency. Neither their bluffing, though, nor that of Lamoricière and Dufaure, who were staking on Cavaignac's game with the moneys of the state, was of much avail; the game was lost to them before Louis Napoleon had said that he would "see" Cavaignac's hand. "Your candidate does not stand the ghost of a chance," wrote an electioneering canvasser from the provinces whither he had been sent by Lamoricière. "Even his name is against him." "Cavaignac, Cavaignac," said an elector, "Cavaignac means nothing at all to Frenchmen. You say he has been in Africa; but I never heard of him. If his name were Geneviève de Brabant or that of one of the four sons of Aymon,† it might do; it would convey some kind of story, but, I repeat, that of Cavaignac conveys nothing at all. I prefer that of Napoleon; there is a ring about it; it arouses echoes in one's mind and heart, the echoes of battle-marches to which our fathers and grandfathers went to victory at Jena, at Austerlitz, at Marengo. To defeat also, as at

* See *An Englishman in Paris*, vol. ii., chap. i., where there is a list of the government appointments held by the members, literary and otherwise, of *Le National* in the beginning of 1848.

† The four knights of a Carlovingian legend who were mounted on *one* horse named Bayard.

Waterloo, as you say." This in answer to a timid remark of mine. "Well, yes, Waterloo was a defeat; a defeat more glorious, perhaps, than a victory; but your General Cavaignac won't retrieve it, and a second Napoleon may." "I am afraid," concluded the agent, "that eleven-twelfths of the electors hold a similar opinion." As will be seen from this, the Boucards and Latapies had done their work; the Napoleonic legend which they had sown broadcast was blossoming into fruit.

Changarnier scarcely played at all in that first deal. He made good his "ante" and drew four cards to a king;* but those cards were not sufficiently good to admit of his betting, and before his turn for betting came he had flung them away, determined to "sit tight" for a while and not to "come in" except on a good hand, when he would bluff on sure grounds.

Different from Changarnier's tactics were those of Hugo and Thiers, neither of whom played at all in that first deal; but sat watching the game, or rather one player, Louis Napoleon, in order to get at his system.† They might as well have watched Kaempfler's automatic chess-player for all the information they did get. Hugo, a short time after the first deal had been won by Louis Napoleon, on the 10th December, 1848, practically gave up all idea of playing. Not so Thiers, and for the next three years the game becomes virtually a three-handed one between the Prince-President, the erstwhile Minister of Louis Philippe, and the General whom Marshal Bugeaud once compared to the pack-horse of the Maréchal de Saxe, but who fondly imagined himself to be a second Napoleon I., not only sword in hand, but pen in hand, and especially in speech. We shall meet with him again, and fill in the outlines of his portrait as given by the Emperor. It is time to look at Thiers, "the great Thiers" as some of the French journalists continue to call him; the same journalists who dispute the adjective "great" to Bismarck "by reason of his craft," although the ex-Chancellor would have scorned to resort to a single one of the mean shifts which crop up daily, nay, hourly, in the life of the French so-called statesman of whom, moreover, it is

* The Comte de Chambord. There is no doubt that the 4,687 votes polled by Changarnier at the Presidential elections were given by isolated Legitimists in batches of two, three, and four. They, the voters, saw in him a would-be Monk of another Bourbon Restoration.

† It is worthy of record that among the stray votes at the Presidential elections there were not a dozen for either Thiers or Hugo. Thiers, for reasons that will appear directly, had not even come forward as a candidate. Hugo never had a desire to become President of the Republic, but coveted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

difficult to record one private or political action sufficiently generous to throw a lasting ray of light in the otherwise sombre picture.

Of course, I am not going to write Thiers' biography. I cannot too often remind the reader that I lay no claim to the title of historian or to that of biographer. I would, moreover, state, once for all, that, notwithstanding the many assertions to the contrary of both friendly and unfriendly critics, I hold no brief for the late Emperor of the French, and that least of all have I been engaged as the Devil's Advocate against the memory of the first President of the Third Republic. The French Republicans may canonize him and Gambetta and Favre for what I care, and if they want another trio of such saints as "understudies" I will give them a long list from which to choose. This much I do say: whenever and wherever historians put the memory of Napoleon III. on its trial for the calamities that resulted to France from the Franco-German War, the memory of Thiers ought to stand arraigned by the side of the other as *an accessory* before the fact. Lest this should appear an unfounded accusation on my part, I will proceed at once to give chapter and verse. At least two of the actors in that particular prologue to the War are alive. They have the option of contradicting me.

One morning in the early part of June, 1870, hence more than a month before the declaration of war between France and Germany, the Emperor, being then at St. Cloud, was strolling gently along that large avenue of sycamores situated opposite the windows of his private apartments on the ground floor of the palace. The disease from which he had been suffering for several years, and which was eventually to carry him to his grave, had reached an acute stage; nevertheless on that morning he was more or less free from pain. By his side walked his kinswoman, the Duchesse de Mouchy (*née* Princesse Anna Murat), who had only arrived a few minutes previously, and joined him thus informally at her own request, as she had an important communication to make. It was to the following effect. That same morning, M. Thiers, through the intermediary of the Marquis Philippe de Massa, had requested an interview with her. She, the Duchesse, was to prevail upon the Emperor to grant Thiers a private audience. "What can M. Thiers want with the Emperor?" the Duchesse had exclaimed in a tone of sur-

prise. The surprise was not unjustified, considering that M. Thiers at that time was not only the avowed enemy of the Empire, but of the Emperor himself. She was less surprised at Thiers' selection of an ambassador in the shape of a captain of a crack regiment of dragoons, and personally attached to the Emperor. The second husband of the marquis' mother was the Comte Roger (du Nord), a consistent Republican, and an intimate friend of Thiers, at whose house the Comtesse spent many evenings, and whither her son accompanied her now and then. The Emperor could be vindictive enough, but his vindictiveness was, at the best, sporadic, and he often swallowed a camel in the shape of an offence while straining at a gnat. He never forgave Lady Jersey for having poohpoohed his request for the hand of her daughter; he sent David d'Angers into exile for having refused to finish the tomb of Queen Hortense; while he condoned, as I will show in the course of these pages, much graver injuries against himself. Adam Smith has said somewhere that people will sooner tolerate the enemies of their friends than the friends of their enemies. Louis Napoleon was the exception; he showed no resentment against the friends of his enemies, but he would scarcely have tolerated the enemies of his friends. Thiers, on the other hand, knew no such generosity; he tolerated the enemies of his friends—if he could get something by it—while it is doubtful whether he would have welcomed the friend of an enemy. In this instance, Napoleon III. did not object to his young ordnance officer visiting the house of Thiers; Thiers, on the other hand, would not have admitted him for a moment, but for his constant hope of worming some more or less important secret out of a charming and accomplished dragoon who had virtually the run of the Tuileries. It could scarcely be otherwise with one bearing the name of Régnier. In view of all this, the Duchesse de Mouchy, though surprised at Thiers' request, was not surprised at his choice of the ambassador.

In reply to the Duchesse's question, M. de Massa gave some additional information. "M. Theirs," he said, "wishes you to tell the Emperor that a near, nay, impending, war between France and Prussia is unavoidable; that, to carry on this war successfully the Emperor will require men of tried knowledge and experience instead of the incapable ones of which the Ollivier Cabinet is composed; that the Emperor will require, above all,

popular men who have the ear and confidence of the nation, and that, under the circumstances, he is ready and willing to form a ministry under his own leadership."

The Duchesse pondered for a moment. "You are right," she remarked at last; "the news is indeed very important and serious, but before I can communicate it to the Emperor, I must have M. Thiers' personal permission." M. de Massa at once saw the force of the remark. He went away immediately and in less than half an hour returned, accompanied by Thiers, who not only repeated what M. de Massa had said, but pointed out to the Duchesse the necessity of her seeing the Emperor at once. So anxious, in fact, was Thiers to set the matter going that he offered to stay at the Duchesse's while she proceeded to St. Cloud. Here again we have particulars which will remove the faintest doubt as to the absolute truth of the whole affair. Among other precious autographs she had a collection of letters from Fénelon to her husband's kinswoman (the Vicomtesse de Noailles), during the great controversy between the famous Archbishop of Cambray and Bossuet. Thiers asked permission to examine them while awaiting her return.

The Emperor had listened to the Duchesse without interrupting her by as much as a word; he had only smiled, with one of those ineffable smiles which, to his friends, needed no interpretation, which all the misinterpretation of his enemies failed to rob of their charm. When she had quite finished, he led the way to his room, still in silence. "My dear Anna," he said, when they were seated, "this is not the first nor the second time M. Thiers has made similar overtures to me under one pretext or another. But very recently, Madame Colonna* came to offer me his co-operation to found the parliamentary *régime*. I may frankly tell you that I have not much faith in nor much sympathy with this very meddlesome, arbitrary, and irrepressible personage. I have a distinct recollection of his tactics in the early days of the Presidency. He positively pervaded the Elysée. Each morning he came, as it were, to settle with me—in reality for me—my programme for the day; he brought me my speeches, practically his speeches, ready written out; in short, he endeavored to interfere in everything. He had to have a finger in every pie; no ques-

* Adèle, Princesse Colonna di Castiglioni, *née* d'Affry, better known to the world at large under her artistic pseudonym of "Marcello" the sculptor.

tion was to be discussed or decided without him.* More than twenty years have passed since the ceremony of inauguration of the chief magistracy, but I remember very vividly his look of stupefaction and anger, when on the morning of that day I gave him back the manuscript of a speech he had composed for me, telling him at the same time that, though deeply grateful for his counsels and his arduous interest in me, I intended henceforth to manage my own affairs. Our estrangement and his frenzied opposition date from that morning. I have been told that journeymen bakers suffer excruciating pains in their muscles, when an accident compels them to leave off kneading the dough. M. Thiers suffers similarly from being bereft of power, from being no longer the arbiter of the Government. His restless opposition is in reality the acute St. Vitus's dance of inactivity. But for that St. Vitus's dance he would be dead. Nevertheless, in view of the grave events with which we may be confronted at any moment, I would recall him to power, if I thought he could be useful. I do not say that such a step would afford me pleasure, for I do not like the man and have no reason to like him; but it would give me no pain. Unfortunately, I am no longer the master in that respect. I have taken in earnest to my part of a constitutional ruler, and will not depart from it. The actual Ministry commands considerable majority in both Chambers; to dismiss this Ministry abruptly and without a valid motive, would be an act of personal interference which I must no longer commit. If, at some future period, near or distant, the Chamber should overthrow M. Ollivier's cabinet on an interpellation of M. Thiers or on an important question, I might entrust M. Thiers with the task of constituting a Ministry; but at present I am bound to attempt nothing against a Minister who appears to enjoy the confidence of Parliament. Pray thank M. Thiers for me, and tell him that, while deeply obliged for his warning and trouble, I cannot, at any rate for the present, accept his proposal. He is an old and experienced parliamentarian, and

* "And in fact, up till 1830, when he was nearly forty-four, he (Guizot) had never seen the sea. 'And if it had not been for an electoral journey to Normandy, I might not have seen it then,' he said. I pointed out to him that M. Thiers had never had a country house; that he did not seem to care for nature, for birds, or for flowers. 'Ah, that's different,' he smiled. 'I did not care for the country, because I had never seen it. Thiers does not like it, because the birds, the flowers, the trees, live and grow without his interference, and he does not care that anything on earth should happen without his having a hand in it.'"—*An Englishman in Paris*, vol. ii., ch. 2.

will no doubt understand and appreciate the motives that prompt my conduct."

Whether Thiers understood the motives of the Emperor's refusal of his services or not, it is certain that he failed to appreciate them; for when the Duchesse de Mouchy, on her return to her house in the Parc Monceau, gave him the Emperor's answer—toned down, we may be sure, and shorn of the sovereign's prefatorial remarks as to Thiers' character—Thiers flew into a towering rage, stamped his feet and bounced out of the room, exclaiming in that shrill treble of his: "Is that it? He does not want me. He'll find to his cost that he does want me. And then I'll not want him."

I will show later on how Thiers kept his word. I anticipated the story of events in order to prove that at no time of his career was Louis Napoleon the dupe of Thiers, not even immediately before and during the miscarried attempt at Boulogne when the future Emperor issued a decree appointing his enemy—for he always knew Thiers to be such—chief of the Provisional Government. Thiers, in spite of everything that has been said about his marvellous intuition and the rest, was, at times, absolutely purblind to the effect of his duplicity and craft upon others. Out of that duplicity and craft he had woven around himself a fabric so thick as to be literally impenetrable from the inside, and he fondly imagined that those outside could not espy his actions. He was a bad sportsman, or he would have known that the experienced hunter watches the dense undergrowth that hides the wild brute, and not the wild brute itself, which in reality he cannot see, whose movements are only revealed to him by signs imperceptible, by sounds inaudible to the inexperienced, but of whose presence in that undergrowth he is nevertheless practically certain, because he has "tracked" his quarry thither, guided by the devastation the latter has spread around in its course, by the blood of his victims. Thiers' track was positively reeking with the blood of his victims, the blood of the Republicans whom he had pitted against the Bourbons in 1830, against the d'Orléans in '48; it was bestrewn with the maimed remains of two dynasties, and yet he fancied that he would secure another victim in Louis Napoleon, whom he had already endeavored to kill physically, if possible; politically, if failing in the other attempt, eight years before the latter's advent to the Presidency. I am referring once

more to the affair at Boulogne, which every one was agreed in saying was a trap laid by the little man for the son of Queen Hortense. What every one did not and does not know is this. Prince Louis suspected it to be a trap, though he did not expect it to close upon him, as it did, for six years. I have by me several notes referring to private remarks on that subject by the Emperor, which preclude all doubts as to Prince Louis Napoleon's mental grasp of the whole situation. Their reproduction here, even in the most condensed form, is unfortunately out of the question. These notes show conclusively: 1. That Louis Napoleon fostered few illusions with regard to the success of the projected Boulogne attempt; 2. That had he considered it to be even more of a forlorn hope than he did consider it, he would still have attempted it, because he wished to draw attention to himself at any cost, and because his financial position was almost desperate. Of two things, one would assuredly happen: he would be tried in some superior court and his name would be on every Frenchman's lips; or if Louis Philippe was still frightened of untoward revelations with regard to the influence of the Napoleonic legend, as he had been in 1836, he would send Louis Napoleon out of the country once more with a decent sum of money; 3. The appointment of Thiers as chief of the Provisional Government meant nothing in the event of Louis Napoleon's success. That appointment could be rescinded at the first convenient opportunity; for even as early as 1840, Louis Napoleon had no intention of affording Thiers the smallest chance of reducing to practice, in his (Louis Napoleon's) case, the formula Thiers had invented in order to lord it over Louis Philippe: "The king reigns, but does not govern." The notes of these conversations bear no particular dates, only the years in which they took place are mentioned. Those to which I am referring just now more specially are labelled 1853, hence a few months after Thiers' return from exile; at which time the empire was settling down to its new position, and when, as some critics might remark, "the Emperor could afford to pretend to be wise after the event." That Napoleon III. pretended to no such wisdom, that he would not have intrusted Thiers with a portfolio at no matter what period of his presidential or imperial career will be sufficiently patent from the following fact. During the Odilon-Barrot Ministry, the opposition of Thiers became so utterly

unbearable that the Premier had him and several members of his faction summoned to the Elysée, and at the end of the interview proposed that Thiers himself should form a Ministry. Thiers declined the offer and for very good reasons, for after he was gone, the Prince President turned to Barrot: "Do you imagine, my dear Minister," he said, "that if M. Thiers had taken you at your word and consented to accept a portfolio, *I* would have consented to intrust him with one? If you entertained such an idea for a single moment, you must have been strangely mistaken in me."

No; a thousand times no; Louis Napoleon never for one single instant mistook Thiers' character or intentions. He knew the value of Thiers' agitation in favor of the removal of his uncle's remains from St. Helena to Paris, which agitation was coincident with the publication of the *History of the Consulate and the Empire*; consequently an enormous self-advertisement for the author; he also knew the reasons that had prompted the laying of the trap at Boulogne. If in the face of all this he appointed Thiers the chief of the Provisional Government, it was to meet craft with craft. If the expedition had been successful, the appointment would have been rescinded; the expedition failing as it did, it simply discredited Thiers in the eyes of the adherents of Louis Philippe, for there were letters to prove that Thiers had not been thus appointed without his knowledge or against his will. Louis Napoleon made many mistakes in his life; he never made a mistake with regard to Thiers' potentiality or goodwill to him and his dynasty.

Thiers, on the other hand, made few mistakes from his own point of view, and fewer still in pursuit of the aim of his life, which was, as M. Charles Merruau, who knew him better than any one, expressed it, "to found a Conservative Republic and to marry *her* in the capacity of President." But he made a terrible mistake in his estimate of Louis Napoleon's potentiality before and after his election to the Presidency. One single instance among a hundred will bear out my contention. Immediately after the insurrection of June, '49, Thiers, frantic with apprehension, ran to his stockbroker, yelling to him, "Sell all my securities." "Leave them alone," said the other quietly; "Napoleon will save you all from spoliation and bankruptcy." "He!" exclaimed Thiers, scornfully, "he is too great an imbecile!"

This was the man with whom the Prince-President had to contend in and out of the Chamber. Was the game equal? Yes, and it would have remained equal during the Empire if the Emperor had trusted to himself alone. Even in 1849–1851 the game was equal, though at the beginning of that period Louis Napoleon had scarcely an ally in that Chamber. When Dupin *aîné* and Morny joined the small group of his apparently faithful partisans, the game was practically half won or they would not have joined. But they, as well as those who completed the victory—Persigny, Fleury, Maupas, Saint-Arnaud, Dr. Véron, and the rest—must be described in the next chapter.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

IMAGES IN DEAD EYES.

THE art of photography has done much to aid in suppressing crime and in detecting counterfeits of various kinds, but it cannot yet do all which an enthusiastic but not well informed public ascribe to it.

A statement has very recently gone the rounds of the newspapers of the country, that the image of a man, presumably the murderer, had been found in the eyes of a woman lying dead, and who had unquestionably thus met her fate. The eyes, after careful removal from the body, were hurried off to the nearest photographer's, and an attempt made to secure the portrait of the murderer by photographing them—or their retinæ—which in this case amounts to the same thing. The newspaper accounts, however differing about all the rest of the affair, are perfectly unanimous in saying that the photographic efforts were not crowned with success.

It has long been the habit of scientists to draw comparisons between the human eye and the photographic camera as optical instruments, and they may be thus stated: The light enters through an aperture of varying size (pupil of the eye, diaphragm of the photographic lens) standing in front of a lens which forms the image. This image is received on a suitable medium at the back of the instrument (the retina in the eye, the sensitive plate in the camera); and this is all. No further parallelisms can be drawn between them as optical instruments.

What a pity it is for enthusiasts in science, for persons fond of the horrible, and for those who conduct medico-legal investigations in such murder cases as we are speaking of, that we cannot go a step further in the above parallelism. If we could only say that the "visual purple" or rhodopsin in the retina is the sensitive medium that is quick to catch and preserve the scowling lineaments of the godless villain as he withdraws his bloody hand after the fatal blow; if we could only say that the microscope, the solar camera, and the developer were ready and waiting to put his abhorred features into visible form to show to the jury! But we can *not* say so, and the reasons are quite simple. In the first place, there is no sensitive material like photographic preparations on the retina that can seize and retain such an image as that of a man in an ordinary room. An experiment was once made which indeed points in the desired direction, but stops far short of what is necessary. A man, sentenced to be hanged, was kept in darkness a short time before being led out to the scaffold. He then looked fixedly at a certain building until the black cap shut out all light. The drop was sprung, and when the man was dead a microscopical examination was made of the eyes. In each of them

was found an image of the building, inverted, of course, and uncertain in formation, because of the irregularity of the retina on which the image was impressed.

The "retaining power" of the retina has long been known. Such toys as those in which, for instance, the figure of a man sawing wood are drawn in parts, so that, when rapidly revolved, the figure seems to perform the act, are based upon this principle. Modern photography has given us some wonderful things of the kind. But the power in question is a very limited one. It will be seen in the above experiment that the object was well defined and brightly illuminated, and that the eyes were fixed upon it for a considerable time. No such thing ever could take place at the time of a murder. The "visual purple" is not an exquisitely sensitive substance like photographic bromide of silver. If it were, we should be blind from the retained images of numerous objects all confused and mixed up on the retina. And, again, even granting the absurdity of the murderer's image being actually there in visible form on the retina, how could it be photographed? I have struggled with many a difficult subject in practical photography, but I should not like to grapple with one like this. It must be borne in mind that the retina is not flat, but is a *concave surface*. How to successfully photograph such an image on such a surface I do not know.

ELLERSLIE WALLACE, M. D.

NEWSPAPER ROW AND NATIONAL LEGISLATION.

LEGISLATION is naturally influenced by public opinion. Newspapers reflect and, in a smaller degree, mould it. The Washington correspondent gives the public his views, or those of the paper he represents, and often voices the sentiments of his own party leaders. There is little non-partisanship in journalism. The correspondent not unnaturally, often unwittingly, and sometimes purposely, colors situations. His writings mirror his own ideas or prejudices. His attitude on a public question is often peculiar to himself. It is generally dictated by the policy of the paper he represents. That depends on his personality and the degree of confidence imposed by his editor on his judgment. Usually the correspondent influences his paper and is affected by it. If he has served it for a length of time his ideas and those of the paper become the same. He generally writes what he believes. He is ordinarily a man of strong convictions, often pessimistic and cynical by reason of his experiences with the more selfish side of life.

The average of honesty and integrity among correspondents is high. It equals that of any profession. They do not lobby, though there may have been isolated cases of it. Necessarily they often unknowingly misrepresent because of a lack of details, or incorrect information, sometimes given them by interested parties, for some Congressmen and Senators are not above using deceit for their own ends. Instances could be cited where they have misdirected newspaper men, seeking to create a favorable or hostile public impression of pending legislation.

There is great temptation to paint a story and make it picturesque, to romance a little, that the despatch may be the more interesting. It is the hardest tendency to resist, but it is no more unusual than the habit in ordinary life. As a rule the correspondent seeks to do right, to be fair. His work is hasty and under stress. He must judge on slight evidence, hear a thing, get new details, and often assume the rest. A suggestion sets a train

of thought working, a conclusion is reached on a premise that may have seemed insignificant. Study of character, of legislation, of past events, of their sequence, of history, experience guides him in his judgment. He is oftener correct than inaccurate. When he errs he as a rule is quick to correct it. Though a newspaper correspondent, wittingly or unwittingly, misrepresents a public man or question, colors a story, or is unjust, the truth becomes known sooner or later. He may elevate a man temporarily or lower him. If a man be given the wrong place in public estimation, the error rights itself after a while. The weakness and incompetency of a man or his dishonesty soon become known if he be exalted too much. His honesty and ability are assigned their proper niche in public estimation if he is improperly placed. The newspaper correspondent serves to make a public man's abilities apparent or his shallowness known.

A legislator is benefited by being a "newsman." That does not mean a man who tells all he knows, gabbles, and gossips about without thought or reason. The unreliable gossip is discredited. A newsman is one who knows what news is, how to tell it tersely to the correspondent, who is frequently superficial in his study of a public question. If an official be courteous, thoughtful, communicative, accurate, he is appreciated on the "Row" and receives many favors, for a newspaper man is human. He welcomes a courtesy, and returns it when possible. No favor is greater than the giving of information. The newsman, if he speaks, is given better attention. If he introduces a bill, it is noticed. Whatever he does attracts the newspaperman's eye and is referred to in his despatches. The haughty, secretive, mysterious, discourteous, thoughtless man does not have that fate. He is not necessarily, though he often is, attacked. Unless he does something to merit it, he receives but perfunctory consideration. This is often unkind, but it is natural.

Washington correspondents have never combined in favor of legislation. They have several times joined to defeat men whose conduct or animosity to them seemed to justify it. A Speaker was once driven to private life and a Vice-President defeated for renomination by reason of such a union, and there have been other instances of the use of power. If the Press Gallery united in favor of any proposition its power would be immense. Though there was no unison of action almost every correspondent last session attacked a trust showing its attempt to dictate legislation favorable to itself. The voice of the "Row" is cast for honesty in legislation. The fear of exposure has undoubtedly prevented much fraud. If the newspaper men discover a job they attack it. They have saved the United States many a dollar in that way. Sometimes they do not see it and at others think they see a job where there is none.

The correspondent deals little with the personal life of the public man. He overlooks his weaknesses unless they be flagrant or the man poses as a great reformer and is a demagogue, or claims to be a "Christian statesman" and is a hypocrite. If he ascertains a man can be bribed, is dishonest, he exposes him and follows him relentlessly. Possibly he is not sufficiently charitable. Sometimes he is too much so. His estimates of men are sometimes wrong, but oftener right.

Correspondents are all patriotic. Faith is always kept by a newspaper man. He must have the confidence of those with whom he deals or his usefulness to the paper he represents is destroyed. He must be ready to lose his position rather than break faith; resist the temptation to publish a

story if given him confidentially, no matter how interesting or important it be. To keep a secret is his religion. If a man is known to be untrustworthy, if he reveals what is told him for personal information and not for publication, he might as well leave Washington. His own fellows shun him and will not confer with him, while the politician refuses to talk with him. The keeping of faith is the best policy, and it is natural to most newspaper men

Discussion of public questions is frequently, probably generally, started by the correspondent. He interviews the legislator, and makes public his ideas. He stirs the waters. The people do the additional thinking, and are swift to see the meat of the thing. They scent newspaper injustice, discover misrepresentation, and discount partisan coloring, generally getting the correct view of a question, or the proper estimate of a man.

To a greater or less extent the correspondent influences legislation. The exact measure of it cannot be estimated. That depends greatly on the character of the correspondent, his experience, grasp of affairs, the acuteness of his understanding, accuracy, fairness, ability to forecast happenings, and to judge of the influence of seeming trifles by others and the history of legislation. The greater the paper a man represents, the larger its circulation, the better its representation, the wider its influence and that of its representative. The voice of the "Row" is for the most part beneficial. Unfair partisanship and "faking" injure the correspondent and destroy his power. To be influential he must be of good reputation. Newspapers are widely read in Washington. They convey information to the public man as they do to his constituents. The attitude of the paper or its correspondent, measured by its character, if it be from his district, guides the public man to a degree. New men are more sensitive to criticism. Old ones get blunted. A correspondent's influence on legislation—the power of the "Row"—cannot be measured. It is greatest as representing public opinion. It is frequently overestimated. Care, courage, accuracy, are requisite. The newspaper man's errors are remembered and his accuracies generally forgotten. His influence on legislation depends on himself.

ALBERT HALSTEAD.

THE CAT IN LAW.

THE learned Attorney-General of the State of Maryland has recently struck a cruel blow at the cat, which is calculated to deprive that harmless and necessary domestic animal of its inalienable rights. It came about in this wise. A certain citizen of Baltimore stole a fine Maltese cat from a neighbor, who had him arrested for theft. When the case came up for trial the prisoner's counsel entered the plea that it was impossible for anyone to steal a cat, as that animal is not property, and that to take forcible possession of a feline, even though it be a pet one and wear a ribbon and answer to its name, is not a legal offence. The judge held this argument to be good, and the Attorney-General, to whom the case was appealed, agreed with him. The latter in his formal opinion, declares that the cat is really nothing but a wild animal, that it is of no use to man, and that the taking of a cat without the consent of its owner is not an indictable offence. Commenting on this opinion, one newspaper says:

"The eminent lawyer who has made this cruel decision must have passed a wild and reckless boyhood in which hours and days and nights were spent in chas-

ing Thomas and Tabby over back fences and through vacant lots. In no other way can his decision be explained."

It is at least certain that this decision, which leaves the cat impoverished and ownerless, is one that goes home to every household, not only in the City of Hills, but throughout the whole country. It behooves us, therefore, to look into the question and to see what claims, if any, the cat has upon the sympathy of the community.

Looking backward we find that pussy has been the pet and favorite of some of the most famous personages in history. Mahomet rather chose to cut off the sleeve of his robe than to disturb a cat lying upon it; and his followers, who have no more objugatory term for the Christian than dog, admit it into their mosques. Dante and Petrarch each had a fondness for it, and the great Richelieu had a pet cat, while Cardinal Wolsey placed his favorite tabby near him on a chair whilst exercising his judicial functions. Sir Isaac Newton had a pet cat and kitten, and it is recorded that the worthy philosopher had two holes cut in the door for their convenience, the larger one for the cat and the other for the kitten. Montaigne, too, was not too witty or too cynical but the frolics of a cat would amuse him; and La Belle Stuart, a famous beauty in the reign of Charles II., satirized by Pope in the line well known—

"Die and endow a college or a cat,"

left annuities to several of her friends on condition of their caring for and maintaining her cats. Among contemporary celebrities, Ellen Terry loves to disport herself with her cats, and to amuse herself with their mad capers. Edmund Yates was a noted cat fancier. Both Renan and Taine possessed an extravagant fondness for cats, and Francois Coppée, who, since the death of Victor Hugo, has been generally classed as the leading poet of contemporary France, also shares this hobby in a marked degree. Cats surround his desk and nibble at his pen while he writes, and his friends can recite a dozen poems which he has composed in honor of these pets.

Had it not been for the services rendered by his cat, Dick Whittington would never have been Lord Mayor of London. We all remember how that poor orphan country lad, having heard that London was "paved with gold," went there to get a living. When reduced to starving point, a rich merchant gave him employment in his kitchen with the cook, but the cook so ill-treated him that he ran away. Sitting on the roadside to rest himself he heard Bow Bells, and they seemed to him to say, "Turn again, Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London"; so he returned to his master. By and by, the latter allowed him, with the other servants, to put in an adventure in a ship bound for Morocco. Richard had nothing but a cat, which, however, he sent. Now it happened that the King of Morocco was troubled by mice, which Whittington's cat destroyed; and this so pleased His Majesty that he bought the mouser at a fabulous price. Dick commenced business with this money, soon rose to great wealth, married his master's daughter, was knighted, and thrice elected Lord Mayor of London, in 1398, 1406, and 1419.

Although Wither tells us that "care will kill a cat," the difficulty of putting an end to pussy has become proverbial. Shakspeare thus refers to it in these lines:

Tybalt—"What wouldst thou have of me?
Mer.—Good king of cats, nothing but one of your nine lives."
Romeo and Juliet, Act III., Sc. 1.

In addition to their value as exterminators of rats and mice, cats possess a worth on account of their qualities as household prophets. Thus, if a cat sneezes thrice a cold is sure to run through the family; and Melton tells us that—

"When the cat washes her face over her ears, wee shall have great shore of raine."

In like manner the sneezing of a cat indicates good luck to a bride.

The origin of the well-known expression of "to bell the cat" is thus described by Sir Walter Scott in *Tales of a Grandfather*:

"The mice, being much annoyed by the persecutions of a cat, resolved that a bell should be hung round her neck to give notice of her approach. The measure was agreed to in full council, but one of a sager mice inquired 'Who would undertake to bell the cat?' When Lauder told this fable to a council of Scotch nobles, met to declaim against one Cochran, Archibald Douglas started up and exclaimed in thunder, 'I will!' and hence the sobriquet referred to."

The expression "to turn a cat in a pan" means to make a sudden change in one's political creed or religious faith for the sake of being in the ascendant, as a cat always lands on its feet no matter how turned or thrown.

That the rights of the cat were openly violated in former times is evident from many familiar old sayings which attest to the brutality with which pussy has been habitually subjected. Thus the expression, "Not room to swing a cat," has reference to the sport of swinging a cat to a branch of a tree as a mark to be shot at. Shakspeare refers to another variety of the sport; the cat being inclosed in a leather bottle and suspended to a tree and shot at: "Hang me in a bottle like a cat" (*Much Ado About Nothing*); and Steevers tells us of a third variety in which the "cat was placed in a soot-bag hung on a line, and the players had to beat out the bottom of the bag." He who succeeded in liberating the cat had the "privilege" of hunting it afterwards.

So again a favorite amusement of "the good old times," with a certain regiment quartered in Kilkenny, was to tie two cats together by the tails, swing them over a line, and watch their ferocious attacks upon each other in their endeavors to get free. It was determined to put down this cruel "sport," and one day just as the two unfortunate cats were strung, the alarm was given that the colonel was riding up at post haste. An officer present cut through their tails with his sword, which liberated the cats, who scampered off before the colonel arrived.

That a certain prejudice against cats has existed from early times cannot be denied. It is difficult to discover how it originated unless it be that it is derived from the old superstition that Satan's favorite form is that of a black cat; hence it is that that animal has been the familiar of witches from time immemorial. It will be remembered that Galinthis was changed by the Fates into a cat. Hecate, also, when Typhon compelled the gods and goddesses to hide themselves in animals, assumed the form of a cat. "Lady Jane," the large black cat of Krook, the grasping drunken rag and bone collector in *Bleak House*, who eventually dies of spontaneous combustion, belonged to this class and was quite as uncanny as her master.

The pictures of cats by Gottfried Mind are well known to every one. Indeed, this famous painter earned the sobriquet of "The Cat's Raphael," and he was by no means unworthy of this complimentary epithet, not only on account of the correctness of his drawings of those animals, but more

especially for the life and spirit which he gave them in his pictures. It is interesting to note that this peculiar talent was awakened and discovered by chance. At the time when Fredenberger was painting his famous picture of "The Peasant Cleaving Wood Before His Cottage," his wife sitting by feeding her child with pap out of a pot round which a cat is prowling, Mind cast a broad stare on the sketch of this last figure, and said, "That is no cat!" Fredenberger asked, with a smile, whether he thought he could do better. Mind offered to try, went into a corner and drew the cat, which Fredenberger drew so well that he made his new pupil finish it out, and the master copied the scholar's work; for it is Mind's cat that is engraved in Fredenberger's plate.

Mind's affection for the feline race may be termed fraternal. When he was at work, a favorite cat generally sat by his side; and he was often seen employed at his table with an old cat on his lap and two or three kittens on his shoulders, or even in the hollow formed at the back of his neck by the inclination of his head. Thus encumbered he would sit for hours together at his work and abstain from any motion that could in the least encumber his devoted favorites. This eccentric artist died in 1815 at Berne, where his tombstone bears this inscription in Latin:

"Mourn, all ye cats! Ye bears in sorrow bend,
For death has robbed you of your dearest friend."

GERTRUDE B. ROLFE.

HOW TO REPEL TRAIN ROBBERS.

WITHOUT an exception, so far as I have ever seen or been able to ascertain, the express train is made up in the following order, viz., engine, tender, express or baggage cars, second-class coaches, first-class coaches, and, possibly, sleeping cars. This may safely be asserted as the "make-up" of trains west of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers—the most fruitful field of operations for train robbers. The general plan of attack is for one or possibly two members of the band to board the "blind-baggage" or forward platform of the car next to the tender, at some small station or other stopping place; then, at the opportune moment, to climb over the tender and cause the engineer, at the muzzles of their guns, to stop the train at some appointed place—usually some long trestle or deep ravine. Then either the engineer or fireman, or possibly both, are made to dismount from their cab and go back to the express-car, and call upon the messenger to open the door. If the latter does not comply promptly with the request then the door is forced by battering or by explosives. Successful thus far, the only other doubt that remains to be cleared away is as to the amount of money and valuables that the messenger has on this run. As to how well the robbers have guessed in the past, let the "Profit and Loss Account" of the several express companies show.

All of this devilish work has occupied but a few minutes, and then the train moves on, with the passengers and other members of the train crew possibly in ignorance. Had they known, however, doubtless the result would have been the same, for unless forewarned the railroad and express companies are rarely forearmed. And this must naturally be so, for, in the first place, the train has been brought to a stand-still on the trestle, so that no aid can come from the rear coaches to the front; and, in the second place, the train is lighted, and renders conspicuous as a target any brave man who

dares to sally forth. The robber is covered by darkness, and, I doubt not, a tree or a boulder besides. Should the express car fail to yield what they may consider a fair reward for their boldness, then the robbers turn their attention to the passengers. This, though, is believed to be the exception rather than the rule. In such an undertaking the chances for a large amount of booty are very small and the danger is very great.

In all raids upon express cars, it would seem that at least three points must be considerd by the robbers, viz.: 1. Danger; 2. Probability of a "big haul" of money and valuables; and 3. The number to share in the division of the stolen goods, or the individual gain. As to the prominence that is given to these three considerations, it matters not in this article, but the smaller the number of men that can accomplish the deed, the greater will the individual reward be. *Personal gain* is the incentive. Such a body of raiders are not out in quest of health or sport, but personal gain, pure and simple. The histories of such crimes would fix the number in the party at from two to five. Even one man, buoyed by a forlorn hope, has been known to attempt to hold up a train.

The Hon. Wade Hampton suggests, in his valuable paper,* that proper and adequate laws for the punishment of such criminals be enacted, that properly armed guards be placed on the car, that the car be made invulnerable, and, lastly, that bloodhounds be used to "run to ground" the robber.

Of the second and third suggestions, I question the real beneficial effects. It may safely be assumed that the "point of attack" is the engine and then the express car. Why then not separate them as much as possible, by putting the express car *the last* in the train? Have alarm bells in each coach and sleeper, which can be rung by the express messenger when he is directed or requested, *at this unusual time and place*, to open the door of his car. In each coach and sleeper have, in a glass-front case, similar to those now in use for the axe and saw, two repeating shotguns, each magazine containing five buckshot cartridges, thus giving from six to twelve most effective weapons into the hands of the train crew and passengers. The alarm bells should be electric, though it is believed that the ordinary cord bell could be made to serve the purpose. When the messenger sounds his tocsin of war, there would soon be a sufficient force of brave men at the express car to give the robbers a warm welcome. For the latter to cover the engine cab and each door and side of each coach or sleeper, would require a force of men too great in numbers to make "the divide" profitable. Besides the greater number of accomplices or principals, the greater the chances of a capture and the possibilities of some one turning "state's evidence."

Under such an arrangement in the make-up of a train, should the rear or express car be the sole point of attack, then the first step would be to cut this car loose from the train, and then loot it. The automatic air-brake would give the alarm to the engineer, and he, in turn, to the coaches; or, better still, the concealed electric wire could be so arranged as to sound the alarm when the car parted from the train. Should the engine, as in the past, be the first point of attack, then the crew and passengers (armed) have the advantage of being between the forces of robbers, and, with every probability, can throw the greater number in the fight, and, Napoleon-like, repulse or defeat in detail.

Under the present order of things, the crime of "holding up" trains has

* North American Review, December, 1894.

become one of almost daily or weekly occurrence. And why? Because two, three, or four men can successfully effect it, and the ill-gotten gains are large. Render the act one more difficult and dangerous of accomplishment, and the attempts will be less frequent. It matters not how invulnerable the car, so long as it remains in the train near the engine it will offer but slight resistance to the robber and his stick of dynamite.

To have one or two special guards on every express car would not only entail a heavy expense to the express companies, but more helpless beings can't be conceived of than these guards securely locked *inside* of the car while the determined and desperate robber *outside* is deliberately lighting the fuse that so soon will aid him in his hellish designs. Verily their hands are tied when they are placed inside the car, and the robber resorts to dynamite. To make the proposed change would be comparatively inexpensive. Indeed, by a mutual agreement between the railroad and express companies, this extra expense might be made very small.

The modern vestibule now in use on some of the wealthier roads of the country is an important factor in the solution of this problem. It is a safeguard to the travelling public against the raids of the train robber, and especially advantageous is it, or it could be made so, for the express car (when the last in the train) to have this connection to the main body. It furnishes a comparatively safe line of communication for the defensive party, and especially valuable is it if it prevents the robber from cutting off the express car from the train.

The principle of the suggestions herein offered first presented itself to me while stationed in Oklahoma Territory, the train robbers' paradise. Having been ordered to take command of a small detachment of United States soldiers to guard the funds of the paymaster while going from the express office to the post, the question at once presented itself as to how best to post the detachment so as to prevent an attack or capture by road agents. Usually there are two conveyances—the one for the paymaster, his clerk, and the funds, the other for the guard. The following plan was always adopted: The conveyance carrying the funds moved out first, and the other carrying the guard followed, but never closer than 100 to 150 yards in open country. If the country became rough and rugged, then the distance was diminished, but always with this object in view—to keep far enough away from the funds to compel the attacking party to divide its forces *in order to hold up*, and at the same time to ensure the guard's being at all times within striking distance. This principle I would apply to the proper guarding and protecting of express trains, except that in this case the defensive party has the advantage of position.

The use of bloodhounds would undoubtedly be valuable after the act is committed, but we must render it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for the express car to be robbed, if we would put down "Brigandage on Our Railroads." As long as the aphorism "Nothing succeeds like success" is applicable to this criminal practice, then just so long will desperate and depraved men follow it.

JNO. T. KNIGHT,
First Lieutenant Third U. S. Calvary.

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IS AN EXTRA SESSION NEEDED?

BY REPRESENTATIVES CHARLES TRACEY, OF NEW YORK; BELLAMY STORER, OF OHIO; JOSIAH PATTERSON, OF TENNESSEE; AND ROBERT G. COUSINS, OF IOWA.

I.

TWELVE extraordinary sessions of Congress have been called by Presidential proclamation since the formation of our government. One was made necessary to provide for suppression of an insurrection; five were convened to deal with questions pertaining to our foreign relations; three because of failure to pass appropriation bills in regular sessions, and three to correct defects in revenue or finance laws.

The last one was summoned by President Cleveland to assemble the 7th of August, 1893. After prompt action by the House of Representatives and a prolonged struggle in the Senate to prevent the passage of the bill unconditionally repealing the silver purchasing clause of the Act of July 14, 1890, the legislation recommended by the President was enacted, and Congress adjourned November 3, 1893. The very satisfactory outcome of this effort should have inspired confidence in the determination and ability of our people to maintain the financial honor of the nation. It was confidently believed that no holder of American securities, at home or abroad, nor any capitalist seeking an investment would doubt his power to convert, at any time, our

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bonds or stocks into cash at the market price, receiving payment of principal and interest in gold if demanded.

The recent experience we have had in suffering from a raid on the gold reserve demonstrates how difficult it is to avert panics. Opinions differ as to causes which produced the present condition. Want of sufficient revenue to meet expenditures, the dullness of business whereby large amounts of capital sought unsuccessfully to obtain interest here, the falling off in railway receipts, want of elasticity in our currency, the aggressive, never-ceasing clamor of agitators for free coinage of silver, and ignorance of the financial world respecting the very important and effective power given to the Secretary of the Treasury under existing law, made up a combination of forces which produced distrust.

The Committee on Banking and Currency in the House at Washington, hoping to remedy evils, undertook to enlist the entire Democratic side in favor of a currency scheme, but the effort failed. This is not surprising, for, during many years past, it has not been possible to unite either of the great parties upon a financial measure which would be beneficial. In the Fifty-first Congress a desire to bring together the Republicans resulted in the Compromise Act of July 14, 1890, and its enactment was bad for the country and brought disaster to the party then in power. It has been strenuously asserted that the Act of 1890 was passed to prevent more dangerous legislation, but this is an error; free coinage had been voted down in the House, and a safe majority in that body could have been relied upon to defeat it at any time.

When President Cleveland sent his message to Congress January 28, 1895, millions of dollars in gold were being daily withdrawn from the Treasury, and evidently there was great danger of its going to a premium. The disposition of a majority, composed of Democrats and Republicans in the House of Representatives, was to at once meet the views of the Executive regarding a provision for selling gold bonds and the retirement of legal tender paper money. A few days passed, and it was seen that the effect of the message was to check the tendency to panic. Encouraged by this change in the situation some Republicans broke away from the Democratic supporters of the administration who had relied upon their assistance to pass a bond bill and the expected non-partisan combination could not be formed. Fear of

displeasing constituents who might object to issuing gold bonds, or to retiring greenbacks, drove members away from voting for an act which, if a law, would probably do away with the necessity for future bond issues. The administration bill was defeated by a majority of 27; but in the Committee of the Whole all amendments which might be counted as favoring legislation likely to put the country on a silver basis were voted down by considerable majorities.

It is not probable that any measure of importance for improvement of finance laws can be carried through in the few remaining days of the Fifty-third Congress. In consequence of this on every side is heard the question "Is an extra session needed?" To determine what reply should be made it is necessary to inquire how far it will be possible in the next Congress to improve existing law.

The method followed by those who take our gold is to present for redemption some of the outstanding $346,000,000 of greenbacks, or of the $150,000,000 of Sherman Treasury notes; as, under the law, these notes are reissued, they are not retired, but again go out to return and draw more gold.

The President sought, by securing the passage of the Act defeated February 7, 1895, to check this constant drain on the gold reserve, believing, also, that by giving the Secretary of the Treasury power to sell gold bonds, few, if any, bonds would have to be issued.

It will hardly be questioned that much improvement should be made in our financial system, but, fortunately, the Secretary of the Treasury is provided under existing law with power, involving possibly great expense, yet giving means of replenishing to any extent our gold reserve. By a happy chance the Act of July 14, 1875, permits him to sell four per cent., four and a half per cent., and five per cent. bonds, and to purchase coin with the proceeds.

Whether an extra session should be called can be decided by no one but the President. It may be that he will deem it his duty to give the legislative branch of the Government an opportunity to act before deciding to order an increase of the public debt. There is no doubt, however, that while in the Fifty-fourth Congress the House of Representatives will contain a safe majority for sound money, the Senate will have a majority favoring free

coinage, and will be less likely than the House to follow the President's recommendations.

In view of the dismal prospect for securing the passage of sound financial measures, and taking into account the very important authority now held by the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds, the general public will decide that an extra session is not needed.

CHARLES TRACEY

II.

NOT if we can trust the public official utterances of the President and his Secretary of the Treasury. It is a curious condition of affairs when a doubt can be and must be seriously entertained as to the accuracy of figures promised and as to the good faith of estimates solemnly given out by the head of a great government. That is the result—perhaps the necessary result—of the fact that the head of this government is also the nominal head of a great political party. The doubt arises from the uncertainty in which capacity the President and his Secretary are speaking, whether these figures and estimates are really those of the Chief Magistrate of the United States and his official book-keeper, or only those of the nominal chief magistrate of the Democratic party.

It is not partisan opposition alone that gives voice to the widespread feeling that the estimates and statistics given out by the present Treasury Department have sometimes been those to be desired for the good name of the party in power, rather than such as would lay before the country a full and unbiased statement of the exact condition at the time, and what was reasonably and candidly to be hoped for.

There is no need to cite instances of this. The country's memory is alive. Otherwise, the official estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury, claimed to be most carefully and scientifically made, would receive respect from all sides when laid before Congress, instead of grudging silence from the majority, sneers from the opposition, and indifference or suspicion from the country.

When Congress and the country are asked to believe that the stagnation of business, the distrust of financiers and the drain of

gold are caused only by the demand for "reform in the currency," and have nothing to do with the fact that the "reform of the tariff" effected by the Democratic party is not bringing in enough to cover the current expenditures, Congress and the country may well reflect a moment.

They may remember the days when the Administration declared ruin was ahead unless the silver purchase act was repealed; and that, if it was repealed, prosperity was sure to come.

They may remember, after the silver purchase act had been repealed and prosperity did not come, that the Democratic Administration proclaimed on the house-tops that any solution, no matter what, of the tariff muddle, any tariff bill, no matter what, become a law, was needed to bring sunshine and gladness back at once to our paralyzed capital and labor. And then they may call to mind that the tariff law under which the country has been laboring became a law August 28, 1894, just five months ago as I write, and may wonder if the condition the President now depicts so graphically in his messages is the fulfillment of the glittering promises of Democracy a year ago.

They may even remember that only last December the Administration discovered that the business depression came not from any cause it had theretofore specified; came not because the act of 1890 had been buying so many million ounces of silver bullion a month; came not because the McKinley law was so great an atrocity that any change would work prosperity for the country, but because of something entirely different. Then the President called upon Congress, irrespective of party, to lay aside preconceived opinion, to change the entire banking system of the country, to establish a collective liability of all the national banks as security for each other's debts, and to re-establish the long-ago tried and rejected system of State banks, without affixing any such liability on them, or granting to their debtors any such security. This iridescent scheme was also and once more to drive away all distrust, and bring peace and confidence back to the commercial and financial world. That idea was cast out by the House, and something else had to be brought forward as a complete solution and easy road out of every difficulty. Once again all preconceived opinions but those of the President are to be laid aside, and a huge issue of long-time gold bonds and retirement of all legal tender paper is suggested as combining

facility of legislation with certainty of effect. In all probability no such measure will pass the House. Certainly none will pass the Senate. This Congress will expire, and with its mere expiration will come relief.

Partisan criticism apart, it is really probable that the revenues will improve. Even if they fall far short of the cheerful, though vague and variegated, expectations of the Secretary of the Treasury, they will in all likelihood increase.

The President has proclaimed his intention of keeping up the issue of bonds at all times to protect the greenbacks and pay them on presentation. It is but justice to him to say the world recognizes he will never willingly redeem them in any money but the best. With revenues growing better, even if a deficit still exists, the country will know, now this Congress is ended, that no ruinous legislation can be passed. That black cloud of financial demagogy faded away, the future is by that much clearer. Democracy no longer in full power, the world will see that it has been Democracy in power—both in promise and in fulfillment—of which the country has lain in dread.

Should the President call the Fifty-fourth Congress in extra session he knows what it will do. With a Republican Congress the President can no longer keep up his attitude of saving the country by words which he knows will never ripen into legislation. He has been able to proclaim to the world his views on finance with certainty that the Fifty-third Congress would never act, and therefore there could be no practical result either to prove the soundness of these views or give the lie to them. But the next Congress, paying as little regard to the expressions of the President as his own party has done, if called together, will proceed in its own way to legislate. Then the responsibility of not agreeing and of preventing action will rest with the executive.

That new Congress, if called, will pass some measure supplying revenues for the time being, without endangering the repose of what business the Fifty-third Congress has left alive by undertaking fundamental changes in the present tariff law. Such changes will be left until the Republicans, once more in complete control of the Government, take up the work of legislation with the responsibility of legislation.

There will be no extra session. Taking fairly into consider-

ation the difficulties of the President's position in case one should be called, and giving the regard mere decency requires to the shifting views of the Treasury there is no absolute need for one.

BELLAMY STORER.

III.

DURING his first administration, Mr. Cleveland warned Congress that the continued purchase and coinage of silver under the Bland-Allison Act would lead to disaster. Oblivious to the warning, Congress passed the Sherman law in July, 1890, which aggravated the impending danger to our commercial prosperity. Doubt and apprehension in respect to the stability of our currency were almost immediately made manifest in the revenues collected at our custom-houses. When Mr. Cleveland retired from office on March 4, 1889, something over ninety per cent. of the duties collected at the port of New York were paid in gold. After the passage of the Sherman law the receipts of gold began to diminish with alarming rapidity. On March 4, 1893, they had fallen to four per cent. Following the rapid decline in the price of silver bullion, the free coinage of silver was suspended in India. The commercial world was now thoroughly alarmed as to the stability of our standard of value. An apprehension was everywhere prevalent in business circles that the United States was committed to a continuing policy, which if persisted in would ultimately lead this country in a short time to the silver basis. For more than sixty days prior to the date, in August, 1893, when the President called Congress into extra session, not one dollar in gold was collected at the custom-house in New York.

Had Congress, when the purchase clause of the Sherman law was repealed, acted with unanimity and promptness, and followed up its action by so amending the law as to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds bearing a rate of interest not exceeding three per cent., in order to maintain the public credit, confidence, no doubt, would have been restored in our currency. However, the protracted debate which occurred demonstrated to the commercial world there was not only great hostility to the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, but there were

a great many advocates in Congress of the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver, who strenuously insisted that a majority of the American people believed in the doctrine. They contended that the repeal was brought about by the Administration, which they claimed exerted an undue influence on Congress.

While this state of affairs was seriously detrimental to a restoration of confidence, the debate had the effect to educate the people into a better knowledge of their currency. Accustomed to accept any kind of money issued by authority of the Government without question, examination, or hesitation, they now learned that their currency consisted, in part, of the obligations of the Government amounting to $346,000,000 in the form of promissory notes payable to bearer, popularly known as greenbacks; in part, of other promissory notes amounting to $150,000,000, payable in like manner, and popularly known as Treasury notes; and, in part, of $422,000,000, in the form of silver dollars, the intrinsic or metallic value of which is less than $211,000,000.

Not only the bankers, but the plain and confiding people are now brought to a knowledge of the deplorable fact that more than $900,000,000 of their currency consist of either depreciated silver dollars, or the Government's mere promises to pay on demand, all of which it has undertaken to maintain on a parity with gold.

The simple statement of the undisputed facts of the case ought to convince the American people that they cannot successfully conduct business on a basis so unsatisfactory as this. They cannot, with impunity, disregard the immutable laws of commerce and hope to be prosperous.

The necessities of the country demand such legislation as will give all the world to understand that the United States, now and hereafter, intends to maintain, in absolute good faith, its standard of value.

The withholding by Congress of this assurance is the great obstacle which stands in the way of a restoration of confidence in our currency. The situation demands immediate legislation on the lines indicated in the courageous and patriotic message recently sent to Congress by the President. If this Congress fails in its duty, the exigencies are such as would justify the President in calling the 54th Congress into extra session at the earliest practicable moment; provided the country can have any assur-

ance that it will respond to his recommendations. However, assuming the Fifty-third Congress will fail in its duty to the country, have we any reason to believe the Fifty-fourth Congress will respond to its necessities?

When the membership of the Fifty-fourth Congress is analyzed it will be found not to materially differ from that of the Fifty-third Congress, so far as the financial question is concerned. In fact, the Senate in the Fifty-fourth Congress will be more pronounced for the free coinage of silver than it is now; while the House, like the present House, will oppose it. This anomalous condition of affairs grows out of the admission of the sparsely populated States in the silver regions of the West. The eighteen States lying north of the Potomac and Ohio rivers and east of the Missouri have a majority of forty-six in the House of Representatives, in a total membership of three hundred and fifty-six; while the other States have a majority of sixteen in the Senate, in a total membership of eighty-eight. The nine States of Colorado, Nevada, North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington are represented in the upper house by eighteen Senators, and in the lower House by only thirteen members. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois have only eight Senators, but they have one hundred and seven representatives in the House. The States of Nevada, Wyoming, and Idaho, with an aggregate population of less than two hundred thousand, are represented in the Senate by six Senators and in the House by three members, when the same population, if situated in New York or Texas, would be entitled to only one representative in the lower branch. Thus it is, that, notwithstanding a very large majority of the American people are for sound money, they are, under existing conditions, powerless to legislate on the subject.

The free-silver Republicans of the West are more virulent in their advocacy of legislation in the interest of the white metal than the free-silver Democrats of the South, because the Republican from the West represents a constituency directly interested in the production of silver, whereas the Democrat from the South has no interest in mining that metal, but is impressed, and rightfully so, with the belief that the people of the Southern States are retarded in the growth and development of their section by the want of sufficient currency to transact business. He

would be content if legislation was enacted securing adequate banking facilities.

There is no reason why the Southern people should differ from their neighbors across the Potomac and Ohio rivers in respect to a system of sound finance. Their interests are identical, and they are in constant commercial intercourse. Within the last two years the change of opinion on this subject which has taken place in the South has been very marked. The business men of St. Louis, Louisville, Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, Atlanta, Nashville, Memphis, New Orleans, and Galveston are as keenly alive to the importance of maintaining the public credit and the stability of our currency as are the business men of Baltimore, New York, Chicago, and Cincinnati. There is also a marked change in the agricultural districts wherever the question has been discussed intelligently and thoroughly. The intelligent farmer realizes he cannot prosper in a time of commercial paralysis. If a good banking law was enacted by Congress securing to the people of the South adequate banking facilities, its effect on the agitation for silver legislation in that section would be immediate.

Now that the tariff question has been practically settled for some years to come, patriotism points the way for the sound-money men of the two great political parties to cut loose from partisan environments and unite in giving the country a stable currency. But is such non-partisan action probable or even possible ?

It seems not. Already the Republican leaders are attempting to make the country believe that it is suffering from a reduction of taxation and a consequent inadequacy of revenue, rather than a vicious currency. Notwithstanding it is plain our present revenue laws will yield in the near future ample means to meet our expenditures, it is the declared policy of the Republican leaders to increase taxation as a means of restoring confidence to the country. Such a party makeshift as this would result in increasing the burdens of the people and not in securing improvement in our financial system.

The conclusion is therefore reached that it would be better to go on under existing conditions until Congress meets in December. In that time it will be demonstrated to the country that our revenues are ample for all the purposes of the Government,

and that it is not more, but better, money which our necessities demand. It is hoped that Congress will then be without an excuse, and it will be forced by public opinion to face the question and dispose of it. In the mean time the country will go on with the discussion and will come to a better understanding of its needs. Time is an essential element in the right solution of all difficult problems.

JOSIAH PATTERSON.

IV.

I am very much inclined to reply, on the spur of the moment, as did the lady who was asked whether she had read Humboldt's Cosmos, "No," she said, "I tried one bottle of his Buchu and that's all I want of Humboldt."

Thus answering this question in regard to an extra session involves the query whether such a session would be so constituted as to be able to achieve practically different legislation and results from the preceding ones of the Fifty-third Congress. If it is to be more of the same Humboldt, we want no more of it; if a substantially different one, perhaps we do.

Hardly any one, free from the absolute blindness of political prejudice, doubts that the Fifty-third Congress, as constituted, has been not only a positive evil, but a most dangerous menace hanging over the country and its business interests, as threatening as the sword of Damocles. Therefore, an extra session, capable of no different action or probable effects, or so proscribed or handicapped by any power or hindrance that it could not in all probability accomplish legislation radically different in principle from that of the present Congress, is not needed.

In considering the possibilities of legislative enactment at the present time, we have learned from the annals of the private correspondence of high officials, made public, that the Executive must be considered as really a part of the legislative branch of our government. Time was when the best statesmanship of our country inclined to doubt the propriety of and to limit the extension of Executive interference. Said President Lincoln:

"By the Constitution, the Executive may recommend measures which he may think proper, and he may veto those which he thinks improper, and it is supposed that he may add to these certain indirect influences to affect the action of Congress. My political education strongly inclines me

against a free use of any of these means by the Executive to control the legislation of the country. As a rule, I think it better that Congress should originate as well as perfect its measures without external bias. I therefore would rather recommend to every gentleman who knows that he is to be a member of the next Congress to take an enlarged view, and post himself thoroughly, so as to contribute his part to such an adjustment of the tariff as shall produce *a sufficient revenue*, and in its other bearings, so far as possible, be just and equal to all sections of the country and classes of the people."

This last sentence is wholesome, and, in view of the following considerations, applicable, although an *obiter dictum* as to the immediate proposition. Without stopping to discuss further this question of the propriety of direct Executive interference in the origination and perfection of legislation, I shall state now the one possible condition on which an extra session would in my judgment be advisable. If we were warranted in presuming that the present Executive, as a factor in possible legislation, would rise to such an eminence of patriotism, unprecedented by his party predecessors, as to say to the country, in calling an extra session, what President Lincoln said in the words just quoted, then I should say that such a session is needed, and if carried out in good faith by the Legislature and Executive would be most desirable and beneficial. Nothing would be more gladly hailed by the people of this country now than such a proclamation by the President. Just imagine for a moment this country having certain knowledge of Mr. Cleveland thumbing over the messages and documents of Abraham Lincoln, suddenly coming to the one I have quoted, and saying to his Secretary of the Treasury: "Mr. Carlisle, here's the cure, here is good sense. Call Mr. Springer in with that last proposal which I sent to Congress, and let the wisdom of Lincoln save the country again without bonding the generations for fifty years to come." Does any one really doubt that if the President were capable of doing so this moment, life and hope would instantly and permanently thrill the heart and business of this nation, prosperity ensue, and that the people of America would place him by the side of Lincoln in our history?

But we have no warrant for such presumption of action by the Executive. On the contrary, we have the authority of a recent statement by the Washington correspondent of a New York paper, that the President still refuses to credit or adopt the view held by Republican members and by members elect, and

by people generally throughout the country, that the present trouble and distress is owing to deficiency of revenue, and to the effect of the recent revenue enactment upon the country's industries and business. Besides that, we have his former views and declarations and the inferences from his recent special message to the same effect. Therefore we are warranted in concluding that no economic legislation different in principle or effect from the disastrous performances of the present Congress could be consummated by an extra session.

Besides the Executive impediment there is the problem of an endless, or perhaps I should say immortal, Senate. Doubtful as to political complexion, always certain as to being "from everlasting to everlasting," with no liability whatever to the indignity of ever being forced, even by itself, to come to a conclusion, restricted only by the calendar and the Constitution, such a body, composed as it will be after March 4, with no certain working majority of either party, affords little hope of simplifying the problem already contemplated by an adverse Executive, or for affording that speedy action which would be necessary and which might be possible, otherwise, for an extra session.

Certainly the condition of the country cannot be intensified or rendered worse for the absence of that anxiety which always, from the very nature of things, attends an extraordinary session of Congress. Reduced to the severest financial test, surely the banks of the nation would not shrink from that patriotic duty which history witnesses them performing in earlier days, when, after courting foreign aid in vain, the moneyed institutions and the individual benefactors of our country came with generous and noble purpose to the rescue and became the financial Gibraltar of salvation.

With such faith in our ability to endure the hardest tests, and in that patriotism of our citizenship which never yet has failed the nation, even in the darkest hour, I believe that the welfare of the country would be better served without an extra session than by any compromise that might be reasonably expected from the antagonistic and doubtful factors that would most certainly compose and be involved in such a session.

ROBERT G. COUSINS.

TWO YEARS OF DEMOCRATIC DIPLOMACY.

BY SENATOR CUSHMAN K. DAVIS, OF MINNESOTA.

THE conduct of our foreign relations during the last two years has not reflected honor upon this country. It is proposed to vindicate this statement by a brief consideration of several conspicuous incidents.

The existing law lays a duty of one-tenth of a cent per pound on sugars which are imported from or are the product of any country which pays a bounty on their exportation. Against this the German Ambassador protested as a violation of our treaty with Prussia, concluded in 1828, which provides in substance, first, that duties shall not be higher than "on the like articles being the product or manufacture of any other foreign country," and, second, that any particular favor granted by either party to any other nation shall immediately become common to the other party. The Secretary of State sustained the validity of this contention, and so advised the President. The consequences of this construction are so serious, the limitations which it allows the treaty-making power to impose on the general legislative power are so restrictive, that its correctness cannot be admitted, except upon the clearest demonstration. It is subject to the following, among many objections.

The treaty contemplates only special and isolated favors to be extended gratuitously in some particular instances to some favored nation. That Germany, paying the bounty, should be entitled to the benefits of an advantage inuring to many other nations which pay no bounty, not as a concession to any of them, but a mere incidental and collateral result from an act of legislation upon a matter of internal concern, was never contemplated by the contracting parties, nor does the treaty upon any fair construction allow it. This is plain from the terms of the treaty, which import

only special and particular favors to some particular nation. Upon principles long since settled, such provisions in treaties are not restrictive of the power of either nation to legislate for the benefit of its own internal concerns, such as the protection and encouragement of its domestic industries. The present case falls within that principle. The production of sugar is an exceedingly important industry of the United States. The tariff law of 1890 granted a bounty to stimulate production, and to enable the producer to compete with Germany and the other nations who by paying such bounties had created an immense output. The act of 1894 took away this bounty from the American producer. As compensation in some degree, and to enable him to compete with the same foreign producers, and, also, as a measure for revenue, the duty of which Germany complains was imposed by the act of 1894. That, as an incidental effect, this revenue measure of internal policy may be beneficial to all nations which do not pay bounties does not constitute a breach of the stipulations of the treaty with Prussia. If this is not the correct view, it is most certain that the power of Congress to legislate in matters of revenue and internal concern can be suspended, impaired, or destroyed by the exercise of the treaty-making power.

The imposition of an export duty on sugar by Germany will, under circumstances easily to be suggested, become inimical to its production in this country. That policy may become, in fact it has become to some degree, potent to break down production in other countries, and thus to enable Germany at some time to control the price. So that, upon the contention of Germany and the acquiescence of the Secretary that such an internal regulation is, because of its incidental effect, a breach of the treaty, it follows that Germany, did before the passage of the act of which she complains, place herself in the same hostile position of discrimination which she charges the United States with assuming, and cannot complain of the infraction of an obligation which had previously been broken by her.

The vexatious and retaliatory policy of Germany by which, as an act of reprisal against our revenue legislation, the introduction into that Empire of our meat products has been obstructed to the point of practical prohibition, is notorious. The exercise of the police power is the pretext; the determination to retaliate by exclusion is the cause. That other nations whose products are not thus

excluded will be benefited by this policy to the degree to which the United States will be injured is very plain On the very reasons of Germany's contention against us, as stated by her representative, and improvidently admitted by the Secretary of State, the answer that should have been made by that officer to the protest was conclusive and obvious.

The question receives further illustration by a reclamation made by Germany against another provision of the law of 1894, which provides that any country admitting American salt free shall be entitled to the free admission of its salt into this country, and that the salt of any country which imposes a duty on our salt shall be dutiable here. Germany imposes a duty on salt exported from the United States. Shortly after the Secretary had advised the President respecting the sugar tax, the German Ambassador made protest against the imposition of the duty upon German salt upon the same grounds that he had taken as to sugar. He asserted that while Germany apparently levied a duty, it was in reality an excise tax, and that, therefore, German salt could not rightfully be subjected to duties when exported to the United States. If this position is correct, it also invalidated his contention as to sugar, and afforded the State Department a conclusive answer to it out of his own argument. The Attorney-General correctly advised that the salt is dutiable, and it also follows from his opinion that the conclusion of the Secretary as to sugar is without support by any argument except special pleading.

The relations of reciprocity established between the United States and many nations under the provisions of the tariff act of 1890 were destroyed utterly by the act of 1894. The results of those relations, even within the short period of their existence, were most encouraging. It was clearly apparent that, if allowed to continue, they would within a few years enormously increase our commerce, including our carrying trade, with the nations and colonies of the Western Hemisphere. The Democratic party, which has always clamored for foreign commerce and insisted that protective legislation destroys it, struck down this beneficent system of reciprocity by a single blow. The effect of this destruction upon our trade with Cuba illustrates its inevitable detriment to our commerce with all other nations or colonies with which we had entered into relations of reciprocity under the act of 1890. The existing tariff law went into effect August 28, 1894. Under

reciprocity with Cuba the duties on flour and breadstuffs imported from the United States into that island for each 100 kilos were as follows:

Wheat, 30 cents; flour, $1; corn, 25 cents; meal, 25 cents.

On August 28, 1894, as an effect of the abrogation of reciprocity, these commodities, and all others embraced in the arrangement, came under the operation of another and higher schedule of duties imposed by Cuba, which had been superseded by the lower duties imposed under reciprocity. These higher rates were, for each 100 kilos, upon:

Wheat, $3.95; flour, $4.75; corn, $3.95; meal, $4.75.

This was substantially prohibition, as appears from the quantity of flour imported into Havana from the United States during the last four months of the following years:

1892, 156,110 bags; 1893, 105,043 bags; 1894, 12,995 bags.

The proceedings of the present administration respecting Hawaii form a composite of blunders, cruelty, and usurpation. When Mr. Cleveland entered upon his present term there was absolutely no question between the United States and Hawaii excepting that of annexation under the treaty which had been negotiated during the administration of Mr. Harrison, and which was then under consideration by the Senate. The royal government of Hawaii had been overthrown by a successful revolution. That success had been so complete, and its processes so unexceptionable to all of the representatives of foreign nations at Honolulu, that each of these officials recognized the provisional government immediately after its installation. The act of abdication of the deposed queen, containing also her protest and her submission to the decision of the United States, were before President Harrison prior to the conclusion of the treaty of annexation.

All these were necessarily considered. They were decided by the act of recognition and by the conclusion of the treaty for annexation. So that when Mr. Cleveland assumed the Presidency he found, as to Hawaii, the transaction as perfectly and irrevocably concluded as were the recognition by his predecessors of the republics of France and Brazil. This established, executed, and inviolable status the President of the United States undertook to destroy. His attempt to retract recognition of a nation and to restore its pre-existing form of government stands

unique and unexampled in the history of civilized diplomacy. A nation once recognized so continues. It has become vested with that irrevocable right, so far as the recognizing nation is concerned. Any other rule would subject weak states to most precarious contingencies at the caprice of stronger nations; and it is as to weak states that the sanctity of such principles should be most scrupulously observed. Under these principles it was not for Mr. Cleveland to consider whether the United States forces had assisted in the deposition of the Queen, or whether it had been effected against the will of a majority of her subjects. These questions had been decided by the administration of his predecessor and by other nations when they recognized the new government. There was no more warrant for the President of the United States to reverse or to question this action than there is for him to-day to question the recognition of the republics of France and Brazil.

In disregard, and probably in disdain, of these obvious and well-settled principles, the President proceeded to attempt to "undo the wrong," and instructed our Minister to stand forth before the head of a nation to whom Mr. Cleveland had accredited him and demand that he should abdicate his functions, overthrow his own government and restore the sovereignty to a woman whose inherited barbarism had declared itself in the expression of her determination to execute capitally the leaders of the revolution, to exile their families, and to confiscate their property in the event of her restoration.

The business was covert in its beginning and in its conduct. The United States had at Honolulu a Minister who had been duly appointed by President Harrison and confirmed by the Senate. But the sinister work was not to be intrusted to him or to a regularly appointed and confirmed successor. It was confided to an emissary—at once emissary and unconfirmed ambassador—styled "Commissioner," commended by President Cleveland to President Dole as to his "great and good friend," invested by his letter as with "paramount authority" in all matters between this government and that of Hawaii, paid from the confidential diplomatic fund, and whose name was never sent to the Senate.

This was plain usurpation of power by the Executive. The Constitution is express upon the necessity for both appointment and confirmation of diplomatic officers. That the inordinate

powers given by the President to Mr. Blount constituted him such an officer and required his nomination and confirmation there can be no doubt. If Mr. Blount was not such an officer then every regularly appointed and confirmed diplomatic official may be subjected to the control of a secret and paramount familiar of the President.

The performances of Mr. Blount; his investigations of the Hawaiian incident preceding the revolution and after its success; his confederacy with the representatives of seditious societies of natives organized to overthrow the government of President Dole and to restore that of the Queen; his receiving communications upon public matters from her and her cabinet, signed by her in her royal name, and by them officially as her ministers; the disturbing hopes that his conduct excited, and was intended to excite, of the restoration of ignorant and sanguinary royalty to rule over men and women of American, English, German, and Scandinavian blood,—need not be more than mentioned. The American people have condemned the devious malpractice in its entirety. Mr. Cleveland's plan having failed, he apparently abandoned it with the statement that the matter had been left to Congress.

The provisional government was succeeded by a republic, which, in its turn, was recognized by all nations. It was hoped that then would end the persecuting animosity of the greatest against the weakest of republics. The hope was vain. Against the warnings of a most competent officer, which subsequent events justified with the accuracy of the fulfilment of prophecy, the United States ship-of-war was ordered from Honolulu. The predicted consequences followed. An English vessel, which had been a smuggler of Chinese into the United States and of opium into Hawaii, was chartered for the kindred work of smuggling arms from a British port into Hawaii to aid a royalist insurrection. The revolt took place; blood was shed and lives were lost; American citizens and property were endangered. After all this had been done, after the attempt for which an opportunity had been afforded had failed, a ship-of-war was ordered from San Francisco to Honolulu. Had the vessel been allowed to remain at that port no revolution would have been attempted; her mere presence would have prevented it. Her departure was the signal and occasion for rebellion.

The malign disposition of the present administration towards Hawaii, and its active hostility to the policy which for more than fifty years has declared to other nations that Hawaii shall never be acquired by any power excepting the United States, are further shown by recent events.

By the existing treaty Hawaii stipulates with the United States not to lease or dispose of any port, harbor, or other territory, or to grant any special privilege or right of use therein, to any other power. In the latter part of the year 1894 commissioners representing the British, Canadian, and Australasian governments appeared in Hawaii, ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining for a private English company the privilege of a station upon one of the islands for a submarine cable to be laid from Canada to Australia. It was not, on its face, a government enterprise. It was that of a private company to be aided by public subsidies, but it was undoubtedly destined, when dominion of one of the islands should be secured, to become the property of Great Britain or Canada. The treaty with the United States does not prohibit Hawaii from granting such a privilege to a private company. In that respect she is as free as any other state. The necessity or motive of the British Government for thus promoting the interests of an enterprise apparently private becomes apparent upon examination of the proposed agreement. It there appears that Necker Island, or Bird Island, or French Frigate Shoals Island, or some other uninhabited island which the British Government may select, is to be leased to Great Britain or its assignees without any limitation as to time except so long as the cable shall be maintained. Why the British Government requires a lease to itself to enable a private company to establish a telegraph station on one of the Hawaiian Islands can be explained not otherwise than by its determination to obtain dominion over one of that group. Great Britain has most providently occupied and possessed several isolated islands in that portion of the Pacific, but none of them is sufficiently near the Hawaiian group to serve the purpose of that power. The President of the United States recommended to Congress that the treaty be so modified as to permit the acquisition of this territory by Great Britain, and thus enable her to instal herself on one of the islands with the advantage of her own cable communications to her dependencies in the South Pacific Ocean and elsewhere. It

is not probable that the United States will consent to this, and it is not correct to say that Hawaii desires it. The cable will, in due time, be laid by this government, or under its authority. It is not desirable that this outwork and bulwark of our commerce and possessions upon the Pacific Ocean shall be preoccupied or co-occupied by any foreign power in the manner proposed by Great Britain in the present instance.

The delivery to China by this Government of the two Japanese students at Shanghai, and their decapitation at Nankin, remain to be considered. It is difficult to discuss this abominable transaction with moderation. The blood of those youths is on our hands. They were under our protection. We gave them up, actively surrendered them by an exercise of executive power, to what we knew was certain death. It is in vain that this administration answers the question, "Where are they?" which civilization asks, by the plea of the first murderer, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The answer is: "What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

War was declared by Japan against China, August 1, 1894. In anticipation of this event the Secretary of State, on July 26, 1894, instructed our *chargé* at Peking by telegram that, China acceding, he should act as custodian of the Japanese legation and afford friendly offices for the protection of Japanese subjects in China, either directly or through consuls acting under his instructions. On the same day the *chargé* instructed by circular the United States consuls in China that, at the request of Japan and with the consent of China, the United States had agreed, in event of war, to take under its protection all Japanese subjects residing in China. On July 31 further instructions to the same effect were given. On August 6 the Tsung-li-yamen wrote to our *chargé* reciting that all Japanese merchants and others residing in China had been placed under the protection of the United States. He also stated that a number of Japanese had been deputed from Tientsin as spies. He threatened severe punishment under the laws of war, but he gave assurances that, although war exists, merchants and other natives of Japan, peacefully pursuing their vocations, will be protected. The yamen repeated these assurances of protection on August 12.

The foregoing summary presents the status assumed by the United States and agreed to by China up to August 18th, 1894.

The two students had been brought into question a few days before that date, as will hereinafter appear. The decisive attack upon them was made in Washington by the Chinese Minister. On August 18th the Secretary of State telegraphed to the *chargé* at Peking that the Chinese Minister had complained that the United States Consul at Shanghai had been protecting Japanese spies, and directing the *chargè* to report immediately and fully. This order produced a very full correspondence between the Secretary, the *chargé* and the Consul, from which the following appears.

Immediately upon the declaration of war the Japanese Legations and consular offices in China were turned over to the United States. At this time there were about 3,000 Japanese in Shanghai. Among them were the young men in question, who are described in a letter from the *chargé* to the Secretary of State as schoolboys, who had resided for a long time peacefully and openly on the French concession. It appears that they had come to Shanghai from Japan three years previously to attend a commercial school to learn the Chinese language and thus to fit themselves for mercantile transactions between the two countries.

The Chinese authorities seeing them on the French concession, where they had lived openly for three years, demanded of the French Consul that he give them up as spies. The only allegation that they were spies was that they were dressed in Chinese clothing. This, it seems, is forbidden to foreigners by the Chinese law, but the prohibition had not been enforced. It was usual for many foreigners in all parts of the empire to thus apparel themselves, and these young men had done so throughout the greater portion of their residence in Shanghai. The French Consul refused to deliver them to the Chinese authorities, but knowing that the American consuls had, under the instruction of their government, assumed the protection of the Japanese residents, he caused them to be arrested by the French police on the French concession where they resided and delivered them to the American Consul. The Chinese authorities demanded them from this officer, who refused until he should receive instruction. It was at this point that the Chinese Minister at Washington made his complaint to the Secretary of State.

The Secretary, after receiving information of the facts as

above detailed, telegraphed the *chargé* on August 21, 1894, that our legation and consulates in China are not authorized to hold Japanese accused of crime against the demands of the Chinese authorities. To this the *chargé* replied, by telegraph, stating the report of the Consul-General that the accused were mere schoolboys, peacefully and openly living at Shanghai. He requested that he be directed to order an examination by the United States Consul in the presence of Chinese officials, and urged that China should not be allowed to inflict barbarous punishment, even if the accused should prove to be guilty.

To this the Secretary, on August 29, replied, by telegraph, that lending good offices does not invest Japanese with extra-territoriality, nor should legations or consulates be made asylums for Japanese who violate local laws or commit belligerent acts. He states that the Consul-General should not have received the two Japanese, and is not authorized to hold them. He rejected the suggestion that the Consul act as arbitrator.

This was the decisive death warrant. It was a wide departure from the arrangements made a month before with the consent of China, that the United States Consul should protect the subjects of Japan who conducted themselves lawfully. The result was that the *chargé* ordered the consul to deliver the Japanese to the Chinese authorities, and they were delivered on the 3d day of September, 1894. In the mean time the Chinese viceroy at Nankin had been inquiring with great solicitude why the heads of the spies had not been sent to him. The young men were taken from Shanghai to Nankin. They were subjected to frequent examinations. Examination in Chinese criminal procedure is torture, and no reliance is to be placed on the alleged information that they were not tortured. Under the law of that Empire conviction is had only after confession, and confession is extorted by most ingenious and excruciating torture. It is to be presumed that the judge who tried these youths proceeded according to the laws of the Empire, especially when it is considered that its penal code provides for the flaggellation of the judge himself with a bamboo in case he fails to proceed according to law. Finally, on the 8th day of October, 1894, the students were beheaded at Nankin. Before these young men were delivered up, the Secretary of State exacted a promise from the Chinese Minister that they should not be tried until the return to Peking of Mr. Denby, the

American Minister, who was then on his way from the United States to China. This promise was violated by the trial and execution of the students before Mr. Denby arrived in China.

The conspicuous fact which stands in the forefront of this transaction is that the protection which the United States agreed to give to Japanese in China was, by the consent and agreement of the latter power, reiterated by acknowledgment after the war had begun. So that there is really no question here, such as sometimes arises when diplomatic protection is given in the territory of a power which has never given its consent thereto. This obvious consideration should have been decisively applied by this government as a reason why it could not, and would not, deliver up the students in the manner it did upon mere accusation and demand, and without any proof. But, laying this controlling consideration out of the case, as the department laid it out, the action of this government must stand condemned both upon principle and precedent.

The right of asylum is warranted by the law and practice of nations, although there has been much controversy between the jurists upon what particular principle it is based. That it can stand upon the extraterritoriality of the diplomatic premises, was formerly asserted in theory and maintained in practice in all civilized countries. In the growth of civilization, and by the certainty that humane justice will be dealt to every offender, and from the inconvenience and frequent scandal of its exercise, the right of asylum on this ground has theoretically ceased to exist in Europe, except as to Spain.

The right to grant asylum exists, nevertheless, everywhere under certain circumstances which justify its assertion. It is not derived from any other principle of international law. It is a principle in itself.

Even as to the nations of Europe recent exceptions to the disuse of the principle have not been infrequent. The United States Minister protected the German residents of Paris from the violence of the Commune, and his action was universally commended. The right has survived as to Spain. In 1841, the Danish *chargé* protected in his dwelling a number of the leaders of a conspiracy to seize the queen and to overthrow the ministry of Espartero. In 1848, Mr. Bulwer, the British Minister at Madrid, gave like protection, and the houses of the other foreign

ministers were crowded with refugees. During the revolution in Greece, in 1862, refuge was granted in the legations to persons whose lives were in danger. The right remains as to several of the South American States and has been exercised frequently. The American Minister to Paraguay protected subjects of European nation from the merciless power of Lopez. Minister Egan made the American legation a sanctuary of protection during the recent civil war in Chili, and when that government proposed to search the legation, threatened to shoot any one who should make the attempt. The right and duty have survived in Spain and South America because retribution in those countries has always been prompt and sanguinary.

As to barbarous and semi-civilized nations the right and duty have always existed, and have always been asserted, until in the present instance.

These Japanese had been residents of the French concession for three years. Their presence at the American legation was not only rightful, but it had been invited by the arrangement for the protection by this government of Japanese residents, to which China had assented. Safety during the war to law-abiding Japanese had been promised by China. In case of a charge that any Japanese had committed an offence he was entitled to the proceedings necessary for the reclamation and extradition of alleged criminals, and he was not liable to be lawfully given up on a verbal demand, based upon a charge unsupported by evidence.

With the consent of China, and at the request of Japan, the United States had undertaken the protection of the Japanese. Thousands of these, relying upon that protection, had come to the treaty ports from the interior of China, and one thousand of them were in Shanghai at this time. They supposed, and had the right to suppose, that protection meant what the word means. After the situation had come to be as described, it was suddenly revealed by instructions from Washington that protection means merely "good offices," verbal influence, persuasion, entreaty, anything but action. And a practical definition was given by this government of this phrase, "good offices," by delivering these students to their executioners, upon the promise of the Chinese Minister that they should not be tried until the return to China of the American Minister. There is one parallel to "good offices" of this character. The familiars of the Inquisition always

delivered the tortured heretic to the secular arm, to be burned at the stake, with most touching entreaties not to harm him.

The United States received these students from the French Consul, who delivered them upon the faith of the undertaking of the United States to protect them. The French Minister at Peking declared that the Consul would never have surrendered them to China, and that he had no right to do so. When the United States determined, at the instance of China, to violate its undertaking to protect, and to convert existing protection into a surrender of the captive, with a plea for mercy, it should have insisted that the credulous victims of its promises should be placed in the position they occupied when they were transferred to our custody. It was the duty of this government to return them to the French concession whence they had been taken, and to the French Consul, for he also had been misled.

There is another point of view from which the enormous delinquency of our government can be contemplated. Whatever may be the correct principle of the right and duty of asylum, no government ever gives up a fugitive or refugee as an act of executive power upon the mere verbal demand of another government that the accused is wanted; nor is such a delivery ever made upon the mere statement of the accusing government that the fugitive has committed a crime. There must be formal demand and enough proof to show that there is probable cause to believe that a crime has been committed, and that the accused is guilty. This proof sometimes consists of sworn complaints made to the tribunals of the demanding government. Sometimes proof in addition to this is required.

This is the practice among civilized nations, where humane trial and usage of the accused are matters of course. But in this case, in which these youths were delivered by this government like dumb brutes into that vast abattoir of torture, mutilation, and butchery known as Chinese law, none of these protections was thrown over them. The demand was verbal; it was sustained by no proof except the pretext that the students had continued to wear Chinese raiment for about a week after war had been declared. They had worn it without question for more than a year, as other foreigners had done in many parts of the Empire. The papers found upon the students after their arrest are not in the official correspondence. This government in delivering the

victims seems also to have delivered the evidence which was to destroy them. No copies seem to have been retained. They probably were of little incriminating force except in a Chinese court, where torture is the expounder of evidence and the producer of confessions. But the Consul assured the Department of State that the papers were such as any students might prepare in the course of their instruction, and expressed his belief that the youths were innocent.

The Secretary of State ordered that persons accused of crime must be surrendered. This is not the law. Mere accusation does not warrant such surrender. This Government was not bound to actively exert its executive power by giving up these youths upon the mere statement of a Chinese official that they were spies. Our representatives in China requested the Department to allow them to retain the refugees until their criminal character and acts could be investigated. This request was not granted. China was not entitled, upon the most adverse construction of the laws against the students, to require the United States to perform the active function of delivery of the accused simply because they were Japanese. Accusation was necessary of some kind, and in support of accusation proof was necessary to show the probability of their guilt before this Government could be bound, under any construction of the law, to deliver them up. Upon whom was the duty, in whom was the right, to pass upon this proof? Certainly not the Chinese demandant. Such a construction takes out of the case and subtracts from the law of such cases the very essential and requisite of proof.

The charge was that these students were spies. The circumstances and antecedents of the accused demonstrate its improbability. There was not then a Japanese soldier on the soil of China. No Chinese army or military lines were anywhere near Shanghai. The accused were residents of the French concession. It is not asserted that they even went beyond its limits. They were not spies under any definition, even if their pockets had been found stuffed with military information.

Mr. Hall, in his work on International Law, gives this definition:

> "A spy is a person who penetrates secretly, or in disguise, or under false pretences, within the lines of an enemy, for the purpose of obtaining military information for the use of the army employing him."

Mr. Winthrop, in his treatise upon Military Law, furnishes the following definition:

"A spy is a person who, without authority and secretly, collects material information within the lines of one of the hostile armies, with a design of imparting it to the other."

It is apparent, not only that the students were not guilty, but that no offence whatever had been committed. This crime is not a civil offence. It is a military offence, under the international law which prescribes the laws of war. The department should have refused to deliver these men, upon the ground that they were not spies under any definition outside China.

Switzerland has no diplomatic or consular representative in China, and citizens of that Republic are under the protection of the Minister and Consuls of the United States. If war should break out between Switzerland and China the United States would be bound, by this, its own precedent, to deliver up to certain death any Swiss refugee whom China accused of being a spy.

War, at some time, between the United States and China is a very probable event. Suppose it should begin. Hundreds of American missionaries, men and women, wearing the Chinese garb, as the corrrespondence shows many of them to do, would take refuge in the legations and consulates of Great Britain, France, and Germany. China, producing this American case strictly in point, could demand them as spies or as offenders otherwise. Of course not one of those puissant nations would follow the ruling of the United States, even as against its own citizens. But, according to Secretary Gresham, they would by refusal to do so transgress neutrality, abuse the principle of extra-territoriality, violate international law, and generally place themselves in a position of great logical unpleasantness.

Looking at our bloody hands, well may we say, "This is a sorry sight." What no nation would do, or has ever done, we have done. The Eagle has been made a hunting-hawk for China, and most skillfully and fatally did she strike her quarry.

The conduct of our foreign relations during the last two years has not reflected honor upon this country.

CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.

A NEW DEPARTURE IN ENGLISH TAXATION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD PLAYFAIR, K. C. B.

Sir William Harcourt's budget, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in England, is based on the principle that death duties should be graduated on realized wealth in proportion to the size and value of the estate. An estate worth £100 at the death of the owner is taxed 1 per cent., £1 being due to the government, while £99 passes to the heir. But an estate of £1,000,000 has to pay 8 per cent., £80,000 being due to the government and £920,000 passing to the heir. The new progressive tax does not begin till estates have reached £25,000 in value, although there are old death duties under the law of 1853 which are payable by all estates, so, under the old and the new law, estates worth £1,000 have to pay £20; estates valued at £10,000, pay £300; an estate of £100,000 is taxed £5,500, and one of £1,000,000 pays the highest tax of 8 per cent., or £80,000.

The adoption of progressive taxation in ratio to realized wealth, as a permanent principle of English finance, involves such important consequences that it deserves careful consideration by all countries which have been accustomed to look upon the United Kingdom as thoroughly conservative in its dealings with property. No doubt the principle of graduation in taxation has appeared in a tentative form in various kinds of English taxes. The assessed taxes are chiefly on wealth, for the rich have to pay for licenses to carry armorial bearings, to keep carriages, and to powder the hair of their footmen. The inhabited house duty is another instance in which taxes are levied in ratio to value, and there are other cases of a like kind, such as the exemptions from income tax and the old estate duty. The income tax clearly involves the principle of graduation, both in the United States and in England. The entire exemption of payment of persons having incomes of

less than four thousand dollars in the former country, and of £160 in the latter, while partial exemption is given up to incomes of £400, involves the principle of graduated taxation, though it does not go so far in its application as to tax in ratio to the amount of income. These past instances of graduated taxation in English finance are probably accidental or are merely tentative. Sir William Harcourts' new budget, for the first time, makes a bold and permanent application of the principle that large estates, both personal and real, should pay death duties in proportion to their size. Formerly, taxation at death was complicated and unjustifiable in its mode of incidence, real estate escaping from some kinds of taxation to which personal estate was liable; but all forms are now brought under an identical scheme of taxation, which in future is to be called "Estate Duty."

These changes in the system of English taxation have not been made without violent opposition by the wealthy classes. The adoption of graduation is a sign that democracy has largely increased its power in English politics. As long as the fiscal policy of the State chiefly depended on the upper classes of society, progressive taxation had little chance of acceptance. It is viewed with greater favor now that political power has shifted to the great body of the working classes. No one can be blind to the possible danger of the principle of graduation. A graduated tax on realized wealth has no well-defined limits, and could be pushed by irresponsible power to the extent of confiscation. Indeed, it has sometimes been used for this purpose by Eastern despotisms and by revolutionary democracies in Europe. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of all rational governments to watch with great care the growth of progressive taxation, so that it may not exceed the fair equities of contribution to the purposes of the State. It is impossible for nations to blind themselves to the many loose theories of taxation advocated by the extreme section of the Socialists, or to the wild ravings of Communists and Anarchists. The inequalities in the distribution of wealth give a color to their theories, and so long as realized wealth refuses to show willingness to pay according to ability, in an equitable way, these theories will become part of the popular belief and may lead to disastrous results. The great experiment now made in England is believed by the present Government to be a fair concession to the demands of a reasonable democracy, while it is

a barrier to the advance of unreasonable opinion. The opponents of the principle look upon it as an inclined plane to communism, or, at least, as "the thin end of the wedge" which may be driven home so as to disrupt society. The Liberal party in England, however, are practically unanimous that progressive taxation must be adopted as a wise conservative measure, which will be safe-guarded by the good sense and moderation of the great body of the people who may be trusted to protect realized wealth from the attacks of small, but mischievous, societies of Communists and Anarchists. The late Earl of Derby was one of the most conservative and level-headed politicians of this generation and has left a record of his public experience in the following words, published since his death: "I have learned more and more forcibly the uselessness, to put it on no other ground, of attempting to resist the progress of popular ideas, and I have come to think more and more highly of the moderation, the fairness and the general justice with which the masses of men, including all conditions of life, are disposed to use their power." No words could better explain the reasons which have induced liberal statesmen in England to concede, and, at the same time, to regulate the demand for progressional rates in death duties. The writer uses the adjective "progressional" advisedly, because certain political economists, who oppose progressive duties, think that progressional taxation indicates a rational and discreet application of the principle.

The opponents of progressional death duties, both in the House of Commons and House of Lords, met Harcourt's measure with the same arguments which Cavendish used against Pitt's Bill in 1795, and which another Cavendish, in the person of the Duke of Devonshire, better known as Lord Hartington, again repeated to the Peers during the debate of the present year. Both the Cavendishes contended that, if large estates were heavily taxed, the beauty and charm of rural England would disappear, because great domains, with their extensive parks, plantations, and pleasure gardens, must be cut up into allotments and market gardens, or, at the best, into small villas with ten-acre enclosures. To the numerous Americans who have travelled in England and admired its parks, moors, and forests, as well as its stately mansions, this argument of the two Cavendishes, though separated by a century in time, will still appear to be potent. During that century we have had much practical experi-

ience. Pitt indeed failed to carry his scheme of taxation in 1795, but its general principles were adopted in an act of 1853, by which duties were imposed on succession and estates. While that measure was passing through Parliament the prophets of evil again denounced the destruction of rural England just as they are doing in 1894. Yet the great estates still survive and their capital value has immensely increased. The Duke of Devonshire contends that certain ornamental estates, in which considerable parts, such as the mansion, the pictures, the woods, the gardens, are for enjoyment and not for profit, must be taxed, under the progressional scheme, to such an extent as to charge five years' rental of the estate upon the incoming heir. Cases of this kind will, no doubt, occur and are to be regretted, though, fortunately, they will be rare. Estates chiefly consisting of agricultural land, even if in a millionaire's possession and paying the highest tax of 8 per cent., will seldom have to pay more than two years' income. The Government contend that this death duty is not a charge upon the heir, but a deferred debt due to the State by the deceased ancestor. It is, in fact, a deferred and cumulative income tax, charged on the possessor of an estate, and payable at his death by his executor along with other debts which the deceased may have incurred. If the testator desire that his realised capital should go to his heirs undiminished in amount, he ought to secure this deferred State debt by insurance on his life. As the new progressive taxation only begins on an estate of between £25,000 and £50,000, and then amounts to £250, an insurance policy for this sum could be taken out by a man aged 40 at the moderate payment of seven pounds annually. A man leaving the substantial fortune of £100,000 would require to provide £1,500 for the increased State duty at his death, and he might secure this big insurance at an annual premium of £40. The happy possessor of a million sterling, who has incurred a State debt of £80,000, one-half of which consists of the new progressive tax, could insure the payment of this increase by an annual premium of £1,100, or the whole estate duty at £2,200. This yearly thrift on an income of at least £30,000 is not excessive. The writer knows an instance of a well-known multiple millionaire who has insured his life for £200,000 in order that his capital may pass undiminished to his heirs. There are cases of aged persons and of uninsurable lives

in which insurance cannot be adopted, and then the owners will probably defeat the Government tax by tranferring their estates during their lives to the intended heirs.

This is quite possible, and in some cases it is being done, but the life of owners is short and that of the State is long, so that the adjustment of income to the increased tax will in time become normal.

Having shown that the application of progressional taxation to death duties in England is not dangerous in its present form, it may be well to consider it more generally in its relation to the acknowledged doctrines of political economy. It may at once be admitted that the older political economists, and some of the modern, are opposed to progressive and even to progressional taxation of realized capital either during the life or at the death of the owner. Adam Smith saw in such a tax the discouragement of thrift and its ultimate incidence on the working classes. John Stuart Mill opposed the principle of progression in its application to income tax, but he admitted that it might fairly be applied to death duties. Some French economists, like Montesquieu and Say, approve the principle of progression, but think it should be applied with great care and discretion. Say goes so far as to contend "that taxation cannot be equitable unless its ratio is progressional." Walker and some other American economists treat progressive taxation in an open spirit as an academic question, in which the United States have only a theoretical interest.

Since the time of Solon the subject of progressive taxation has been before law-givers and economists, and the fact that it has been so sparingly adopted in civilized States may fairly be construed as an admission that the principle is viewed with suspicion and distrust. According to the Solonian laws the citizens of Athens were divided into four classes. The lowest class was altogether freed from taxation; the second class was assessed upon a capital estimated at five times the amount of their income; the third class at ten times, and the fourth or richest class on a capital assumed to be twelve times their income. This example has not been extensively followed, though a few countries such as Germany have not hesitated to tax capital when the needs of the State were great. A sense of equity has kept such taxation within narrow limits, and it is only among Eastern despots and

revolutionists that it has been carried to dangerous lengths. It has never taken deep root as a universal principle of taxation. A more common principle of State contribution has been that the equities of taxation should mainly rest on the ability to pay, or on the protection given by the State. Writers, like the well-known philosopher Babbass, have contended that every workingman should pay income tax according to his earnings, because he receives as much protection from the Government as the millionaire. Taxation cannot be assessed in the ratio of protection, because the greatest amount of it is given to the poorest and feeblest of the population—to children, women, paupers and the disabled. When people are earning merely living wages they cannot pay a tax, for, if it were taken by the tax collector with one hand, he must restore it with the other as a pauper's dole. Wage-earners of full working ability do contribute to the State through indirect taxation of commodities, but they could not bear the added burden of an income tax without destroying their thrift as a provision for old age; for the abstraction of a fraction of their wages is far more burdensome to the working classes than is the withdrawal of a like fraction from the income of rich men. Hence, in countries with an income tax, the principle of graduated taxation has insensibly crept in by exempting persons at the lower part of the scale. In Harcourt's recent budget, while he increased taxation on the rich, he exempted wholly or partially all persons with incomes of less than two thousand dollars. Although the income tax was increased by another penny on the pound, the English Government felt that it would bear no more in time of peace. It might have been made progressive in relation to annual earnings, but that was more dangerous than the taxation of realized wealth, because incomes form a precarious security, being dependent on health and the maintenance of working ability. It is desirable to encourage the earner who is struggling to save for himself and his family, so as to have a provision when his faculties fail. All taxation interferes with production, so the statesman has to choose that form which will cause least evil.

The taxation of the United Kingdom is not excessive, when compared with other countries, but this year the Chancellor of the Exchequer has had to find new sources of revenue to meet a deficit of four and a half million sterling. The continued increase

in the armaments of Europe, and more especially of France, is a subject of grave anxiety to England, and produces panics at intervals of five or six years. Then the richer classes get up an irresistible agitation for an increase of the British navy. The working classes do not take an active part in this agitation and remain passive spectators of this movement among the capitalists. The Liberals, as a party, advocate a steady increase and efficient maintenance of the navy, but they distrust these periodical scares which lead to sudden and extravagant expenditure. The present Government does not seem to have been unwilling to give an important object lesson to the capitalist and combative classes that they who call for the tune ought to pay the piper. The rich men, who thus find themselves hit with the progressive taxation, protest by the well-worn argument that, as a tax on realized capital lessens productive industry, its ultimate incidence must be on the working classes. Admitting that all taxation is injurious to reproductive industry, except that portion which is spent on education or for the prevention of crime, it may still be asserted that it is not more injurious to take money out of realized capital than it is to take it out of income, the sources of the thrift which produces capital. The English Parliament has acted on this conviction in the past by taxing estates on the death of an owner to the extent of £10,000,000 annually, and during the present year has, by progressional taxation, added £3,500,000 to the revenue. A tax of less than £14,000,000 on realized wealth is like a tiny drop of water taken out of a large bucket on the point of a needle, for it is absolutely insignificant in proportion to the huge accumulated wealth of the nation. In proportion to the annual increase of capital, it is also a trifling abstraction. The danger is not in the present, but in the future, because it opens up a new form of taxation, which might lead to inequities between class and class. The security against these is in the good sense and prudence of the people, who are not likely to kill the goose that lays the golden egg. No doubt all European States are in great danger of future financial troubles. Every nation had deficits in the budgets of the present year, and most of them have supplied the deficient revenues by new loans, which are only a means of postponing the day of bankruptcy. For some years the war budgets of Europe have been increasing at the annual rate of 23 per cent. It is certain that this cannot continue without financial

ruin. A serious diplomatic effort is now being made, not to lessen existing armaments, but to come to an international understanding, that the present war expenditure shall be fixed as a maximum, not to be increased during the remaining years of this century, by which time the unholy competition among nations to increase their preparations for war may have subsided, and national disputes may be settled by arbitration, instead of by blood-shedding. There seems to be a possibility that nations, which all dread war, may desist for a few years from increasing their vast war budgets, and that a maximum expenditure has been reached. If this happy result should be attained, the new departure in taxation of the English Government is not likely to lead to far-reaching consequences.

PLAYFAIR.

THE OLD PULPIT AND THE NEW.

BY BISHOP CYRUS D. FOSS, D. D., LL. D., OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE stimulating article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for February, by the Rev. H. R. Haweis, M. A., on "The New Pulpit," does not exhaust this fruitful and familiar subject. Some conception of the ideal it sets forth may be gathered from the closing sentence: "There is only one man who, whatever estimate we may have formed of him personally, has ever approximately grasped the true functions of the New Pulpit, and that man was Henry Ward Beecher."

I cheerfully accept the editor's invitation to call attention, from a different point of view, to some of the essential elements of what has been fitly termed "the third great institution of Christianity," preaching. It is not my purpose to do this in a controversial spirit, for I think controversy is generally a foe to truth; and yet I must traverse the ground of several of Mr. Haweis's most important postulates. Few thoughtful men would care to object to his definition of "The New Pulpit" so far as it goes. "It may be asked what I mean by the New Pulpit. A pulpit in touch with the life of the period; a pulpit up to date; interested in what is interesting; capable of refocusing religion; quick to note when a phrase is outworn; resolved to find why clever men won't listen to sermons; convinced that every pursuit, occupation, discovery, and faculty of man should have a moral thrust, and be prepared to give it." But it would be impossible to find an "old fogy" old enough to say one word in apology for the "Old Pulpit," as Mr. Haweis caricatures it. "The old pulpit not only will be, it has been, superseded—it is stricken with dogmatic ague, it is palsied with fear; it would persecute if it could, but it can't, for it has ceased to inspire convictions worth

persecuting." Nevertheless I still have the hardihood to put the word "old" into the title of this article.

The preacher's first duty is to make men listen. He must command attention. He may utter profoundest truths of the highest importance, but if he cannot somehow make them interesting he might as well preach in a graveyard as in a church. How to make men listen to the same speaker twice a week for years—this is the puzzle and the despair of many a preacher.

We are told of the Incomparable Teacher that "the common people heard him gladly"; and many who did not hear him gladly, yet heard him, and kept on hearing at every opportunity. It is a fact of immense advantage to the world that He is the contemporary and leader of all the ages. His teachings can never be "outworn"; rather to the end of time the greatest of men will only be rising into a less inadequate apprehension of their meaning. Neander profoundly says: "Jesus would not have been Son of God and Son of Man had not His words like His works, with all their adaptation to the circumstances of the times, contained some things that are inexplicable—had they not borne concealed within them the germ of an infinite development, reserved for future ages to unfold. It is this feature—and all the evangelists concur in their representations of it—which distinguishes Christ from all other teachers of men. Advance as they may, they can never reach him; their only task need be, by taking Him more and more into their life and thought, to learn better how to bring forth the treasures that lie concealed in Him."

What is the preaching needed to-day? No example can show us so well as that of the Great Teacher. He dwelt incessantly on "the kingdom of Heaven" which he had come to set up on earth. He constantly used parables to show what this kingdom is "like"; so that it was almost literally true that "without a parable spake he not." He said: "Every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of Heaven [i. e., to modernize it, every intelligent preacher of the good news I bring] is like unto a man that is a householder, which brought forth out of his treasures things new and old."

So he himself did. "Things new," of course; divine revelation was not yet complete; the New Testament was to be added to the Old; and new and many-sided applications of the truth were to be made to the ever-changing needs of the world. But also

"things old"; he who was the Truth did not brush away at a stroke all the imperfect past and create a perfect present; he quoted "Moses and the prophets," and declared that he "came not to destroy, but to fulfil," them. In full accord with that divinely wise plan which, alike in nature, in the Bible, and in history, works by development and growth, he shows us that the New Testament has its roots in the Old, and can never be torn away from it. His trustful use of the ancient Scriptures during his temptation by the devil, in which (not pausing to ask whether Moses wrote the whole of the Pentateuch) he drew from the sheath of Deuteronomy three good blades, before the gleaming points of which Satan fled, and his frequent declaration that he kept on his steady march to the cross "that the Scriptures might be fulfilled," may well teach hypercritics a much needed lesson.

I think nothing is more noticeable in the teaching of Jesus Christ than the simplicity and directness of its illustrations drawn from the common life of the commonest sort of common people, and its searching application of eternal truths to the evils, needs, and duties of the age and country in which he lived. No preacher who has any proper sense of the force of the Master's example can fail to attempt to apply the ever old truth to the ever new want of the world; and that pulpit which, in any fair degree, succeeds in this endeavor, will be perpetually "new."

The scope of preaching is thus made manifest. It must deal with all human interests in their moral and religious aspects. It may shoot wide of the mark, but it cannot go beyond its legitimate range. Its blunder often is, not in touching or treating a great variety of topics, but in dealing with them wrongly. So the question is not so much *what* the minister shall preach, as how. Shall he preach about politics, municipal reform, courtship, marriage, divorce, the theatre, dancing, temperance, the suppression of the liquor traffic, the relations of capital and labor, tenement-houses, the water supply of cities, Sunday newspapers, biogenesis, evolution? Certainly, *if* (alas, a great if), *if* he knows enough to do it wisely. All these things lie within his range as a man divinely called to stand in the front rank of the moral and religious teachers of the world. He is specially set apart for this high function, and relieved of secular cares, that he may prepare himself for it. Men naturally look to the pulpit to

incarnate the best conscience of the age, and listen to it with high respect if it deserves respect.

Concerning the minister's duty in relation to politics I had opportunity to express myself fully in my article on "Politics and the Pulpit" in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for November, 1892; so I shall here add but a few words. No doubt a minister may do great harm and little good by making his pulpit the arena for political party strife. His frequent advocacy or denunciation of any political party, as such, will be justly felt as an offence by good men who honestly differ with him. The most numerous denomination of Protestant Christians in this country long since flung to the breeze the banner of Total Abstinence and Legal Prohibition; its chief legislative body declares, "We do not presume to dictate the political conduct of our people," and after a ringing report on the diabolism of the drink traffic, and the urgent duty of suppressing it, adds, "This report shall not be construed as an indorsement of any political party." Yet, while the pulpit sacredly respects the right of individual judgment in voting, it must thunder against all political malfeasance and corruption; it cannot "have fellowship with" any "throne of iniquity which frameth mischief by law." It must lift up its voice like a trumpet when a reform mayor begins what (let us hope) will yet be a great and noble career, by consorting with the worst enemies of society to secure the legal opening of liquor saloons on Sunday. It is an instructive fact that the recent great political overturning in the metropolis of this country, which has broken up one of the vilest and strongest governmental machines that ever cursed any city, and has quickened the pulses of millions of honest men, was chiefly due to the strenuous and persistent efforts of a single preacher of the Gospel. But for Dr. Chas. H. Parkhurst, New York would still be ridden and fleeced and defied by Tammany. In his book on *Our Fight with Tammany*, Dr. Parkhurst says:

"It was the pulpit that did the work; journalistic roasting, these vagabonds will enjoy and grow cool over. But when it is clear that the man who speaks it is speaking it, not for the purpose of putting money into his pocket or power into his party, but is speaking it because it is true, and, in speaking it, appreciates his oracular authority as one commissioned of God to speak it, there is a suggestion of the Judgment Day about it, there is a presentiment of the invisible God back of it, that knots the stringy conscience of these fellows into contortions of terror. Warning power of the

pulpit? There is all of power in the pulpit that there is of God voicing himself through the man who stands in the pulpit."

Let the pulpit learn that it must stand up for the Ten Commandments, even when a monster Moloch political machine has undertaken to grind them to dust.

Next after municipal reform and the general purification of politics, the burning question for the American citizen is the Labor Question; that is, the problem how to establish just and humane relations between employers and wage-earners. This issue must be squarely and successfully met, or else our boasted civilization must accept the brand of disastrous failure. Mr. John Trevor, the founder of the miscalled "Labor Church," strikingly says:

"In the labor movement we have manifested the real vital energy of our time. Before the fierce activity of this growing force all the old powers are bending the knee. It is a new life which demands a new interpretation; and with it to urge them forward. Religion and science and politics are reaching newer and truer conclusions. It is the commanding genius of our age, which on all sides compels new canons of criticism and a fresh set of rules for the Art of Life."

His evident sincerity and noble purpose at once account and atone for some exaggeration. Surely a crisis is on us. This country must reckon with the labor movement. The great strikes which have paralyzed vast industries from time to time, and which last year shook the whole fabric of trade and travel, are symptoms of a deep and growing discontent. The causes and the cure of that discontent must be sought by all good men. Pre-eminently this inquiry is the fit work of the church and of the pulpit. Nothing is settled until it is settled rightly; and the settlement of this question on a basis of everlasting righteousness is the indispensable work of the highly civilized countries in the near to-morrow.

One of the serious embarrassments in the case is the careless and current utterance of sundry half-truths and flagrant errors, as though they were truisms beyond dispute. In one or the other of these categories may be classed the assumption of the absolute right of unlimited accumulation of wealth, the right of every capitalist to employ or dismiss the laborer on his own terms and at his own will, and the indefeasible right of every laborer to strike when he will without notice. Many a leading editorial in our chief dailies has assumed, as needing no argument, the

incontestable truth of these fundamental fallacies. But surely society must find its way to some law (happy if it may be the Divine Law of Love) to prevent such enormous accumulations of wealth as have built up grinding monopolies and corrupted political and judicial action; surely the rights of capital in the employment, dismissal, and remuneration of laborers, at least in the case of great corporations fattening on public franchises, are radically affected by their duty to the public; surely no man has a right to strike under circumstances which imperil the lives or the property of multitudes of persons entirely innocent of any relation to his quarrel with his employers. Of course I speak of moral right and not of mere legal permission; for, at best, human law is only a clumsy attempt to realize in acts some of the plainest principles of essential righteousness.

The absolute right to strike is so generally assumed that we must pause a moment here. Has a surgeon a right to strike in the midst of an amputation? Has the crew of a ship the right to strike in a storm at sea? Had the engineer of the Ferris Wheel the right to strike with fifteen hundred people suspended in mid-air? Has a locomotive engineer a right to strike and leave his train between stations, imperilling hundreds of lives?

These hints of thought suffice to suggest that the open questions between employers and wage-earners can never be wisely settled until men learn to think about the rights of others as well as their own, and to discuss duties as well as rights. Foremost among the leaders in this crusade of peace and goodwill must be the ministers of religion. Men of no other class have such opportunities for notable usefulness in this inviting field; and they themselves have no other work more urgent. The pulpit should proclaim, with all the emphasis it can command, the perils and duties of rich men, and the absolute destruction to character which the love of money habitually works. Prophets, apostles, and the Lord himself furnish abundant material for this purpose. "He that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a fool." "He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent." "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God." "They that will be rich fall into many foolish and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition."

It must also proclaim the perpetual obligation of all men at all

times to obey the laws of the land ; that civilized government is a divine institution ; that even when Nero was on the throne of Rome an inspired apostle declared that "The powers that be are ordained of God ; whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God"; that mobs and riots are utterly wicked, and should be instantly and sternly suppressed, if need be, by bullets ; that "order is Heaven's first law" and society's first need, a need more imperative than even liberty itself ; and that the pulpit and the church can not fail to be the sympathizing friends and allies of all workers who seek their real rights by lawful means.

Another topic which needs fuller and wiser treatment from the pulpit is popular amusements. The attitude of the minister on the question thus suggested should be determined under the regulative influence of the following general principles and precepts. 1. Candid recognition of the need of amusements. 2. Cordial approval of all amusements, within due limits, which are in themselves innocent, and which experience proves to have no injurious associations or tendencies. 3. Firm, clear, bold condemnation of manifestly demoralizing amusements. 4. The utilization of the home as the world's great pleasure garden. 5. Such employment of all Christian and moral people in such beneficent activities as shall preoccupy their minds and polarize their hearts into instinctive repulsion of debasing amusements ; thus illustrating what Chalmers termed "the expulsive power of a new affection." 6. A standard based on the ethics of the New Testament, which allows large personal liberty, and yet enjoins in some things the surrender of personal liberty for the general good. 7. The final practical test to be, as it is stated by that wonderful man whose ecclesiastical statesmanship was excelled only by his "genius for godliness," John Wesley, the taking of only "such diversions as can be used in the name of the Lord Jesus."

We must frankly recognize the need of amusement. Asceticism was one of the most grievous blunders that religion ever made. Its day has passed away for ever, with that of the rack and the thumbscrew. God meant this for a happy world—I had almost said for a jolly world. Birds chant, lambs frisk, kittens gambol, brooks sing. Play is the great business of young children, and the urgent need of many a tired man. Man is the only laughing

animal. At the best, those supposed ancestors, assigned us by such as trace our origin, not to the Garden of Eden, but to the zoological garden, can only grin. We have no proof that any animal but man can "take in a joke" with or without "a surgical operation." Mirth and wit are faculties of man, just as truly as reason and conscience; and are faculties to be used and richly enjoyed. At least, let such as have only the faintest rudiments of these faculties be modest enough to pass charitable judgment on such as luxuriate in them. Robert Hall's question to a criticising, tombstone, clerical brother was profoundly philosophical: "Brother, suppose it had pleased the Almighty to endow *you* with wit, what would you have done with it?"

The rules above suggested furnish ample ground for the unsparing condemnation of some popular amusements; that is, such as break over all due limits of time, or lead to gambling, lewdness, and moral degeneracy. They rule out the theatre and the promiscuous dance, and have brought these under the ban of the highest councils of almost every branch of the Christian Church, and also of the foremost philosophic moralists of every age. They are also full of suggestion as to some forms of college athletics. All honor to wise physical culture. The body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, and should be made and kept as strong and alert and healthy and enduring as possible. Let every college encourage gymnastics, and all forms of open-air athletic sports—the jollier the better—if they are harmless. But if base-ball and football must require such overtraining as shall make a young man merely a splendid brute, developing his muscle at the expense of his brains and his health; and if they must be so played as to encourage betting and bone-breaking, then every college should frown them down, and, if need be, put them down.

The principles which should govern the pulpit in the treatment of the three topics we have thus considered—Politics, the Labor Movement, and Popular Amusements—will apply to sundry other subjects which we cannot now touch. The method of that treatment is highly important. Its moral quality and practical value may be destroyed by a flashy sensationalism. It must go to the Bible, and thence bring forth "things new and old." Here is a perennial and exhaustless fountain. When, therefore, the author of *Verbum Dei* speaks of the Holy Scriptures as "a great and indispensable primer to the human spirit," I de-

mur. "Primer!" It is a complete Cyclopædia of moral and religious truth, for all the world, to the end of time. In eighteen hundred years there has not been added the dot of an "i" or the cross of a "t" to the moral and religious teaching contained, in germ, at least, in the Bible. Its wise expositor can never lack material for ample illustration of the duties and rebuke of the sins of modern life. John Robinson, of Leyden, in his farewell address to the Pilgrim Fathers, with the true spirit of a reverent student of the ever new Book, said: "I am very confident the Lord hath more truth and light yet to break out of His Holy Word." Biblical theology must of course be a constantly advancing science, but it is in the Word that all its materials are found.

By keeping close to the Bible, therefore, and always bearing in mind that his primary function is distinctively spiritual, and only thus, can the preacher deal successfully with the manifold and ever varying phases of human life. Only thus can he make himself felt as God's voice to men, and lead them into a new life. In certain quarters it is quite the fashion to slur "the preaching of the Gospel." So-called pulpits are set up which cast impious flings at "the orthodox trust for salvation to the blood of a crucified Jew." The five principles of Mr. Trevor's "Labor Church" can all be accepted by a Deist; so it is not surprising that as he frankly says, in some cases "the Church is little more than a Sunday meeting of the Labor party, usually with the prayer omitted."

Thomas Chalmers preached for twelve years, with all his splendid eloquence, on "the meanness of dishonesty, the villany of falsehood," etc., and did his utmost to make men better by secular motives. He frankly gives the result of this experience in these words: "I never heard of any such reformation having been effected; if there was anything at all brought about in this way it is more than I ever got any account of. It was not until the free offer of forgiveness through the blood of Christ was urged upon men, that I ever heard of any of those subordinate reformations." His example impressively shows that the pulpit, which is to transform the world, must grapple with the consciences of men in God's appointed way. It will thus bring forth from its treasures things perpetually "new," by drawing evermore on the irrepealably "old."

CYRUS D. FOSS.

MARK TWAIN AND PAUL BOURGET.

BY MAX O'RELL.

When I came to the United States for the first time, some eight years ago, an eminent American said to me: "My dear friend, I have no doubt that, on returning home, you will write a book on America and the Americans. Now, let me give you a warning. When you have been six months with us you will believe, honestly believe, that you have enough material for such a book; but if you stay six years you will come to the conclusion that the attempt is beyond your power."

I said nothing; but I confess that I thought to myself: "I am all right—I am going to be here six months only."

A man of average intelligence, who has passed six months among a people, cannot, it is true, express opinions that are worth jotting down, but he can form impressions that are worth repeating. For my part, I think that foreigners' impressions are more interesting than native opinions. After all, such impressions merely mean "how the country *struck* the foreigner." If I met an American who had spent a week in Paris, I should probably feel inclined to ask him *à l'Américaine*, what he thinks of that city. If he had lived there twenty years it would not enter my mind to ask him the question, because he would have *opinions* and not impressions, and his opinions would be of no interest to me. I once read a most fascinating little book on Denmark, by Charles Joliet, entitled *A Week in Denmark*. The book is kindly, good-humored, and of unflagging verve. It has no depth. Why, of course not. *A Week in Denmark*, that is an honest title, if you like! I pick out of the book the following impression: "The Danish women bear the French colors: red lips, white complexion, and blue eyes." This is the

kind of impression I like, something superficial, light, sympathetic, good-humored, and kindly.

When I published *Jonathan and His Continent,* I wrote on a preface addressed to Jonathan: "If ever you should insist in seeing in this little volume a serious study of your country and of your countrymen, I warn you that your world-wide fame for humor will be exploded."

A book, written by a man who has spent six months in a country, on that country and its people, whether by one of the brightest ornaments of modern literature like M. Paul Bourget, or by a professional humorist like Mark Twain, is a joke. M. Paul Bourget has attempted a serious book, a book of opinions, which makes the joke perfectly huge, and Mark Twain does not like it. Now Mark Twain, as a professional humorist, does not appreciate other people's jokes. Professional humorists never do. But I believe that in this case it is M. Paul Bourget who is the humorist and Mark Twain the dull man.

Mark Twain himself writes of foreign countries in a true, genial spirit. He once struck the real impressionist note when he wrote of France, and exclaimed, on entering the bedroom of his hotel and seeing no soap on the washstand: "What, waiter, no soap! Don't you know that soap is indispensable to an American, and that only a Frenchman can do without it!" The non-humorous Frenchman would reply to Mark Twain: "My dear sir, we French people are a peculiar sort of people. We carry our own soap in our trunks when we travel, and would have as much objection to using that soap as to using an old stray toothbrush we might find on the same piece of furniture." And, as I said in an article published in the November (1894) number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, nations are not better or worse than others —they are different." For example, some like soap second-hand; some do not. *Voilà.*

I am not aware that a book on France and the French, written by a foreigner, flattering or otherwise, ever was a success, or read, or even heard of in France. We do not in the least concern ourselves about what people think or say of us. If we did, as the Anglo-Saxons do, we would study how to hide our faults instead of boasting of them. We would do as the Anglo-Saxons—we would boast of our virtues, especially those which we have not got. We would be Pharisees, instead of being Publicans, ever

ready to confess our shortcomings with a gay candor, which, by the way, ought to disarm unkind criticism. Like the Americans, if ever we became fond of criticism of ourselves, we should like compliments that offer us flattery, and criticism that gives us offence. So far, we care for neither. We are satisfied to know that all the foreigners of the world are concerned about us. We are a modest nation.

Mark Twain has given to the Anglo-Saxon world what M. Paul Bourget has given to the French, the impressions of his travels. He, too, is "an Observer of peoples, a Classifier, a Grouper, a Deducer, a Generalizer, a Psychologizer," though, perhaps, not a Thinker. Mark Twain not a Deducer! What about the soap story just mentioned? Why, he is a Prince of Deducers! a Prince of Generalizers! but, withal, a humorist, a genial, good-humored writer, and, on that account, I thought, incapable of writing such an article as appeared in the January number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

Mark Twain does not like M. Paul Bourget's articles on America. To tell the truth, I do not either. Mark Twain, however, only read the English translation of *Outre-Mer* that appeared in a leading New York paper. The translation is clumsy, and gives no idea of the original. I had this advantage over Mark Twain that I read *Outre-Mer* in French, and I found the sauce almost good enough to make me enjoy the fish. The style of M. Paul Bourget is so beautiful that I can read his books, forgetting the matter for the manner, just as I would listen to Adelina Patti singing scales.

So, I repeat, Mark Twain does not like M. Paul Bourget's book. So long as he makes light fun of the great French writer, he is at home, he is pleasant, he is the American humorist we know. When he takes his revenge (and where is the reason for taking a revenge?) he is unkind, unfair, bitter, nasty.

For example:

See his answer to a Frenchman who jokingly remarks to him:

"I suppose life can never get entirely dull to an American, because whenever he can't strike up any other way to put in his time, he can always get away with a few years trying to find who his grandfather was."

Hear the answer:

"I reckon a Frenchman's got *his* little standby for a dull time too; be-

cause when all other interests fail, he can turn in and see if he can't find out who his father was."

The first remark is a good-humored bit of chaffing on American snobbery. I may be utterly destitute of humor, but I call the second remark a gratuitous charge of immorality hurled at the Frenchwomen, a remark unworthy of a man who has the ear of the public, a gross insult to a nation friendly to America, a nation that helped Mark Twain's ancestors in their struggle for liberty, a nation where to-day it is enough to say that you are American to see every door open wide to you.

If Mark Twain was hard in search of a French "chestnut," I might have told him the following little anecdote. It is more funny than his and would have been less insulting. Two little street boys are abusing each other. "Ah, hold your tongue," says one, "you ain't got no father." "Ain't got no father!" replies the other; "I've got more fathers than you."

Elsewhere Mark Twain wonders what France could teach America. I may, by and by, enlighten him a little on the subject. "Novel writing?" he exclaims. "No, M. Bourget and *the others* [the italics are mine] know only one plan, and when that is expurgated there is nothing left of the book."

Now, the style of M. Paul Bourget and many other French writers is apparently a closed letter to Mark Twain; but let us leave that alone. Has he read Erckmann Chatrian, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Edmond About, Cherbuliez, Renan? Has he read Gustave Droz's *Monsieur, Madame et Bébé*, and those books which leave for a long time a perfume about you? Has he read the novels of Alexander Dumas, Eugène Sue, George Sand, and Balzac? Has he read Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* and *Notre Dame de Paris*? Has he read or heard the plays of Sandeau, Augier, Dumas, and Sardou, the works of those Titans of modern literature, whose names will be household words all over the world for hundreds of years to come? He has read *La Terre*—this kind-hearted, refined humorist! When Mark Twain visits a garden, does he smell the violets, the roses, the jasmine, or the honeysuckle? No, he goes in the far-away corner where the soil is prepared. Hear what he says: "I wish M. Paul Bourget had read more of our novels before he came. It is the only way to thoroughly understand a people. When I found I was coming to Paris I read *La Terre.*" Fancy my saying: "When I found I

was coming to America, I read Mr. W. T. Stead's *If Christ Came to Chicago.*" And *La Terre* is a work of fiction; the other is based on facts, and is written by a man who may be called a faddist, but whose sincerity and honesty nobody doubts.

So, Mark Twain read *La Terre.* Who is the Anglo-Saxon who has not read that book which has had such a phenomenal success in Great Britain and America, but has been such a ghastly failure in France? To Mark Twain's guide in Paris the Louvre was the *Grands Magasins,* not the museum; to Mark Twain, French literature is *La Terre.* If it was so to some low drummer, *passe encore*; but to a leading light of modern American literature, pshaw!

"What would France teach us?" he exclaims again. "Morals? No, we cannot rob the poor to enrich ourselves." Now, shall I tell Mark Twain that the proportion of illegitimate children to legitimate ones is nine per cent. in Paris, twelve per cent. in New York, fifteen per cent. in Chicago, and more than that in San Francisco? Oh, I don't like to mention those things, but if Mark Twain wants them, here they are; and the French have an excuse for *liaisons* that does not exist in America, where marrying and un-marrying are made so easy that really it cannot be worth anybody's while to do without it.

There are so many pleasant reminiscences you can keep of countries you have known, if only you have visited their best places, frequented their best people, and read their best books.

For one thing, at least, I am grateful to know that I have not lost the respect of the people whom I have criticised in my books or in my lectures, and I feel satisfied that I have not to apologize to any nation for what I have written about her people.

What good could be obtained by informing the French that there is more low, repulsive, unheard-of vice in a square block of Chicago and San Francisco than in a square mile of Paris! It would wound the feelings of the Americans without making the French happy, and the Americans would feel it all the more that they, including Mark Twain, know it to be true. No, no, the "Observer of Peoples" has a better mission than that, especially if, like Mark Twain, he has had the good fortune to obtain popularity in the book market as well as on the platform. He should strain every nerve to smooth away difficulties; he should never utter a phrase that could give offence to any nation. And if he

has at his disposal that most formidable weapon, humor, he should use it to laugh away international prejudices.

"What could France teach America?" exclaims Mark Twain. France can teach America all the higher pursuits of life, and there is more artistic feeling and refinement in a street of French workingmen than in many avenues inhabited by American millionaires. She can teach her, not perhaps how to work, but how to rest, how to live, how to be happy. She can teach her that the aim of life is not money-making, but that money-making is only a means to obtain an end. She can teach her that wives are not expensive toys, but useful partners, friends, and confidants, who should always keep men under their wholesome influence by their diplomacy, their tact, their common-sense, without bumptiousness. These qualities, added to the highest standard of morality (not angular and morose, but cheerful morality), are conceded to Frenchwomen by whoever knows something of French life outside of the Paris boulevards, and Mark Twain's ill-natured sneer cannot even so much as stain them.

In France a man who was seen tipsy in his club would immediately see his name cancelled from membership. A man who had settled his fortune on his wife to avoid meeting his creditors would be refused admission into any decent society. Many a Frenchman has blown his brains out rather than declare himself a bankrupt. Now would Mark Twain reply to this: "An American is not such a fool; when a creditor stands in his way he closes his doors, and reopens them the following day. When he has been a bankrupt three times he can retire from business"? Oh, but I hate saying such things as these. I have seen so many beautiful sides to the American character, I have met such kind people, I have made such lovely friends in America, that I could not forgive myself for uttering one phrase that would give offence to the people of this great country. I am sure these American friends, warm-hearted friends of mine, will feel for me, and forgive me any little bitterness that may transpire through these lines.

International criticism is slippery ground to walk upon, and it is as risky to venture compliments as it is to utter criticisms. Once I said to an American reporter that, Frenchman as I was, I was ready to acknowledge the superiority of American coffee.

"Not even in France," I said, "can I get such a good cup of coffee as I get here." The next morning I read an interview thus headed: "Max O'Rell Is a Humbug; He Wants Our Dollars." Then I thought I would try what I could do with tea. Next time a reporter called I said to him: "Now, will you tell me how it is that in this country you can't get a cup of tea fit to drink?" The next morning I read an interview headed: "Max O'Rell Is Grumbling." I had insulted America. Well, from that I derived a good lesson. "In future," I said to myself, "when I speak of coffee, I won't pile it on; when I speak of tea, I will draw it mild."

When M. Paul Bourget indulges in a little chaffing at the expense of the Americans, "who can always get away with a few years trying to find out who their grandfathers were," he merely makes an illusion to an American foible; but, forsooth, what a kind man, what a humorist Mark Twain is when he retorts by calling France a nation of bastards! How the Americans of culture and refinement will admire him for thus speaking in their name!

Snobbery is not an American foible; it is an Anglo-Saxon one, not necessarily to be found among the younger branches. Old England reeks with it. The English know it. Thackeray knew it. He wrote a whole book to describe all the specimens of English snobs. The society papers of England know it, expose it—and live by it.

I could give Mark Twain an example of the American specimen. It is a piquant story. I never published it because I feared my readers might think that I was giving them a typical illustration of American character instead of a rare exception.

I was once booked by my manager to give a *causerie* in the drawing-room of a New York millionaire. I accepted with reluctance. I do not like private engagements. At five o'clock on the day the *causerie* was to be given, the lady sent a note to my manager to say that she would expect me to arrive at nine o'clock and then to speak for about an hour. Then she wrote a postscript. Many women are unfortunate there. Their minds are full of after-thoughts, and the most important part of their letters is generally to be found after their signature. This lady's P. S. ran thus: "I suppose he will not expect to be entertained after the lecture."

I fairly shouted, as Mark Twain would say, and then, indulging myself in a bit of snobbishness, I was back at her as a flash—

"Dear Madam: As a literary man of some reputation, I have many times had the pleasure of being entertained by the members of the old aristocracy of France. I have also many times had the pleasure of being entertained by the members of the old aristocracy of England. If it may interest you, I can even tell you that I have several times had the honor of being entertained by royalty; but my ambition has never been so wild as to expect that one day I might be entertained by the aristocracy of New York. No, I do not expect to be entertained by you, nor do I want you to expect me to entertain you and your friends to-night, for I decline to keep the engagement."

Now, I could fill a book on America with reminiscences of this sort, adding a few chapters on bosses and boodlers, on New York *chronique scandaleuse*, on the tenement-houses of the large cities, on the gambling-hells of Denver, and the dens of San Francisco, and what not! But I will not do it, Mark. I have found, throughout the length and breadth of America, people who respect France and entertain for her nothing but feelings of affection. Mark Twain's article will offend them quite as much as it offends me, and I have seen already many letters in the American papers loudly protesting against it.

Even if *Outre-Mer* were an abuse of America, the *tu-quoque* argument is no answer to it. Mark Twain quotes nothing from the book. He innocently confesses that he reads *La Terre*. If that is all he knows of our modern literature, I may take it that he knows of French life only what was shown him on the Paris boulevards by the guide he had engaged.

I feel ill at ease having to write in English, which is not my tongue. I earnestly wish the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW would have allowed me to answer in French. Then I might, perhaps, have written a reply worthy of the circumstance. I have written it, however, "more in sorrow than in anger." I can honestly say that.

M. Paul Bourget's book is pretentious in its aim, and provincial in its execution. In the French original it is like anything M. Paul Bourget writes—a masterpiece of composition and style, and no translation of such a book can do it justice; it is no more

translatable into English than the works of Victor Hugo, or than the works of Shakespeare can be into French.

M. Bourget's analysis of character is so subtle that his dissected subject is reduced to threads that often are hardly tangible. On that account the book will pass over the heads of many Americans, and will not be "thoughtfully and profitably studied" by them. It has passed over Mark Twain's head. *Outre-Mer*, however, is the work of a great man of letters, and of a gentleman. If the book will not teach much to the French, or anything to the Americans, it ought to have achieved at least one object—Mark Twain might certainly have derived from its perusal a lesson in politeness and good manners.

MAX O'RELL.

NAGGING WOMEN.

A REPLY TO DR. EDSON.

BY LADY HENRY SOMERSET, HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD, AND MARION HARLAND.

I.

THE analysis given us by Dr. Cyrus Edson of the demerits of nagging as a science and an art is doubtless in the main correct. If that well-known specialist had made his criticisms apply to "a nervous man or woman" all through the article, as they do on the first page, he would have been more just, and as a consequence the good he doubtless has in view would have been more general and unquestioned. For those of us who have been widely observant of human life are perfectly aware that nagging is not a vice that attaches to sex, but is rather the outcome of a physical condition that is chiefly dependent on environment. Persons who wear their nerves on the outside of their skin will be difficult to live with, and whether they are men or women will make very little difference. If they are men and have a small orbit through which they wriggle from day to day, it will be a punishment well-nigh unendurable to cross that orbit even at a tangent. If they are women and have wide interests, much variety of occupation, and spend a good deal of time in the open air, they will probably belong to that class of whom it is written that if they cannot be cured they can be at least endured.

Any discussion of the nagging woman that fails to take into account the fact that she lives in a house instead of in the open, as we say in England; that she breathes a vitiated atmosphere most of the time—I mean the average woman; that she bears the strain of wifely and motherly cares minus the compensation that results from mingling with the daily life of the world and coming

into touch with its multifarious and inspiring interests, is to my mind unscientific. Take the average man and put him in similar surroundings, encase him in the same restricted garments that women wear, and the word "a nagging woman" would but feebly describe his condition, for he would be likely to become either mildly lunatic or altogether imbecile. The strength of woman's mind and body is illustrated beyond a peradventure by her survival in spite of the adverse physical conditions that surround her from the cradle to the grave, and on behalf of women in general may I intimate that it is a little trying to be restricted to the house, to have our costume determined by men—for their interests as manufacturers and merchants and their pride in the personal appearance of their women have combined to do this throughout the centuries—and then to have them turn upon us and describe us as the nagging sex when we are really, and have been from the first, the nagged. It is wonderful to see how the broader life of the last few years has diminished the nervousness of women, because it has given them access to God's free air and to a larger and hence a more normal life.

Let this good work go on; let the education, occupations and aspirations of men and women become more and more allied, and the children of the future will be obliged to look into "A Dictionary of Words Grown Obsolete" to find the odious words "nag, nagger, nagging." May all sensible men and women, all philanthropists and reformers, all mothers and statesmen, combine their forces to speed that better day.

ISABEL SOMERSET.

II.

IT would be idle to dispute his statement of facts with the learned physician acquainted with the secrets of households and the labyrinths of our common nature. But it may be pardonable if one draws other inferences from the facts than those which satisfy him.

If, as it has been admitted in a recent article in this REVIEW, "the woman who nags suffers," is it really true that we "need not waste much pity" on her? And, moreover, that if her husband does not beat her, it might be better if he did?

I never could look at the early pictures of the woman in the

ducking-stool—mentioned without reprobation in that article—surrounded by a mocking crowd of men and boys, delighted with her torture, without the greatest pity for the woman and the greatest abhorrence for her tormentors. What caused the poor woman's furious temper—what day-long and life-long receipt of outrage and injury upon a temperament aggravated perhaps before she was born by her mother's receipt of the same sort of injustice and tyranny?

It is quite frankly acknowledged, in the outspoken article to which I refer, that "nagging women," as they are termed, are unquestionably invalids. So fully is this acknowledged that cases are cited of those who have died of their temper ;—although it has generally been thought that the violent temper which finds expression saves its owner. The specific statement is made that their habit of mind starves their bodies, the nervous excitement bringing on an inability to digest, and the inability to digest increasing the nervous excitement, a condition as unfortunate as that vicious circle involving the existence of the spider, the spider which cannot eat if she does not spin, and cannot spin if she does not eat.

But it is the business of the physician to heal the sick, not to accuse them. "Rest, rest, perturbed spirit!" Surely in the avoidance found by this poor victim rather of abnormal susceptibility than of evil tendency, her face written in many lines with the script of her ails, in repulsion, in disgust, in disdain, there is already punishment. And are there not yet unwhipped vices on which the ingenuity of those that have a taste for this sort of thing can be exercised ?

It is, moreover, confessed that these sufferers are not accountable. "As over two-thirds of their grievances are imaginary,—that is, as two-thirds of the grievances for which they scold have no existence except as inventions in their own diseased brains,—the inability of insanity to distinguish between the real and the unreal has begun to show itself." Now, if their grievances are imaginary, they are irresponsible. And is it of any use to argue with an irresponsible or insane person as to the advisability of accepting annoyance without remark, or to propound mathematical statements to such an one as to the action and reaction of the draft of anger and of study upon the nervous force ? It may be, however, that this mathematical presentation of the

effect of nagging upon the nervous system as xy would be better expressed by $xy\sqrt{-1}$, which carries the illustration where it belongs, into the region of the "Imaginaries."

The unpleasant women under discussion are capable, it seems by the statement of their rebuker, of doing any one of three things, perhaps not all three put together, nor all at once. They can make a husband brutal and profane; they can cause him to resort to bar-rooms and drunkenness; they can drive him to a madhouse.

Is there then so little stamina in the male nature?

"The woman tempted me, and I did eat."

But in point of fact, one has known husbands who were brutal whose wives were patient, long-suffering little Griseldas; husbands that were profane whose gentle wives shrank from an oath as from a blow, men who looked on the wine when it was red because they liked it, and who beggared and disgraced their families and drove their wives to their graves by means of it, and men who went to a madhouse because their fathers had abused their silent and submissive mothers for generations before them.

Indeed, everything of which this arraignment accuses wives is equally true of husbands. May not the time-honored jests concerning the mother-in-law and the mother's cookery be summoned as witnesses? Is there no husband whose return home is dreaded by every one in the house, from the wife to the cat; no husband whose wife lives with a worse than the sword of Damocles over her head in the knowledge that the least conscious or unconscious sin of omission or commission would furnish him excuse for seeking pleasures away from her; no husband whose perpetual accusation and fault-finding have made his wife's last wish at night one that she might not wake up in the morning? Speaking of madhouses, if there are none of these husbands, why is it that the preponderance of the inhabitants of these places are unhappy wives?

Two wrongs truly do not make one right; but why speak as if the wrong were all on one side? In reality, there is no sex in nagging. A husband may make his wife as wretched as a wife may make her husband. And I have even known a man who at the table stared his children out of countenance, gazing at them with great, cruel eyes till their own eyes fell, and they were unable to swallow in his presence.

It is quite as certain, as it is that it takes two to make a quarrel, that the distressing habit of nagging belongs no more to women than to men. We must all desire to see it abandoned; but, since wherever there is ill-temper there is always a cause for it, either in one's own disorder or in another's wrong-doing, perhaps we shall first have to see human nature perfected, and, alas! perfectibility is like the landscape of which the Irish gentleman, travelling by rail, remarked that you no sooner fix your eyes upon it than it is out of sight.

HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD.

III.

THE name of the distinguished physician and *savant*, Dr. Cyrus Edson, commends his *dicta* upon "nagging women" to readers and thinkers. He dissects the unpleasant "subject" deftly; he classifies the disease judiciously. That in one section of the clever essay he admits the habit of nagging to be symptomatic, in certain cases, of grave physical disorders, may excuse, in part, the presumption of the non-professional woman who ventures to protest against the trend of his treatise.

Without asserting in so many words that "the woman who ceaselessly complains and scolds, and generally makes a nuisance of herself to every one who is cursed by being brought into contact with her," represents a large proportion of her sex, our essayist so far succeeds in impressing the reader's mind to this effect as to throw him upon the defensive, if he be a man, by quickening his apprehensions of personal peril. Variations of the temper-thermometer he has passed over as common to all classes and conditions of women, may be the incipient stages of the "cursed shrewishness" that drives men to madness and murders love, and sometimes, in scorpion-fashion, stings the shrew herself to death. Nagging grows by what it feeds upon. What a tolerant, because ignorant, husband may be ready to excuse as passing petulance may be a cockatrice-egg. "Continual streams of scolding, lasting three or four hours" may await him in the future unless heroic measures are adopted without delay. He will not be so ready to "kiss and make up" the next time he is chidden for carrying an important letter in his pocket for a week after it was given to him to post.

The conclusion may not be logical, but all readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and all admirers of Dr. Edson are not logicians. To the average intellect the article under discussion has the tone of a medical manifesto issued at the approach of pestilence.

Whoever, by tongue or pen, upholds the mischievous theory of the natural antagonism of the sexes wrongs both. It is fashionable nowadays to teach and to hold that the best condition to be hoped for in the estate of matrimony is an armed neutrality. Every loving woman and true-hearted man resent the suggestion. In estimating that among many thousands of married couples there are scores of nagging wives and brutal husbands, we no more assail the general comfortableness of conjugal life than we brand as sickly a community where there are occasional outbreaks of scarlet fever and, now and then, a case of typhoid.

The glorious truth stands fast that the fullest measure of happiness known to humanity abides and endures in the Home. To harmonize the elements of the family that make the Home is true philanthropy. Fear of a disease leads to suspicion that the seeds of the malady lurk in the system. Belief in the presence of an epidemic speedily breeds it. It is wisdom, no less than kindness, to make the best of existing conditions; to represent moral and physical health as normal, diseases of body or mind as violence done to natural laws, and therefore exceptional in the tale of human experience.

Every woman who reads these lines bears witness with me to the infrequency in Christian homes of the scenes outlined by our author's graphic pen as common, if not general. We know that for every household where "the essence of nagging" is pungently evident to the home-coming husband and father, five hundred are swept and garnished for the return of the head and bread-winner. For every wife who meets her weary husband at evening with "fault-finding and scolding," one thousand dress worn faces in smiles and muster cheery phrases for the welcome of the jaded man. I am continually moved to admiration by the heroic and tactful ingenuity displayed by commonplace women in turning the bright side of their hard, prosaic lives toward the husbands who put into the dock of home for rest and repairs after the day's cruising in the windy world. I maintain that these are the representative wives and mothers of our land,

and that the sporadic outbursts of a temper frayed by domestic worries, the rebellion of nerves overtaxed by watching, soft over ailing girls and wailing babies and wild boys—not to mention the mother's physical mal-ease—call for the widest breadth and warmest folding of the cloak of charity, rather than for critical analysis. These women may sin much or little in this regard. They also love much.

Dr. Edson palliates the fretting and scolding of the actual invalid. I subscribe gladly to the justice of his tribute to the magnanimity of his sex in such circumstances. I go still further in saying that tender and clear-sighted husbands who are incidentally made to smart under healthy, but worried women's impatient speech, readily forgive and hasten to forget shaft and smart in consideration of the provocation to sharp or bitter words.

I doubt if in the social grade where the baited victim of the nagger takes refuge in the corner saloon instead of his club, the vice of persistent fault-finding and scolding be as prevalent as our brilliant essayist would incline us to think. When the brakes of love, religion, and conventional refinement are not applied to the temper, prudence, learned from experience, comes into play. Unless a woman be a rank fool she comprehends that where she, figuratively or literally, uses her nails, the husband or father will reply with his fists. For her own and her children's sakes she would fain keep her master in a good humor. One reads every day of wives who are beaten because their husband's dinners are not ready in time, or their suppers not cooked to the tyrants' taste. Even the inveterate nagger has lucid intervals in which she appreciates the might of brute force and the expediency of living on amicable terms with the money-getter.

The wheedling wife—the born and bred diplomatist—is more to be dreaded by him who aspires to rule despotically in his small world than the rarer specimen of a class our forefathers essayed to abolish by the discipline of the branks and the ducking-stool.

MARION HARLAND.

MUST WE HAVE THE CAT-O'-NINE TAILS?

BY ELBRIDGE T. GERRY.

PENOLOGISTS agree that the ounce of prevention is worth the pound of cure, in the repression of crime. The object of punishment is not simply to mete out, to the offender against the laws which society enacts for its own protection, a retributive compensation for the injury which he has inflicted; nor is it intended solely to accomplish the individual reformation of the offender, with a view to his future life in the community. Its first and principal object is to discourage the repetition of the offence, either by the offender or, as the old lawbooks have it, by other evilly minded persons in like manner offending.

Crime is necessarily divided into various grades so far as the adjustment of punishment is concerned. Thus, for instance, the wilful and unjustifiable taking of human life involves capital punishment of the offender, and crimes of violence of every description result in terms of imprisonment the length of which is supposed to correspond in some degree with the gravity of the offence. It is obvious that if trivial punishments are inflicted for serious offences, crime will multiply, because their commission involves unimportant consequences to the offender. Hence in order to create a deterrent effect, there must be some degree of severity in the sentence to produce an impression not simply on the criminal, but on his like. Society owes this as a duty to itself. Self-preservation is proverbially the first law of nature, and the law which inflicts an inadequate punishment for a crime simply encourages its commission. These are elementary principles with which every student of the penal law is entirely familiar. They are recited here merely as a prelude to the consideration of the present subject.

For years past there has been a steady influx of foreigners

into the United States, and especially into the State of New York, composed in chief of the offscourings of the criminal classes in Europe. They seek an asylum in this country not simply for evading the pursuit of justice, but in order to re-enact here the crimes with which they are familiar in their own land, and from punishment for which they have escaped. All they need is the opportunity to again perpetrate the offences which caused their exile from their home. The majority of these crimes consist not merely in the wrongful appropriation of property through the violent methods known to criminals, but in acts against the persons of unoffending individuals who are either personally the subjects of the crime or present an obstacle to its commission. Familiar cases are those of highway robbery, where the peaceful citizen, proceeding along the street or road, is felled to the ground, sustains great personal injuries, and is, perhaps, stretched on a bed of sickness for months as the result of opposition to the efforts of the criminal to deprive him of his property. So again, when the burglar breaks into the house of the citizen who is asleep in the peace of God and of the Commonwealth, and shoots him merely because he ventures to move on being awakened by the intruder, the citizen is perhaps maimed for life, or may even lose his life. So again, an altercation may be followed either by a stab of a knife or a slash from a razor, the crushing of the skull by a "billy," or other serious physical injury, from which the unfortunate victim never recovers. He experiences hours, days, perhaps months, of pain and suffering as the result of his encounter with the criminal. The latter, upon conviction, is punished by the law. Let us see how.

In the first place, society in dealing with the convicted criminal, is apt to look only to his reformation. He is carefully and comfortably housed and fed, deprived of alcoholic stimulants, which perhaps have been the cause of his crime, furnished with a certain amount of gentle exercise in order to prevent his physical system from becoming in any sense impaired, treated with every consideration which may tend to his moral improvement, and too often pardoned before the expiration of his term, either through personal or political influence, or as a matter of expediency on the part of the State. Nay, more than this, he holds in his own hands under our statutes, to a certain extent, the pardoning power, upon which principle he may commute his own imprisonment by

good behavior, which commutation consists in a deduction of two months from every year after the first year from the term of his sentence. Thus, on a five years' sentence in this State his term becomes four years and four months; ten years results in eight years and six months; fifteen years becomes twelve years and eight months; and a twenty years' sentence, the longest term short of life for which he may be imprisoned, is reducible to sixteen years and ten months. While imprisonment in state prison is punishment to an educated man, it is no punishment at all to the average criminal of the lower grade. He leads a purely animal existence; he has no fine feelings to be injured, no sensibilities to be crushed; and so long as he can eat, sleep, and work moderately he is satisfied with his condition. Nay, more, he has even been known to commit crime anew on the expiration of his term, in order to secure an immediate return to what he views as his normal existence. As to his imprisonment possessing any terrors, or operating as a deterrent, it does nothing of the kind.

While it is true that it is the object of society to reform the criminal, it is not the policy of the State to encourage imprisonment, because, as a matter of political economy, that involves expense to the State. Every fresh convict imprisoned costs something to maintain and keep, and the State which could entirely obviate the necessity of a state prison would reap an enormous accession to its coffers by avoiding a correspondingly large outlay and expense. It is a question worth considering, then, not simply as a deterrent of crime, but as a question of political economy, whether, in addition to imprisonment, some other means may not be judiciously resorted to which would tend, at all events, to lessen and diminish the commission of crime even if it were ineffectual to absolutely suppress it.

Centuries ago the Mosaic Law inflicted the penalty of forty stripes save one for the punishment of offenders. That system has been followed throughout Europe, among the various civilized nations as well as the barbaric. Corporal punishment is to-day the principal method of enforcing obedience to the rules and regulations of the prisons in which convicts are confined. It possesses the advantage, when properly inflicted under medical supervision, of not injuring the health of the criminal to whom it is applied, nor of interfering with his personal avocations. At the same time, the infliction of physical pain is something which the

lower class of criminals instinctively dread, from which they shrink, and which they will willingly avoid if they can. It is an argument which they can appreciate, no matter how illiterate they are, or how debased by crime, or how besotted by indulgence in liquor. It is conceded to be effectual when applied, and the result in that respect is best shown in one State, that of Delaware, where for years it has been resorted to for the punishment of minor offences. At the present time it is proposed to consider the subject as a deterrent in cases of felony.

There are crimes which Lord Coke says are not so much as to be named among Christians. They involve the application of brute force upon helpless, immature, innocent childhood, in some cases, incredible as it may appear, induced by a belief that the commission of the offence will rid the criminal of the results of vice with which he is infected. The result sometimes takes the form of permanent lacerations, from which the child may never recover; often inoculation with ineradicable disease, which poisons its physical existence forever; and too frequently the destruction and obliteration of moral sense in the victim, from the horrible character of the offence. In some cases the result to the innocent little child is death itself. The longest imprisonment prescribed by law for such offences is twenty years, which, as shown, the criminal may reduce to sixteen years and ten months. These crimes to-day are frightfully upon the increase in the city of New York and in the State of New York, as shown by the records of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, where specific cases, with the facts, are carefully preserved and can be produced to verify this startling statement at any time it may be so desired. Thus, for example, the number of these crimes, which are comprehended under the classified heads of rape, sodomy, and incest, from such records alone, in 1893 in the city of New York was 45, and in 1894, 53; and in 1895, if the average of the first month continues, 72 cases. Something must be done to stop this. What can be done? Imprisonment evidently is of no use. The only remedy which can be successful is that which has been tried elsewhere, in cases where the character of the offence indicates that it consists in or is accompanied by brutal violence, and that the offender is one who can only be reached through physical pain applied personally to himself.

The suggestion is not theoretical. Not long since, in England, garroting, which was highway robbery accompanied with personal violence and frequently strangulation, was checked only by the use of the lash. An able article on this subject, by Sir Edward Thornton (NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1882, page 7), is fully supported by Wharton & Stillé (*Medical Jurisprudence*, Vol. I., § 539, p. 438, note 1), that "it is a noteworthy fact that since garroters have been sentenced to floggings, the offence has almost disappeared from the criminal records of England." So, again, assaults on the persons of the Royal family, which at one time were quite common in England, have been almost totally suppressed by the application of flogging. The subject was discussed by the American Bar Association in 1886, and again in 1887, without definite action. Under the provisions of the English Statute (26–27 Vict., c. 44), as shown in a recent article in the *Law Times*,

> "The number of persons who have suffered corporal punishment under these provisions is certainly less than might be expected. In more than eighteen years only 302 adult offenders have been flogged even once, and in four cases alone has the punishment been repeated. No case is to be found in the records of the Home Office where it has been administered a third time."

Now what are the objections to its revival in the horrible cases referred to? First of all, it is said that the infliction of corporal punishment is always degrading and barbarous and leads to grave abuses. This proceeds upon the theory that the whole object of punishment is the reformation of the offender. Nothing is more calculated to awaken in the criminal a sense of appreciation of the enormity of the offence than a direct argument applied to his person.

Then, again, it is said that the punishment is a relic of barbarism and does not commend itself to the approval of enlightened people. It is difficult to see where the barbarism comes in. The application of corporal punishment is recognized in every household in the land, as a speedy and effective method of reducing an unruly child to submission; and while in very many cases it should be the last argument resorted to, it certainly has the advantage of producing an immediate compliance with law and order. If permissible in cases of children, why should it not be applicable to adults?

Lastly, it is said that it is a halting attempt to grapple with

a great evil which obviously needs stronger remedies. Until tried and found ineffectual, the objection is futile. If applied to stop the crimes in question, should it fail to be effectual, the result would simply show that the perpetrators of such crimes are utterly beyond any dread of anything. But the average criminal is more afraid of the lash than he is of a long term of imprisonment; and if the former be properly applied, not as a substitute for, but as ancillary to, the latter, the cases cited and the experience of those in charge of prisons point to the result with unquestioned clearness.

And there are precedents in this country for the infliction of corporal puishment. The present proposed legislation, which has the sanction of all the humane societies in the State of New York, and was prepared by their Committee on Legislation pursuant to their instructions, reads as follows:

Whenever a male person shall be convicted of a felony consisting in or accompanied by the infliction of physical pain or suffering upon the person of another, the court wherein such conviction is had, may in its discretion, in addition to the punishment now prescribed by law for such felony, direct the infliction of corporal punishment upon such convict. The sentence shall specify the number of strokes or lashes, which shall not exceed forty in number, to be laid upon the bare back of the convict within a time specified, by means of a whip or lash of suitable proportions and strength for the purpose. Such corporal punishment shall be inflicted by a keeper or other officer of the prison to be designated by the warden, within the prison enclosure and in the presence of said warden and of a duly licensed physician or surgeon, but in the presence of no other person; and the warden and physician or surgeon within thirty days thereafter shall certify in writing the fact of the infliction to the court imposing the sentence.

It will be noted that this proposed act leaves it in the discretion of the court when it is to be ordered; specifies the mode of infliction to preclude evasion of the sentence; guards against any undue violence in the application, by the presence of proper medical supervision; avoids publicity in the execution of the sentence, so that "no degradation" can be caused to the criminal, nor feelings of sympathy can be roused by the presence of a curious or sentimental audience; and, lastly, limits the case to male offenders where personal pain is the origin or sequence of the crime committed. In other States in the Union similar laws exist to the like effect for minor crimes. Maryland and Delaware utilize this mode of punishment in cases of wife-beating and offences against the person. The punishment itself has been held by the Supreme Court of the former State to be neither cruel nor un-

usual within the constitutional prohibition (Foote v. The State, 59 Maryland R., 264). In Indiana, Connecticut, and Georgia it is permissible to enforce prison regulations. But the great plea for its necessity at the present time is the feasible and probable prevention of those nameless crimes referred to, and which, unless checked, will result in the wreck and ruin of helpless childhood in this State to an extent undreamed of either by the Press or by the intelligent Public.

ELBRIDGE T. GERRY.

THE TRUTH ABOUT PORT ARTHUR.

BY FREDERIC VILLIERS.

As special artist for *Black and White* and correspondent of the London *Standard* with the Japanese forces in the field during the march on and the taking of Port Arthur, I feel it necessary, as so much has been published in certain journals, both in England and America, to discredit the reports sent home from the correspondents at the front, to tell the plain truth about the Port Arthur massacre. The truth is not always a pleasant thing to tell, especially when it reflects on the conduct of those with whom one has lived in amity and from whom one has received much hospitality.

The American and English correspondents, sharing the vicissitudes of Field Marshal Count Oyama's army corps on the Li-antung peninsula, have testified to the humane conduct of the Mikado's forces towards all non-belligerents on their march to Port Arthur. Proclamations were posted on the walls of the officials' houses in all the villages inviting people to remain, assuring them safety and good treatment at the hands of the soldiers and camp followers. Though rather shy at first, the people, finding that these assurances were in good faith, returned to their homes in a few days, and so well were they treated that I have heard repeatedly from the mouths of Chinamen that "the soldiers of the Mikado were sent from heaven," so much astonished were they at the treatment they received from the Japanese in comparison to the conduct of their own troops, who looted, ravaged, and murdered wherever they went.

In the face of their previous good behavior, I think, as a sincere friend of Japan, that the truth should be known about Port Arthur. She would not suffer half as much in the eyes of her European friends if she were to admit frankly the excesses of

her troops and acknowledge her little outburst of barbarism, punish the officers who did not seek to control the men, and shoot a few of the men who were most prominent in the butchery. But no. The Japanese are yet young in the ways of civilization and on occasion can be exceedingly cruel; but, like most young children, they are very sensitive on being found out, and will tell the most deliberate and unblushing falsehoods to shield themselves.

Take the Kow-Sing tragedy, for instance, and the blood letting at Asan. In the Port Arthur affair their behavior has been exceedingly childlike. They have absolutely denied that any butchery took place after the first day's shooting, in spite of statements to the contrary made by three military *attachés* who were there with the army for the express purpose of reporting the acts of the troops to their respective Governments. The Japanese, by means of their well organized press system and the unfortunate jealousy existing between rival papers in Europe and America, may be able to throw discredit on the reports of the war correspondents, but they surely cannot, for a moment, expect the public to doubt men like Lieutenant O'Brien, of the United States Infantry, Captain Du Boulay, and Colonel Taylor, of England. Though these gentlemen and the correspondents were eye witnesses, the Japanese, in naughty childlike simplicity, calmly say to their European friends: It is not true, but an entire fabrication. If Japan forgets herself, and does that which is beneath her dignity, her true friends should point it out. The Japanese are a fine people, thrifty, frugal, patriotic, and capable of much suffering for the sake of fatherland. Japan is a nation rapidly coming to the front. She has but now startled the world with her wonderful military organization. She is veritably the modern "Light of Asia," whether bearing the flaming torch of war or burning, as a peaceful student, the midnight oil.

The Port Arthur outburst was a childish frenzy and love of killing. There was no apparent reason for the three days' slaughter. There had been easy victories everywhere, small casualties and no opposition in the town. The great 16-fort stronghold of China had fallen after a few hours' struggle. There was some provocation for the first day's work, for when the men of the Second Regiment were ordered, by the direct command of Field Marshal Oyama, to occupy the town, they saw, on

passing over the first bridge, the mutilated heads of their comrades who had been captured in a skirmish with the enemy on November 18. Two or three were hanging by a string passed through their lips to a sapling by the roadside. Further on, attached to the eaves of a house, two more were strung together. The soldiers, presumably maddened by the ghastly sight, lost touch with their officers and commenced shooting every living thing they met in the streets. Captain Du Boulay, Colonel Taylor and Lieutenant O'Brien, with three correspondents, watched this firing from a height overlooking the town, from which every street and alley lay as in a map before them. These gentlemen saw no opposition to the troops, nor were there any shots fired from the houses on Oyama's soldiers. The French military *attaché* with the two French correspondents were with the Field Marshal some distance in the rear.

The unfortunate shopkeepers and citizens, standing at their doors, by virtue of Oyama's pacific proclamations, ready to receive the soldiers with expressions of welcome, were ruthlessly shot down on their very thresholds. On chatting with Col. Taylor, an old Indian campaigner, over the sad affair, we came to the conclusion that it must have been difficult, under the circumstances of the mutilated heads, to keep even the best of disciplined troops from showing temper. What occurred during the three days subsequent to the entry of the town troubled even the minds of the Headquarters Staff. On the third evening of the butchery, Mr. Ariga, a gentleman attached to the Field Marshal as an adviser on international law, and an excellent English scholar, called on the war correspondents at the Yamen, in Port Arthur. We were smoking round a charcoal brasier in the middle of the room. When Mr. Ariga was seated, he turned to me and said: "Mr. Villiers, please speak without any hesitation. Would you call the trouble of the last three days a massacre"? It was a startling question coming from a Japanese official. I looked at my colleagues, Messrs. Creelman, Cowen and Hart, who were also much astonished at the question, and then I answered: "Well, Mr. Ariga, that expression was one that might not quite apply to the case." I told him that the first day's provocation was almost an excuse for the conduct of the troops, but that the last two days' work might carry another term. Luckily, Mr. Ariga did not ask me what that might be, but I had contemplated, and

eventually called it a cold-blooded butchery. It was a cold-blooded butchery.

When Suliman Pasha retired from the Shipka, after weeks of hard fighting, and passed with his fanatical troops through the Bulgarian towns of Eski and Yeni Zagra, every living soul had been slaughtered. I was in these towns shortly after the retreat. The heads of young girls, with gay ribbons still braided in their hair, were the sport of the hungry dogs in the streets. The wells were filled to overflowing with the ghastly victims of the ruthless soldiery. Yet the Turks who committed these deeds, fiends, if you like, were mad with a crushing defeat, and with the knowledge that the Bulgarians, men, women and children, were hand and glove with their enemy, the Russians. But at Port Arthur the citizens, in virtue of Oyama's proclamation, were looking forward to the occupation of the town with equanimity. Shop-keepers were killed in the act of kow-towing. Their stiffened bodies still stooped in death. The smile of welcome yet lingered on their pallid faces. Mr. Hart, of Reuter's Agency, who was captured when the town was taken, was instrumental in allaying the fears of many of the inhabitants, and persuading them to remain in the city, for he had heard of the merciful treatment of unarmed people by the Japanese. But the cutting and carving craze had seized the troops and no mercy was shown. Not only the soldiers, but the armed coolies took a share in the bloody work. These gentlemen were all of the famous Samuri sect and practically the Bashi Bazouks of the army. The order of the Mikado that the Samuri, or two-handed sword men, were not to serve in the army for fear of excesses had been evaded by these gentlemen enlisting as coolies. With every baggage train one met Samuri dressed in the humble garb of the coolie, but with their long katangs slung across their shoulders, carefully swathed in rags to protect the lacquer scabbard and to keep the precious blade free from dust and rust, pretending to assist their lower grade brethren in pushing a cart along. If these gentlemen could not, for the moment, whet their well-tempered steel in the blood of a Chinaman, they would try their ancient blades on the pigs or dogs of the country. It was a piteous sight, in passing through the Manchu villages, to see a number of badly wounded pigs, some with their heads nearly severed, but still with sufficient life within them to

drag themselves along. Any Chinamen seen in the town seemed to be fair game for soldier or coolie.

On the afternoon of the third day I was walking down a deserted street, remarkably free of dead bodies—there were not more than a dozen in patches of twos and threes, here and there—when I came across three soldiers much the worse for saki, the alcoholic drink of Japan. They had just broken a panel of a shop, and had shot the cowering wretch within. The poor creature had probably been hiding, in fear and trembling, for days. The soldiers were reloading their rifles, and before I came to them had broken in the shutter of another store. Through the aperture I saw a Chinese woman at the far end of the shop with her arms outstretched over her two children for protection. Kneeling in front of the soldiers was an old Chinaman, trembling from head to foot, kow-towing. He had heard the death shot, the groan, and the heavy fall of his neighbor, and thought his own time had come. What could I do to prevent this intended murder? A happy thought struck me. I patted one of the soldiers on his back, smiled into his face, said one or two words in Japanese complimentary to the army, and motioned to my mouth and water-bottle, suggesting that he had had a good time. In a moment all three were interested in my actions. They tried to read the insignia I wore on my arm stating my profession. Like children, their attention had been diverted by a new toy; they forgot the shooting for the moment, and eventually I drew them away, laughing and chatting, up the street. As they turned the corner I left them. At all events, the Chinaman and his family were respited till another firing party came along. On the afternoon of the next day I returned to the street. The scene had changed. All the shops were open and billeted with troops. As I passed the store at which this incident had taken place on the previous day, I found the old Chinaman still alive, and waiting on the men. When he caught sight of me his gratitude knew no bounds, he knelt and grovelled, and clutched my legs till I was compelled to shake the old fellow into a standing posture. As I was doing this a soldier stepped from the shop munching a ball of hot rice. On seeing the Chinaman, he broke his ration in two and thrust the other half into the old man's fist. Here was a touch of real good nature worthy of record. A few minutes afterwards I would be

in another street, where a soldier would be carving at a dead body to see if the Celestial possessed a heart or not.

At half-past eight on the morning of the third day Creelman, who had just turned the corner of the house in which we lived, came back and asked me to follow him. On a sand heap not a hundred yards from our door was a poor little baby about two months old. She had just fallen from the arms of her father, who, in trying to escape from the ruthless soldiery, had been wounded in his flight. A few yards off was his body, with a bayonet wound in his neck. His warm blood was still smoking in the frosty air. The band of soldier fiends had now passed on, and were busy shooting old men who were kneeling with their hands behind their backs in front of the Japanese rifles. Several had already bitten the dust. So the bloody drama went on for three whole days after the occupation of Port Arthur, till about thirty-six Chinamen were the only Celestials remaining in the city. These were used in burying their dead comrades and as water-carriers for the troops. Their lives were protected by a slip of white paper stuck in their caps bearing the following inscription in Japanese characters: "This man is not to be killed."

FREDERIC VILLIERS.

WHAT PSYCHICAL RESEARCH HAS ACCOMPLISHED.

BY FRANK PODMORE, SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

FOR centuries America has given unstinted welcome to all comers, and if her oft-abused hospitality is now extended only to the immigrant who can show his credentials, we citizens of States too old and too prudent to be so open-handed have surely no cause to complain. Seeing that with us newcomers in the world of thought plead their cause with a rope round their neck, it is matter for thankfulness that America is still willing to hear the cause first, and adjust the rope afterwards. Certainly the Society for Psychical Research can have no quarrel with Professor Minot because he has chosen to exercise his right of scrutiny in the case of that latest claimant of transatlantic hospitality—the hypothesis of thought-transference. Indeed, he has set about his self-imposed task in no ungracious spirit, it would seem. He allows us conscience, honor, honesty, and things of that description. Not all of our European critics have been willing to concede so much. He admits that the society has done good service in exposing Madame Blavatsky and the pretensions of the Theosophists, though the admission is made apparently with due sense of the difference in quality between such amateur work and a really scientific investigation. He even notes with approval the work of the society in demonstrating the fallacies and frauds of spiritualism, though he alludes only to Mr. S. J. Davey, and apparently is not aware of the work done by other members in this connection. And he has the air of being himself the discoverer of Mr. Davey, and rather quaintly insists upon drawing the attention of the Society to the lessons to be deduced from Mr. Davey's experiments—lessons which Mr. R. Hodgson, Mrs. Henry Sidgwick and others have been sedulously enforcing for some

years past. But it is at all events gratifying to find that in combating the errors, not of Theosophy only, but also of Psychical Research, our critic is compelled to choose weapons from our armory.

Then, again, Professor Minot's attitude to the whole subject is, in the abstract, irreproachable. Here in England we have been accustomed to meet sometimes with blank indifference, sometimes with active hostility. We have been told *ad nauseam*, by men who have not given half an hour to the consideration of the evidence, that thought-transference is impossible; a compound of fraud and self-deception; a relic of Old World superstition. Professor Minot confesses that "if the views advanced were correct, their importance could not be overestimated." He has himself, he assures us, "devoted much time to these problems," and still does not regret the time so spent. And, finally, he takes occasion to point out that to the really scientific man nothing is common or unclean. "Of the qualities which those who investigate nature must possess, almost the first is humility, . . . utter self-renunciation when in the presence of a fact."

But, leaving the abstract, let us examine his application of these large utterances to the particular case before us. This, for the moment, is the thing which Professor Minot has set himself with all humility to study: the history of the English Society for Psychical Research and the evidence for telepathy presented in its published works.

Passing over a not entirely accurate account of the origin of the society, I come to a historical statement which appears to me to involve a radical misconception of the facts. After mentioning that numerous experiments had been conducted with the children of a clergyman called Creery, in which the committee of the Society for Psychical Research claimed to have "successfully excluded deception," Mr. Minot writes: "It has since turned out that the children did have a system of signalling, which, though very simple and of a kind likely to be noticed, none of the committee did notice, so that they were not expert enough to exclude deception."

Upon this I have to remark: (1) that the signalling was detected and exposed by the committee themselves,—surely a material fact, since it proves that on this occasion, at all events, they were expert enough to exclude deception; (2) that while

there is no evidence that signalling had been generally employed in any previous series of experiments, it is certain that, in the experiments on which reliance was placed, a code would have been useless, as the object to be guessed was known to the committee alone. This was expressly pointed out in the account of the exposure given in Proceedings S. P. R. (Vol. V., pp. 269–270). Special attention had also been called to the point in the account of the experiments, *published before the exposure*, in *Phantasms of the Living* (Vol. I., p. 22 *et seq.*). We find then in the statement quoted : (1) *suppressio veri*, (2) *suggestio falsi*. Now this is just the kind of misrepresentation which we should look for in a smart journalist, anxious to make out an effective case ; and, indeed, I cannot help suggesting that it is from such sources that Professor Minot possibly derived his information. A scientific student, desirous only of ascertaining the truth, may perhaps be forgiven for not realizing that persons of inferior morality—literary men and so forth—are apt to represent facts in accordance with their wishes or preconceptions. But Professor Minot can hardly be acquitted, at any rate, of some degree of negligence in not going to authoritative sources for his information.

Fortunately the proof of thought-transference is independent of the Creery experiments : and it is to be regretted that Mr. Minot's study of the subject ceased apparently five or six years ago, and that he almost wholly ignores the great mass of evidence accumulated since 1888. Moreover, his examination even of the evidence prior to that date appears to have been strangely superficial ; for in the next paragraph but one he proceeds to point out that there is a considerable probability, if one party to an experiment is told to think of a card and the other to guess the card thought of, that they will, through following an unconscious order of preference, both fix upon the same card. In this Mr. Minot is no doubt right. But he goes on to say :

> "All the English experiments of the kind fail to fulfil the conditions of scientific investigation. It was a great mistake to assume that with playing cards the chances of coincidence are 1 in 52. They are more nearly 1 in 5 or 10, but they have not been actually calculated."

Here again I am compelled to assume that Professor Minot has had access only to imperfect sources of information, some garbled newspaper extracts, perhaps, from our *Proceedings*. Had he read

the *Proceedings* himself he must, I think, have seen that even in our earliest experiments the card was, as a rule, drawn at random from the pack, and that his criticism does not, therefore, apply. In looking through the first volume of our *Proceedings* I find on page after page such phrases as, "The card was drawn at random from a full pack," or, "Selected by cutting the pack," or, "Taken from a full pack of playing-cards." Not only is this usually stated in the detailed account of each individual series of experiments, but, in the general account of the conditions observed, which prefaced the more detailed descriptions of the committee's own experiments, it is expressly stated that this elementary precaution was taken (Proc. S. P. R., Vol. I., p. 20); and further, in order to avoid all possible misconception on so important a point, in the tabular summary of 260 trials with cards, performed under test conditions, given in the first volume of our *Proceedings* (p. 170), the reader is once more reminded in a footnote that "A full pack of cards was invariably used, from which a card was drawn at random." Finally, the precaution is enforced in our circular instructions to members (S. P. R., Vol. I., p. 297), and is referred to, I imagine, in every article or document published by us treating of experiments with cards or numbers.

In the next paragraph occurs a statement which compels us to ask whether the laws of arithmetic are indeed of universal validity, or whether Professor Minot's humility and self-renunciation have had their reward in the discovery of a new calculus. For in commenting on some experiments conducted by Mrs. Henry Sidgwick in which the number to be thought of was selected by drawing it from a bag, Mr. Minot argues as follows:

> "If thought-transference is a reality, then the numbers thought of by the percipient must *not* follow the percipient's mental habit. To make a rigorous demonstration, the percipient's mental number habit should be first determined; then the agent should be given the numbers somewhat in excess, which the percipient is not likely to think of readily, and if then these numbers were reproduced by the percipient, it would indicate that there was some other factor at work than the usual mental habit."

In other words, Professor Minot believes that a "number-habit" will enable its possessor to exceed the average of correct guesses in a fortuitous series of numbers. I seem to have heard something like this theory before, but not from a professor of natural science. Those who frequent the gaming-tables, I understand, have generally a "lucky number," and card-players frequently exhibit an

unconscious preference for a particular suit. Now, to adopt a suggestion of Kant's, is Mr. Minot prepared to back his "number-habit"? Will he go to Monte Carlo, and "put his pile" on it? But I cannot seriously counsel such a course. The experiment has been tried before.

Indications of the new calculus appear again lower down:

> **"The English committee have sought to strengthen their case by calculating the probabilities of a given result, which they make out one in a million or trillion or more of chances. They forget that when we say a thing is improbable—meaning there is only one chance out of a large number of its occurring—we really assert that it is *certain to occur some time.*"**

It is easier for persons not conversant with the higher mathematics to argue upon a concrete instance. In Vol. VI. of the Proceedings S. P. R., it is recorded, as stated below, that in 644 trials with numbers of two digits the number was named correctly 117 times. Does Mr. Minot mean to say that this series of successes was certain to occur *by chance* some time or other? And that many other similar series were also certain to occur at about the sam time and to the same individuals? For this is what has happened; and if his argument does not mean that, what does it mean? and what bearing has it on the facts? and, in any case, is it according to Cocker? At the end of the same paragraph occurs another statement which calls for examination. "This is not the place," writes Professor Minot, "for a lesson in mathematics, therefore it must suffice merely to allude to the fallacy of Mr. Gurney's estimate of the probabilities of thought-transference." It should be remarked, in passing, that such a lesson would have been offered not to Mr. Gurney alone, but to Professor Oliver Lodge and Mr. F. Y. Edgeworth, both of whom concur in the estimate referred to, as may be seen from their articles in the Proceedings of the S. P. R. (II., p. 257; III., p. 190; IV., p. 189. See also *Phantasms of the Living*, Vol. I., p. 26, and the quotation from Mr. Edgeworth there given, in which the odds against chance, as an explanation of a given result, are estimated in quadrillions.) These articles appear not to have come under Mr. Minot's notice; and it is perhaps again owing to some defect in the sources of his information that he speaks of Mr. Gurney's "estimate of the probabilities of thought-transference." So far as I can remember, Mr. Gurney never made such an estimate, and certainly never expressed it in figures as a million to one! Had he done

so, the offer of a lesson in mathematics would perhaps not have been inopportune. What he did do was to show that the probabilities against certain results being attributed to chance alone were to be expressed as millions or trillions to one. That is, he practically eliminated one possible cause, and left the results to be explained by one or more other possible causes, such as fraud. malobservation, misrepresentation, telepathy, and so on. This is shown very clearly in the quotations referred to from Mr. Edgeworth included in *Phantasms of the Living*, and in the following extract from one of Mr. Edgeworth's articles in the *Proceedings*:

"Such is the evidence which the calculus of probabilities affords as to the existence of an agency other than mere chance. The calculus is silent as to the nature of that agency, whether it is more likely to be vulgar illusion or extraordinary law. That is a question to be decided, not by formulæ and figures, but by philosophy and common-sense." (Proc. S. P. R., III., p. 199.)

It is to be regretted that some unfortunate chance should have robbed the Society for Psychical Research of Professor Minot's criticism on their experimental work in thought-transference. For I cannot but feel that, animated as he is by such unexceptionable sentiments, if he had afforded himself the opportunity of studying our results in an authentic form, he would have found in the work done by members of the Society in investigating telepathy the same ability and the same conscientiousness which he generously recognizes in our investigations into the fraudulent phenomena of Spiritualism and Theosophy. The investigators were the same, the methods pursued were the same, and the object was in each case the discovery of truth. Mr. Minot's unfortunate experiences are to be regretted for another reason. His energies have been so unhappily diverted to the demonstration of faults which do not exist that he has never touched at all upon the weakest spot in our experimental evidence. For whilst no fully informed critic would assert that the experiments on which we rely as establishing thought-transference are due to either chance or fraud, such as one could plausibly maintain that at least a great part of them may be explained as the result of information unconsciously conveyed by normal channels from agent to percipient, and no candid investigator would meet such a criticism with a direct negative. This indeed is the *crux* of the whole inquiry. Chance can be eliminated by a simple calculation, and fraud can be effectually

guarded against if due precautions are observed. But the unconscious operations of our organisms have been so little investigated, and are still so little understood, that a wide margin must be allowed for possible error from this cause. Perhaps an illustration will make this clearer. In the summer and autumn of 1889, Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, with the assistance of Professor Sidgwick and Mr. G. A. Smith, conducted a long and careful series of experiments in thought-transference with hypnotized subjects. The conditions were as follows: In a bag were placed eighty-one small wooden counters having the numbers from 10 to 90 stamped upon them in raised letters. From this bag Professor Sidgwick or Mr. Smith drew a counter, which was placed in a little wooden box, the edges of which effectually concealed the counter from the view of the percipient—who was, moreover, placed with his back towards the experimenters, and was in the hypnotic trance with his eyes closed. Mr. G. A. Smith then looked at the number on the counter, and the percipient would make a guess at it. The guesses and *all the remarks made* were recorded at the time by Mrs. Sidgwick, who was, during the greater part of the series, in ignorance of the number drawn. There was, of course, no contact between agent and percipient. The following is a verbatim account of a series of trials made on July 6, 1889, the percipient being a youth named T——. Mr. Smith is indicated in the record by the letter S.:

T.'s eyes were apparently closed, and he kept his head very still, and we ascertained by experiment that he would have had to move it several feet to see the number. The impression sometimes came to him quickly, and sometimes slowly—as the remarks recorded show. He was only told that he was to see numbers of two figures.

Number Drawn.	Number Guessed and Remarks.
61	.. T.: "26."
84	.... T.: "A 3 and a 2, I believe—32."
47	. . T.: "Is it 0?—02; it can't be that?"
32	.... T.: "Looks like 1—can't see the first figure—I think it's a 6—61."
89	.... T.: "11, isn't it? two ones." S.: "Have a good look." T.: "11."
21	.... T.: "Seems like 2: 25, is it?"
18	.... T.: "I believe it is 1 and 0."
56	.... T.: "Can't see anything." S.: "You'll see it in a minute." T.: "There's a 6, and, I believe, a 2—26, I think."

59 .... T.: "No" (meaning that he saw nothing). S.: "You'll see it in a minute." T.: "No, can't see it . . . Believe it is 14."

37 .... T.: "I see a 3; there are three of them—147."

61 .... T.: "That's 61, I think."

33 .... T.: "No, I can't see—can't see that." S.: "Wait a minute. (Pause.) "Do you see them now?" T.: "No, I can't." (A long pause.) T.: "A funny thing that is—a mixture, 5, 8—looks like a 3 or an 8—3, I think."

40 .... T.: "4, 0, I think."

21 .... T.: "Is it 2?" S.: "Well?" T.: "2, 3, I think." S.: "Sure about the 3?" T.: "Yes." (After a pause, the number having been meanwhile put back in the bag.) "Oh, yes," as if he got surer and surer.

47 .... T.: "Is it a 5? 5 and 8."

60 .... T.: "6, that's all." S.: "Are you sure there's nothing more?" T.: Oh, yes, 61."

74 .... T.: "Is it a 4?" "There's a 4 and a 7. No, it's not. Oh, dear, no, it's 5, I think—54."

22 .... T.: "It's 20." (Pause, obviously trying after the second digit.) "22."

38 .... T.: "It's 5 and . . . 35."

45 .... T.: "I see nothing at all." (Pause.) "No, I can't see it. What makes it so long in coming? Now I can see it. It's a 4 and 5."

59 .... T.: "What makes them so long coming? I see something like a 2. It's a 2. Oh, it's a 9; I think 29." S.: "Are you sure about the first one?" T.: "Yes; 29."

66 .... T.: "Oh, yes; it's *two sixes*."

21 .... T.: "Oh, it's a 1 and a 2, 21. Ain't there a lot of them!"

83 .... T.: "Is it a 3?" S.: "Well, what else?" T.: "Nothing else."

80 .... T.: "It's 80." S.: "That's right."

73 .... T.: "—— Such a lot of numbers as this!"
(T. spoke very low and drowsily, and Mrs. Sidgwick failed to catch the beginning of this sentence.) S.: "Yes, when we're looking for them." (Pause.) S.: "What are you looking at?" T.: "Nothing." S.: "I thought you said you saw a lot of figures?" T.: "A 3 to the right. I believe there's an 8." S.: "Are you sure?" T.: "Yes; 693." (S. said there were only two figures.) S.: "You must have seen the 6 twice over, once reversed as 9." (Possibly the idea of three figures was due to Mr. Smith's remark about a lot of figures.)

83 .... "85."

21 .... "24."

Not noted. According to our recollection afterwards the guess was partly right. T.: "3, I think—83." S.: "Sure?" T.: "Oh, no, it's reversed 38."

Possibly the idea of its being reversed may have arisen from Mr. Smith's remark above about 6 being seen reversed as 9—a remark which had puzzled T. at the time. We asked T. how the numbers looked when he saw them. He said "They're a kind of white—grayish white." He had not seen the numbers used in his waking state.*

33 .... T.: "A 6 and a 4." (After a pause.) "95."
78 .... T.: "38." S.: "Sure?" T.: "Yes."†

It will be seen that, leaving out of account the instances in which one or other digit was named correctly, the subject named the whole number correctly 7 times out of 31 trials—the most probable number of correct guesses being 1 in 81. In the whole series of these experiments 644 trials were made, the number being correctly named (*i. e.*, with both digits in their proper order) 117 times, and with digits reversed 14 times.

It is clear that chance cannot explain these results. It is almost equally clear that they cannot be attributed to fraud, unless, indeed, we suppose that not one, but all the experimenters, were in collusion. There still remains the possibility that the information was given unconsciously, and, probably, received unconsciously. Apparently, under the conditions described, the only normal channel of communication would be by the ear. It may be suggested, for instance, that Mr. Smith muttered the word audibly to the percipient. This hypothesis must, indeed, be regarded as extremely improbable, for various reasons: (1) Mr. Smith himself and the other experimenters were fully aware of this danger and on their guard against it. (2) No movements of Mr. Smith's lips were observed by the two trained and vigilant witnesses. (3) An analysis of the failures does not show that there was any tendency to mistake one number for another similar in sound.

Nevertheless it may be admitted, especially in view of the possible hyperæsthesia of hypnotized subjects, that if these experiments stood alone the hypothesis that the information was actually conveyed by auditory means might be preferable to the hypothesis of a new mode of communication. But they do not stand alone. They are but one of many groups of experiments conducted by different observers and under varying conditions, and no one hypothesis will cover them all. Mrs. Henry Sidgwick again, assisted by Mr. Smith, Miss Alice Johnson and others, conducted a further

* As a matter of fact, the numbers were stamped in red on a plain wood surface.
† Proc. S. P. R. Vol. VI., pp. 132-134.

series of experiments in which the agent and percipient were in different rooms. In some of these experiments the agent and percipient were on different storeys of the house, separated by a wooden floor covered with a thick Axminster carpet. In others the percipient was in a room with the door closed and the agent, Mr. Smith, was outside in the passage, the distance between them varying from 10 to 15 feet and upwards. Both agent and percipient were under close observation throughout the trials; and it seems incredible that any sounds which escaped the notice of the observer who sat close to the agent and watched him continuously could have been perceptible to the percipient sitting at a considerable distance, and with a closed door or a ceiling and carpet intervening. In these experiments out of 252 trials, the number was guessed correctly 27 times, and with digits reversed 8 times (Proc. S. P. R., Vol. VIII., pp. 536--596). If further evidence is needed it will be found in the experiments on the production of sleep at a distance carried on by Professor Pierre Janet and Dr. Gibert, Dr. Hericourt, and other French observers; and in the production of other effects at a distance by M. Roux, Mr. Joseph Kirk, Dr. Gibotteau and others. Men who have really examined the subject will, I think, admit that the evidence accumulated during the last ten years, if it does not demonstrate the reality of thought-transference, at least establishes its claim to our consideration.

I now pass on to consider briefly Professor Minot's comments on another part of the evidence put forward by the Society for Psychical Research. Believing telepathy to be a *vera causa*, we have sought to show that apparitions coinciding with the death or sudden illness, etc., of the person represented can plausibly be explained as hallucinations evoked by the action of one mind upon another at a distance. Our line of proof is twofold. In the first place we have obtained evidence that hallucinations of this kind have on several occasions been produced experimentally in some person at a distance by the mere will of the agent. In the second place we have endeavored to show that the coincidences between apparitions and the death of the person represented (to take the most crucial instance) are too numerous to be explained by chance. Professor Minot's comments are marked by the same curious ignorance of what we have really done and written in connection with this subject. He deals only with the

second line of argument, and tells us that if the subject is to be examined scientifically it should be viewed from the standpoint either of psychology or ethnology. "The psychologist," he says, "would at once tabulate the results, determine the proportion of phantasms seen by men and women, their relation to the age of the percipient, the time of day, etc. He would have sought for every possible factor in the percipient's condition." He then proceeds to say that he suggested this line of inquiry to Mr. Gurney, who replied "to the effect that this was not worth while." The accuracy of Mr. Minot's recollection of what Mr. Gurney said to him can perhaps best be gauged by what Mr. Gurney actually did in this connection. He devoted many laborious months of his life and some hundreds of pages of *Phantasms of the Living* to the study of hallucinations in general, their relation to the particular species of telepathic hallucinations, and to the tabulation of the result of an inquiry, continuing over several years, into the distribution of hallucinations, whether coincidental or not, amongst sane persons. Amongst other points dealt with in this inquiry are the proportion of hallucinations amongst men and women, their relation to the time of day, the health and occupation of the percipient, etc., etc. Once more I am bound to assume that Mr. Minot has not read the book, *Phantasms of the Living*, to which he refers in his article. It should be added that the inquiry which Mr. Gurney thus began has during the last four years been carried out on a much larger scale at the request of the International Congress of Experimental Psychology which met at Paris in 1889. The report of the committee charged with this investigation, of which Professor Sidgwick was the head, was read at the meeting of the Congress held in London in 1892, and has recently been published in full in the Proceedings of the S. P. R. (Vol. X.). This report is based upon the results furnished by questioning no less than 17,000 persons as to whether they had experienced sensory hallucinations; nearly 10 per cent. of the answers being in the affirmative. It deals with the nature, mode of occurrence and development of hallucinations in health, and their distribution according to age, sex, physical condition of the percipient, sense affected, and so on. It will be seen that neither at the time of which Professor Minot apparently speaks, nor since, has the Society neglected the scientific study of hallucinations.

As against his assertion that the narratives of this class which

we have published "emphatically suggest myth-stories," I will place an equally emphatic statement on the other side by Professor Royce (whom Mr. Minot quotes with approval). In a report on "Phantasms and Presentiments" presented to the American Society for Psychical Research in 1889, Professor Royce writes: "Our stories bear in general the marks of being not mere products of folklore or of systematic superstition, but rather expressions of genuine experience—of experience which our correspondents do indeed often misinterpret, but which are in most cases the fresh, live product of real mental processes, and *not* the manufactured tale of popular legend" (Proc. American S. P. R., p. 350).

At the outset of the work Mr. Gurney was confronted by an argument seemingly of some weight, which he states as follows: "All manner of false beliefs have in their day been able to muster a considerable amount of evidence in their support, much of which was certainly not consciously fraudulent." What right had we then to assume that our evidence was more trustworthy than that by which these admittedly false beliefs were supported? In order to test the validity of this argument Mr. Gurney decided to examine the grounds for the belief in witchcraft. He chose this partly because it was the classic instance of a false belief alleged to have been amply supported by evidence; partly because there is an immense and comparatively recent literature dealing with the subject, most of it written by men of eminence in their day. Mr. Gurney succeeded in showing that there is practically no first-hand evidence for the more extreme marvels, except that of occasional drunkards, or confessions extracted under torture; and that the only phenomena fully attested by eyewitnesses were such as could readily be explained by hallucination, hysteria, trance and other known causes. I cannot think that Mr. Minot's account of the matter is adequate. Mr. Gurney

"has studied through the literature of lycanthropy and like superstitions, and finds naturally no first-hand accounts. That conclusion is interesting and corrects the false notion that there was more or less of such evidence, but it has little bearing on the question in hand. If Mr. Gurney had shown that there was no evidence of magic exciting effect on persons at a distance, or that there was no direct evidence of an astrological horoscope being fulfilled, he would have had some defence for his position."

If magic and astrology had had as wide a vogue as witchcraft;

had formed the subject of recent and serious discussion by men of learning and repute, and had left so ample and accessible a literature, no doubt it would have been worth while to examine their claims as well. But Mr. Minot has failed to make clear why such studies should have been preferred to the study of witchcraft, unless, indeed, because Mr. Gurney did not explicitly deal with them, and did deal with witchcraft. As it is, Mr. Gurney achieved his purpose by correcting the "false notion" referred to, that the widespread belief in witchcraft was based upon direct evidence.

In conclusion, I must demur to Professor Minot's statement that "the leaders of the Psychical Society are literary men"—if that means that their chief claim to distinction is their literary work. Amongst those who are taking, and have taken from the first, a prominent part in the work of the Society in England are Professor Henry Sidgwick, Professor W. F. Barrett, and Professor Oliver Lodge, to whom I may add the late Professor Balfour Stewart. Abroad, among other names that occur to me, are those of Charles Richet, of Paris, and William James, of Harvard. I do not think that any one who is acquainted with the history of science at large during the last few years would consider that any one of those gentlemen was adequately described as a literary man. And I must again demur to the lesson which he draws from his unfounded assumption. To my thinking a man should be judged by his work; and even a literary man, without any scientific pretensions, when he has taken the trouble to study with candor and care the subject on which he writes, may on occasion be worth the hearing.

It would not become me to deliver a panegyric on the men with whom for many years I have had the honor of co-operating. But this much I may say for myself and my colleagues. We have never consciously misrepresented a fact or done less than justice to an opponent; in the slow and cautious pursuit of a novel inquiry, hampered by untried material and unfamiliar conditions, we have learned much from our own mistakes and shortcomings, and as much as we could from the comments of our critics.

This inquiry into telepathy has now extended over more than twelve years, and has cost much hard thought, prolonged research, patient and laborious accumulation of observation and experiment. The records of its results, alas! fill many thousands

of printed pages. We ask only for a fair hearing. The cheap methods of the journalist are out of place here. Even the *obiter dicta* of a scientific man, however otherwise eminent, do not meet the requirements of the case; and to criticise our methods and the results of the inquiry after a superficial reading of our earlier publications, leaving out of sight the work done after experience had been gained and methods of investigation perfected by trial, seems unfair, not more to the men whose work is thus misrepresented, than to the public, who look to the critic for guidance.

Such work can be judged only as a whole, and only by men who are willing to devote to the study of the results some small fraction of the pains which went to the accumulating and recording of them.

FRANK PODMORE.

THE FUTURE OF SILVER.

BY THE HON. R. P. BLAND, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON COINAGE, ETC., OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE financial question is now paramount in our politics.

Opinions as to policies widely differ.

The Democratic party finds itself unable to legislate upon the subject.

It is alleged that the party is wholly incompetent to govern because of its failure to relieve the financial situation.

The financial condition, however, is the result of the legislation of the last thirty years, for which the party now in power is not responsible, except as to the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman Act, which was done without at the same time making provision for the monetary future, by complying with the platform of the party which explicitly pledged the party to bimetallism by the free coinage of gold and silver.

The promoters of the repeal bill confidently claimed that the passage of the bill would restore confidence, and would restrain, if not actually stop, the gold outflow from the Treasury and the country. Repeal and stop—there was the remedy proposed for the ills that then threatened our financial stability and the prosperity of the people.

The repeal was secured by arguments and promises of the character named. Whether the unconditional repeal was *per se* politic or impolitic need not be discussed. It is sufficient to point out the utter failure of the measure to bring the promised relief to the country or the Treasury.

The country has been in a state of financial depression; industries prostrated, low prices, hard times, labor strikes, riots, mobs, and unrest everywhere prevailing.

The amount of gold taken from the Treasury since the repeal

has been greater than before. One hundred millions of five per cent. bonds have been sold, and likely before this article is in type fifty or a hundred millions more will be on the market. All this to replenish the gold reserve, it is said.

Whereas the only great merit of the repeal bill was proclaimed to be that it would prevent gold drainage and bond sales.

These are facts of history. They cannot be denied. They should be recorded.

What next?

The question is more easily asked than answered. The party now in power is not able to meet, or up to this time has not met, the new exigencies. The reasons for this failure must be apparent to any one who will give a moment's attention to the circumstances which have led to this inaction.

The Democratic party in all its history has been opposed to national banks. The party has always been wary of bond issues and of national debts. It has been a party of strict construction of the Constitution and jealous of Federal power; hence it always favored economy and low taxation. It has combated what Jefferson, Jackson and Benton denounced as the paper system of United States banks. The history and traditions of the Democratic party are against the farming out, on the part of the United States Government, to corporations the right to issue circulating notes. Indeed, the controversy over the incorporation of the United States bank in 1791 between Jefferson, in opposition to it, and Hamilton, the most powerful champion of it—the one Secretary of State and the other Secretary of the Treasury—caused great discord in President Washington's cabinet, and was the beginning and laid the foundation of the two great political parties of that time, Republican, afterwards Democrat, and Federalists, afterwards Whig and now Republican.

In the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, April, 1893, I gave the record of the Democratic party in both houses of Congress showing this uniform hostility to national banks. The difficulty, therefore, that confronts the party in Congress is that the Administration is uncompromisingly opposed to the traditional policy of the party on the money question.

The great leaders of the party in the past have insisted on the money of the Constitution, the free coinage and use of both gold and silver.

Benton, in his *Thirty Years View*, Vol. II., page 187, summed up the Democratic creed as follows: "Gold and silver is the best currency for a republic; it suits the men of middle property and the working people best; and if I was going to establish a workingman's party it should be on a basis of hard money; a hard-money party against a paper party." If the doctrines of Benton were put in force, and the Federal government confined itself to the coinage of the metals, we would have sufficient legal-tender currency and all at par. The States could provide themselves, if necessary, with a local credit issue.

It is not the purpose of this article to go into theory or to criticise, further than is necessary to show the true relation of the administration and Congress upon this question and to point out what in all probability will be the final outcome of the struggle now going on between two great forces in this country: the power represented by the banking, bondholding, and mercantile elements on the one hand and the great agricultural and other laboring and productive power on the other. The divisions on these questions are plainly visible in the vote of Democrats representing different sections and interests.

Members from the large cities and commercial centres stand with the administration. Those from the agricultural districts align themselves with the mining and laboring forces for the free coinage of silver. Hence it is that on the currency question there is no agreement.

The President is at variance with the platform and all the traditions of his party.

It is not necessary to stop to argue that conditions are so changed as to warrant this departure: the statement of the fact is sufficient for the purposes in hand.

Congress and the Executive seem too far apart to come to any agreement on the financial question.

Should there be no legislation during this Congress, the whole question goes over to the next. The complexion of the next House on the currency question, especially on the silver question, is not certain, but it may fairly be presumed to be against free coinage. It is claimed that the Senate will have a majority of from ten to fifteen for free coinage of silver. Should this be true, and it is quite likely to prove so, the Senate will pass a free-coinage bill and will accept nothing short of it. This conflict between the two

houses will again result in no legislation on the silver question, and, doubtless, on the financial question.

The gold standard as now maintained presupposes a perpetual bond issue. Indeed, there is no apparent way of maintaining the gold standard, except by having behind it for its support the whole resources of the nation represented by the Federal Treasury. It is, or would seem to be, utterly impossible for the banks to maintain it without withdrawing all legal-tender paper. This would not accomplish the work unless there was also a limit put upon the amount of paper that could be issued by the banks.

Bank paper unlimited would effectively drive the gold from the country. To maintain the gold standard here requires the forcing down of prices to the world's level of prices. In no other way can the government or the banks maintain the single gold standard. Hence the necessity of limiting bank paper.

These observations, however, are digressing from the main object of this article. Should there be no legislation at this session of Congress on the financial question, which seems most probable, and none in the next session of Congress, the whole subject will go over to the people in 1896. The presidential election will hinge upon this one issue. This is as it should be, for in the event of the issue being squarely made and passed on by the people, whatever settlement is made would be more likely to prove permanent than any patchwork gotten up to prevent submitting the question to the people. The silver question ought to be made the paramount issue in the elections of 1896; so that its determination may be permanent, if possible. If the people want the single gold standard they will say so, if not they ought to decide it once for all.

In the contest, political parties as now organized will be sorely strained, if not disrupted. It may be set down as certain that in both the Democratic and Republican parties are strong forces that will not longer submit to an evasion of this question. Both parties must come out in the open for or against silver restoration.

I do not believe that the Democrats or Republicans in the agricultural and mining States will support any platform or individual inimical to silver restoration. All the advantages of legislation are now with the advocates of gold. They are, of course,

quite anxious to avoid the issue, but from the present outlook this will be impossible.

That prices will remain on the present low level, or probably go much lower, is almost inevitable. It is true the Director of the Mint, Mr. Preston, in his article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for January, 1895, insists that the output of gold has greatly increased, and that the increase will likely continue indefinitely. But it must be remembered, in this connection, that wealth and population are on the increase out of all proportion to the increase in the output of gold and silver. The further fact must be borne in mind, that as nations are adopting the gold standard, the strain on gold increases. That the output of gold is inadequate is demonstrated by the constant fall in prices. To attribute the fall in general prices to the great increase of production, consequent to improved machinery, is to admit that the production of commodities is beyond the gold supply for exchanges. Standard money and wealth must increase in the same ratio, or there will of necessity be a fall in prices, or—what is the same thing—a rise in the value of money. The Honorable Director of the Mint, and the statisticians he quotes as to the future output of gold, should consider that speculations of this character are often as misleading and unreliable, as speculation in mining pursuits are often deceiving and disastrous to the speculator.

It may be possible to approximate the yield in precious metals from ores that are exposed to view, but to determine the probable outcome of unexplored regions is guess work of the most unreliable kind.

The Director of the Mint, pages 45-46 of the article alluded to, says :

"The highest previous yield of gold was in the period 1856-1860, when the production reached an average weight per annum of 201,750 kilograms fine, and an average yearly value of $133,970,000. The output of gold, therefore, in 1893 was 16.08 per cent. greater than the annual average of the period of the greatest productiveness of the Californian and Australian gold mines.

"A still more noticeable fact is that the value of the gold product of the world in 1893 was only 8.77 per cent. less than the average aggregate value of the gold and silver product of the world in 1861-1865.

"The fact is, that the production of gold was never so rapid as it is today. When the yield of the Californian and Australian gold mines was at its highest, 1856-60, Michel Chevalier and other economists began to inquire what measures governments should take to prevent the depreciation

of the yellow metal, and some even proposed its demonetization Yet now when the production of even 1856-60 is exceeded, and when the value of the annual product of gold alone is almost equal to that of the product of both precious metals before the depreciation of silver began, all the economic evils from which the commercial, agricultural, and industrial world is suffering are ascribed to the scarcity of gold. What better refutation can there be of such a fallacy than the figures adduced in the foregoing pages? They are more convincing than words; for if there is a scarcity of gold now, when was there plenty of it?"

This argument or statement of the case ignores the very important fact that the use of gold in the arts has of late greatly increased, the most conservative estimate placing it at 75 per cent. of the annual output from the mines. A still more important fact is left out. The wealth and population of this country have enormously increased.

The American Almanac for 1889, on page 303, gives our population for 1850 at 23,000,000, in round numbers; in 1860, 31,000,000. Wealth estimated at true valuation—page 21—in 1850, $7,000,000,000; in 1860, $16,000,000,000.

It is estimated that our population is now near 70,000,000, or about three times what it was in 1850, and more than double what it was in 1860.

Our wealth at this time is estimated at about $60,000,000,000, about nine times more than in 1850, and four times as much as in 1860.

So has the wealth and population of the world largely increased. Again, since 1873 the countries of Western Europe and this country have gone to the single gold standard, discarding silver as standard money. So that the demand for gold is more than double what it was in 1856. In other words, while the output of gold has slightly increased for a few years back, the demand for it, on account of greatly increased wealth and population, coupled with silver demonetization, has made a requirement for more than double the amount of gold.

These considerations are sufficient to show that the output of the precious metals, especially when confined to gold, do not keep pace with increasing wealth and population. The percentage of increase in the world's wealth and population is not so great as the increase in this country, but without going into an examination of this, it is safe to say that the production of gold and silver combined is far short of the percentage of the increase of the population and wealth of the world.

How, then, can it be insisted on, that when we confine the production to gold only and limit metallic money to gold alone, there is a sufficient output of metallic money to subserve the business interests? It is absurd. To sum up:

No currency legislation will be had at this session of Congress. In the next, or Fifty-fourth Congress, the Senate will be overwhelmingly for free coinage of silver. Hence, no currency legislation is likely to be enacted at the first session of that Congress. Thus will the question of free coinage of silver become the paramount issue in 1896.

The decisive defeat of the bill to authorize the issuance of 500,000,000 of distinctively gold bonds as recommended by the President's message is very important in connection with the silver question, showing that the representatives of the people are not yet ready to decree a permanent single gold standard for this country.

The lines were very distinctly drawn in this vote upon the question of bimetallism and the gold standard. It shows that the hope for full restoration of *silver* is not lost—that the people are in no humor to surrender the battle. Never in the history of the country, so far as I am informed, has there been a single bond issued payable in gold alone or silver alone. All our obligations rest on the word *coin*. The bonds issued in 1870 called for coin of the standard of that date. At that time the mints were open to the free coinage of both gold and silver as standard money. Again, the president was mistaken as to the temper of the people upon the subject of bimetallism. No bill that provides for gold bonds can possibly become a law during this Congress.

The President's message asking for gold bonds has greatly intensified the issue, and has strengthened the cause of silver. The people see more plainly than ever that the gold standard means gold bonds to maintain it.

Gold bonds would necessarily mean a greater pressure on gold, for it would be a notification to all the world of a determination on our part to make permanent the gold market, should such an act pass. In all probability gold would go to a premium, unless we contracted the currency now outstanding.

Gold bonds would at once raise gold to a premium.

R. P. BLAND.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

III.—THE ALLIES OF THE PRINCE-PRESIDENT.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

WHEN, at the end of the previous chapter, I said that Morny and Dupin *aîné* would not have joined the small group of the Prince-President's apparently faithful partisans but for their knowledge that the battle of the imperial cause was practically half-won, I wished to be understood literally. Both Morny and Dupin were venal to a degree, but it was the only thing they had in common with each other. Morny had a certain amount of physical courage, though not of the highest kind—the kind of courage which forms part of a French gentleman's education, but which, if properly analysed, would be found to contain a good deal of moral cowardice. Dupin was a coward, but with the courage to admit his cowardice. An anecdote of his early life will explain what I mean. His father had narrowly escaped death on the scaffold during the Reign of Terror. Though a staunch Republican, he hailed the advent of the Directory and the Consulate with intense relief, and sent his eldest son to Paris to study law under Tronchet, the same who with Malesherbes had solicited the dangerous honor of defending Louis XVI. at his trial. The stripling—for he was little more—remained absolutely impervious to the seductions and fascinations of the capital, and in six years obtained the highest distinctions his Faculty had to bestow. When complimented on his success, and the perseverance and pluck implied in the achievement, he answered, "I accept the compliment as to my perseverance. I cannot accept it as to my pluck, for it was not pluck but fear that made me accomplish these things. I trembled like an aspen leaf when I beheld the First Consul during the reviews in the Champ de Mars, and said to myself,

'The brute will take us all as food for powder. I must escape such a death as that. That is why I studied so hard.'" Original, if pusillanimous, is it not? The fact is that Dupin was original from beginning to end, as we shall see directly—original even in his venality; Morny was not original at all. The half-brother of Louis Napoleon played his part in the *coup d'état*, the importance of which part has been much exaggerated, through the force of circumstances; Dupin performed his share in the preliminaries to the *coup d'état*, the importance of which share has not been sufficiently insisted on, from pure choice.

I will deal first with Morny, the accident of whose birth befriended his necessities, which necessities prompted the assumption of his rôle. Unlike Persigny, Morny had not even the faith that moves mountains, nor the generosity that hides such want of faith. But for his knowledge that he had gone too far either to serve the Republic or the Orleanist dynasty again, he would have retired from his position at the eleventh hour. As it was, he practically induced Louis Napoleon to do so by informing him that he had secured a retreat for both before it was too late.

"What if you should fail?" he is reported to have said, according to Persigny, who was present at the interview.

"We shall not fail," replied the latter; "but if we do you need only concern yourself with the arrangements for our funerals, unless you like to take your share of this." "This," was a small packet wrapped in white paper which he took from his pocket.

"It's poison," said Persigny quietly, "and of the deadliest, and if you mean to use it you had better have your dose with you, for it is doubtful whether you will be with the Prince and myself to the last. I will not stir from his side happen what may."

Morny shook his head with a supercilious smile.

"I am not fond of such violent measures," he answered.

The supremest comfort he could think of for his half-brother when he left him shortly before midnight on the 1st December, 1851, was this: "Whatever happens within the next few hours, you are sure to have a sentry at your door when you awake to-morrow morning."

The episode of the packet of poison remained an absolute secret between the Prince, Persigny and Morny until several years after the establishment of the Empire, at what time Per-

signy told one of my grand-uncles of it under the following circumstances. Persigny had at Chamarande a dog to which he was greatly attached. Though not very old the animal fell ill, and in spite of the veterinary surgeon's careful treatment seemed to suffer much. It would take neither food nor physic from any one's hand but Persigny's. At last his death was decided on.

"I poisoned it myself," said Persigny, when telling the tale. "I poisoned it myself, with one of the three doses of poison I had had in my possession since the middle of 1851. They were originally intended for the Emperor, myself, and a person I need not name, in the event of our failure.* On the 30th November, 1851, I offered that third dose to Morny, who tried to shake the Prince-President's courage by telling him that he had secured a safe retreat for him if matters should go wrong, in fact, almost persuaded him to avail himself of the retreat before matters did go wrong. Morny refused to have recourse to such desperate measures. I had forgotten all about my having the poison, though not the fact of my having bought it, until the other day. I have still two doses left; they may be useful some day. Who knows? What did the Prince-President say to Morny's refusal of the poison?" Persigny went on, in reply to my uncle's question to that effect, "The Prince-President said nothing, but merely smiled, and he has never alluded to the incident up till this day. Though you know the Emperor very well, you evidently do not know this. The Emperor's like or dislike of people is altogether independent of the merits or defects of those people; it is altogether independent of the ascertained or suspected corresponding sentiment with regard to himself on the part of those people. Put it in this way, if you like. Where his affections are concerned, the Emperor plays throughout with gold, though he may feel absolutely convinced that those with whom he plays are staking worthless counters."

Then Persigny apparently went off at a tangent, for he suddenly asked:

"Have you ever seen the Emperor and his cousin, Prince Jérôme, together? I do not mean in public, but in private."

My uncle admitted that he had not.

"You know," said Persigny, "that Napoleon III., like Na-

* In the note relating to this conversation my uncle insists, with how much justification I know not, that the unnamed person was Miss Howard, afterwards Comtesse de Beauregard.

poleon I., addresses his near relations in the second person singular when they are by themselves, and that his relations do the same?"

"Yes," assented my uncle, "I have heard the Emperor and Princesse Mathilde do it in my presence."

"Well," remarked Persigny, "although the Emperor addresses his cousin Jérôme in the second person singular, the latter always answers in the second person plural."

"Out of deference, perhaps," suggested my uncle, though he knew better.

Persigny laughed outright.

"All the respect Jérôme has for the Emperor will go into a very small compass indeed. No, it is not respect on Jérôme's part; it is resentment at a quarrel they had shortly before the advent of the Prince to the Presidency. When Jérôme made his appearance at the Elysée after that, he adopted the less familiar and affectionate form, and he has never departed from it since. The Emperor, who in reality has been a second father to him, continued to address him as before, and as if nothing had happened. If the truth were known, the Emperor still lives in hopes that his cousin will resume the old style, for, I repeat, the Emperor, where his affections are concerned, plays with gold, knowing full well, as he may, that those with whom he plays stake counters. He fosters no illusions with regard to Jérôme's goodwill to himself, the Empress, and the little boy just born; he has not forgotten Morny's attempt to discourage him on the eve of the *coup d'état*, but if ever blood was thicker than water it is Louis Napoleon's, and he goes on loving those whom he has loved, and will go on loving them whatever they may do."

It would be idle to pretend that Louis Napoleon cherished such affection for all his allies in the struggle he was waging, or even that he admired them all and attributed their aid to their personal regard for him. Napoleon III.'s character was curiously complex: he could admire without the least respect for the object of his admiration; he could respect without the least admiration for the object of his respect; he could love without the least admiration or respect for the object of his love or like. One instance will make my meaning clear. It is not at all pertinent to my present subject, but, in virtue of my being a mere

gossiper, I claim the right to take my illustrations wherever I find them. Napoleon III., in spite of his scepticism with regard to men, sincerely respected Drouyn de Lhuys, but did not like him; the statesman, on the other hand, was too sterling and upright to respect his sovereign's devious political ways, but he liked him. "Drouyn de Lhuys and I," said the Emperor one day, "we each give away to one another what we are individually most in want of for ourselves."

It may be taken for granted that Louis Napoleon never contemplated enlisting André Marie Dupin among his allies, either before or after his advent to the Presidency. Though virtually a stranger to the soil of France, the Prince knew every man of note on it, and from their past judged in how far they could and would be useful to him in the immediate future. There could be no possible mistake in that respect with regard to Dupin. Wherever he could do so without absolute risk of liberty and life, young Dupin had shown himself a bitterly hostile opponent of Napoleon I. and his reign. In a *Manual of Roman Law* he had lampooned the great captain as Tiberius while presenting the great captain's victim, the young Duc d'Enghien, under the traits of Germanicus; he had bespattered the fallen giant after his abdication at Fontainebleau, and insulted him during his imprisonment at St. Helena. True, he had also defended Michel Ney against the acrimonious indictment of that other able lawyer Bellart, who moreover owed a great deal to Napoleon I. which Dupin did not; but whatever merit might have accrued to him from this act of independence under the Restoration, he spoilt it by his prominent position ten years later among the mourners at Bellart's funeral. Not one, but half a dozen eminent men openly reproached him with his political apostasy. "You do not seem to understand that the defenders of Michel Ney were longing to hear the *De Profundis* recited for his executioners," he replied, and evidently considered the epigram sufficient to condone as well as to explain his insult to the memory of the martyred victim of one of the foulest crimes perpetrated under the pretext of dynastic necessity.

Dupin's belief in the omnipotence of epigram as a moral veneer for political as well as other immorality was to a great extent justified by his thorough knowledge of and his supreme contempt for the majority of his countrymen, and especially for

those actively engaged in politics. He knew that in France one well delivered epigram is sufficient to start a man on a prosperous career, sufficient to hurl the man at whom it is levelled from the pedestal to which he has climbed with infinite trouble and perseverance. And seeing that he had not his equal in the facility for coining epigrams, not even in Talleyrand, that his peer in that respect, Rivarol, had been in his grave since the beginning of the century, Dupin had never been very sparing of them. From that moment, however, he began to sow them broadcast, taking care not to hide his light under a bushel, for modesty was not Dupin's besetting sin. Rather than plead and not be reported, he refused to plead at all ; which, in fact, he did when asked to defend Béranger a third time. Of course, he did not say so in as many words, but no one was his dupe, because every one was aware that, as an exceptional measure, the Government intended to exclude reporters from the trial. Nevertheless, almost every one thought it perfectly natural that Dupin should not care to waste his truly marvellous epigrammatical and histrionic talents on empty benches and without a chance even of having his *mots* conveyed at second hand to the public which was so eager for them; so that when in 1832 he was elected to the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies the public took care that he should have no cause of complaint on that score. They flocked to the Palais-Bourbon as their successors flock to the *Académie* at the reception of a new member, and they were invariably better rewarded for their journey than the latter. They flocked to the Palais-Bourbon as the cultured Parisians of to-day flock to the Comédie-Française to roll on their mental palates the epigrams of Dumas *fils* and Edouard Pailleron, sublimely indifferent to the goodness or badness of the cause on which those epigrams are expended. Dupin spared neither friends nor foes. When seated in the presidential chair perched atop of that storied platform, and with that deep-toned silver bell in front of him, he had only subjects for vivisection whose mental sores he laid bare with one deft turn of his scalpel. The patient might be in the opposite political camp or in his own, the epigram when on the tip of Dupin's tongue had to find vent. In fact, it is difficult to determine to which party Dupin belonged, for he lashed all in turns. Like Thiers, he is a political acrostic. Thiers' whole spells "personal ambition," Dupin's "rapacity."

His average income at the bar during the Restoration was about 80,000 francs, an enormous sum in those days, never exceeded at that time by the most brilliant legal luminaries, Berryer included. But Berryer had the improvident habit of remitting part of his clients' fees now and then; nay, in one instance, remitted thewhole of such a fee lest a client's daughter, whose dowry had been swallowed up in her father's lawsuit, should go husbandless. Dupin exacted his to the utmost farthing and was not always satisfied then, as the Napoleonic generals whom he defended under the Restoration, and the three Englishmen who helped Lavalette to escape could have testified. Earning, as he did, 80,000 francs per annum, it was but natural that he should have refused elevation to the Bench under the Restoration at half that stipend, but no sooner had Louis Philippe ascended the throne than he accepted a procurator-generalship. It would, he knew, pave the way to the Presidency of the Chamber with a salary of 100,000 francs; and the functions would, moreover, leave him free to resume his practice at the bar, as did M. Jules Grévy forty years later on. For nearly eight years Dupin filled the presidential chair, and he would have probably filled it till the end of Louis Philippe's reign, but for a combination between Thiers and Molé, both of whom had got tired of his repeated onslaughts, and by their tactics prevented his reëlection at the opening of the session of 1840. Molé in his fall dragged Dupin with him.

This was the man who after an interval of ten years was chosen once more to direct the debates in the Chamber of Deputies, and whom the would-be historians of the *coup d' état* have unanimously left in the background. It is because these writers, even M. de Maupas, whose work I translated myself, have not had the unenviable but nevertheless salutary advantage of attending for days and days during several years the proceedings at the Palais-Bourbon, and because, therefore, they do not know and fail to guess what a President of the Chamber may and often will do in the pseudo-exercise of his legitimate duties. I have had that advantage, and do not hesitate to say that a President of the French Chamber can mar or make a ministry even more effectually than the majority which supports such a ministry. Although I had never seen Dupin at work, I felt convinced the moment I read the innumerable anecdotes and heard the absolutely unpublished stories about him that as "an artisan" of the *coup d' état* he

ought to rank next to Persigny and even before Fleury, which is not saying little, as the reader will find directly. It matters little or nothing to my present purpose that his share of the work was performed unconsciously, or, if not unconsciously, against his own inclination, at any rate at the beginning of Louis Napoleon's presidency; for I feel certain that not for one instant did he then harbor the thought or desire of smoothing the latter's road to the imperial throne. That he did smooth it is incontestable, and that is why I have dwelt at such great length on him, although the writing of his biography would have been attractive to me under any circumstances. He, a professed Republican—for after Louis Philippe's fall he resumed that appellation once more—made the Republic, its parliamentary adherents, its ministers, and for that matter the whole of the legislature, ridiculous in the eyes of France, and ridicule kills in France, "especially when directed against a civilian," as Louis Napoleon himself admitted. By making the Republic ridiculous, he bred the wish in the minds of Frenchmen to have done with the *régime*. That was, roughly speaking, his share in the preparations for the *coup d'état*.

How he did it must be told in as few words as possible, for I have already outrun the space originally intended for Dupin. One day the Protestant Minister, Athanasius Coquerel, was trying to prove that the Republican system was based on the Gospel. "Nonsense!" exclaimed Dupin. "I have yet to learn that Christ said, 'My republic is not of this world.'" On another occasion, Victor Schulcher, who died only a couple of years ago, having said, in the course of one of his speeches, "We enjoy the happiness of living under a Republic," he was violently interrupted by the members of the Right. Astonished, the speaker turned to the President for an explanation. It came at once. "No one is questioning the fact of the Republic; they are only contesting the fact of the happiness," remarked Dupin. "Persigny is no doubt the author of the *coup d'état*," said the Emperor to my uncle when the news of Dupin's death came (1865); "yet, but for Dupin, there would have been a difficulty in performing the piece; he discredited the rival authors and their companies, and finally shut up their theatre."*

* In my various conversations with M. de Maupas and others, I have never been able to ascertain with any degree of satisfaction to myself whether Dupin's attitude in the early morning of the 2d December, 1851, was a carefully rehearsed one or forced upon him by the knowledge of his powerlessness to resist the troops that had invaded the Palais-Bourbon. All my interlocutors, but especially Maupas, always

Napoleon III. was right; Persigny was virtually the sole author of the *coup d'état*. That his name has been cast into the shadow by that of the principal actor of his piece is due to the fact that the actor was perhaps greater as an actor than the author as an author. The same thing has happened on the stage with the authors of *Our American Cousin, Rip Van Winkle, Adrienne Lecouvreur, L'Auberge des Adrets*; in fact, in all cases where the interpreter's genius surpassed that of the playwright. But, however great the author, if his piece be a spectacular one like the *coup d'état*, he must, in addition to his principal interpreter or interpreters, have various stage managers and notably able editors and journalists who, without revealing the actual plot of the play, will gently stimulate the interest of the public until the play be ready to stir the public into enthusiasm or disgust. Cavour found his stage-managers in La Marmora and Cialdini, his editors and journalists almost everywhere; Bismarck had Von Roon and Von Moltke to rely upon in the one capacity, and a score of eminent men throughout the Fatherland to propagate his views by means of the printing press. Journalists and captains were virtually ready to Cavour's and Bismarck's hands. Cavour and Bismarck bore honored and historic names which inspired confidence; their collaborators offered themselves. Persigny had no ancestry to boast of, and his name was known only in connection with two miscarried adventures and to a small minority. It is doubtful whether his name inspired any confidence at all. Yet, in spite of these drawbacks, he found two men of inestimable value to his undertaking, or, to speak by the card, he at once guessed their capabilities when chance or design threw them across his path. I am referring to Dr. Véron and Colonel (afterwards General) Fleury.

I doubt whether the former's name is known, at any rate in connection with the political events preceding the Second Empire, to one out of every thousand Americans and Englishmen. I doubt whether the latter's is more than a name to one out of

turned the subject. Nevertheless, from evidence gathered from other and entirely disinterested quarters, I am of opinion that Dupin knew what was going to happen. While Baze and Leflô were arrested and led away, Dupin was left unmolested in his apartments at the Palais-Bourbon—nay, free to roam about. When, a few hours later, about threescore of Deputies managed to effect an entrance to the house, owing to an oversight of Espinasse and Saint-Arnaud, and asked Dupin to preside over their sitting, he declined and wished them good morning. Maupas scarcely devotes half a dozen lines to his share in the proceedings; the fact remains that after the establishment of the Empire he was on very friendly terms with the Emperor. What was his reward? Not a public one, but a substantial private one, I feel convinced.

every hundred ; and yet both these men contributed powerfully to Louis Napoleon's elevation to the throne ; but unlike Dupin's, their support was given consciously and with a full knowledge of what might be the result. Émile Fleury was absolutely disinterested in the matter, but he had an innate sense of the fitness of things, and considered that a king should enact the king, an usurper have the daring, the lawlessness, and grandeur of an usurper. Louis Philippe, it must not be forgotten, was as much of an usurper as Louis Napoleon, but he lacked the daring, lawlessness, and grandeur of an usurper. His fall from the throne was not a fall, but a tumble. He himself was probably too old to head a struggle for his crown, but his four sons were all in the prime of life, and not one stretched forth a hand to save that crown, if not for their septuagenarian father, at any rate for their ten-year-old nephew. That this tame submission to the will of the mob was profoundly distasteful to the whole of the French army there can be not the slightest doubt, albeit that the contempt for that mob and the disapproval of the princes' tameness, manifested itself at the time and subsequently in very different ways. Here is a story which my uncles had from the lips of General Talandier, the same to whom I referred in the first chapter as having stemmed, when but a colonel, the tide of insurrection on the occasion of Louis Napoleon's attempt at Strasburg. "Fleury," said the general, when alluding to the former's share in the *coup d'état*, "well, Fleury felt what most of us did, that it was no use fighting for those who would not fight for themselves. That most of us were of that opinion I could prove to you by a dozen stories. One, however, will do. During the month of February, '48, I commanded the 4th Brigade, which was quartered at the *École Militaire*. When I learnt the news of Louis Philippe's departure, I sent for the seven colonels under my orders, for there were three regiments of the line, three of cavalry, and a battery of artillery. I proposed to gather up our little army and to take up a position at Passy and to bring back the king if possible. All but one colonel refused."

And we must bear in mind that this was before the Duc d'Aumale's want of action became known. The enthusiastic coöperation of the army in the *coup d'état* wants no other explanation than this. All the tales of the fabulous sums of money given on the eve of it to Morny, Maupas, and Saint-Arnaud—to

the latter especially, as bribes for the army—are so many fabrications. To begin with, the army did not want bribing, and least of all the garrison in and around Paris. Apart from the magic influence of the name of Napoleon, to which I have already alluded, to which I shall have to allude again directly, the army had grievances of its own to avenge on the people. The defeats of their predecessors in the Revolution of 1830 and the defeats of their fellow-soldiers in the Revolution of '48—defeats attributable to no fault of theirs—were rankling in their minds. Their subsequent victories in June, '48, and June, '49, were not of a kind to efface the humiliating recollections of those defeats. If the truth were known, they were all but too eager to try conclusions with the turbulent scum of Paris, and especially with the National Guards. Secondly, if bribery with money had been necessary, Louis Napoleon could not have done it, for he had not the wherewithal. I have more than one impartial authority (Maupas' evidence might be suspected) for my positive statement that the sum of money in the possession of Louis Napoleon at 10.30 P. M. on the 1st December, '51, did not exceed 65,000 frs., 50,000 of which had arrived but two or three days before from England, with a polite but very firmly worded intimation that "this will be the last remittance under existing circumstances." The real significance of that sentence quoted I have explained elsewhere;* with regard to my statement that those 50,000 frs. were nearly the whole of Louis Napoleon's resources, I have no less an authority than that of the late Baron James de Rothschild, on whose bank the draft from London, and made payable to Persigny, was drawn. At least such is my reading of a note in my uncle's handwriting and relating to a conversation on the subject with Baron James. My uncles frequently called on him,† and though, of course a busy man, he was rarely so busy as to decline chatting for a little while on matters not connected with their call. It was during one of those chats that Baron James delivered himself of the following, but I have no clue to the origin of the topic. "All those cock-and-bull stories about the wholesale bribing of the Paris garrison on the day of the *coup d'état* would be vastly amusing, if they did not undermine the respect of the soldier for his officers—consequently, discipline. Some one in authority should

* *An Englishman in Paris*, vol. ii., chap. 3.
† *My Paris Note-Book* (American edition), p. 11.

give them a flat contradiction once for all. The Emperor cannot do it for many reasons; besides, no one would believe him if he did. I could do it, but people would believe me even less than the Emperor, and yet I could give them proof positive for what I should state, for I know almost to a few thousand francs how much money Louis Napoleon had in his possession on the night of the 1st December. He received 50,000 frs. from England two days before, I saw the draft ten minutes after it had been presented, and I do not believe he had another 20,000 frs. to save his life. Where would he have got the money from? Miss Howard had given all she had to give; Princesse Mathilde had stripped herself of every bit of available property, portable or otherwise, long before that. From the Bank of France, which, it is said, advanced him ever so many millions, or, to put it correctly, was compelled by him to advance those millions in return for some privilege? He had no privilege to give, and people might just as well say that we advanced him the money. Nay, the latter hypothesis would sound more plausible, for we, at any rate, could have done as we liked without consulting any one; the Bank of France could not have done so, for the Republicans kept a strict watch upon every one likely to be useful to the Prince-President. He had not even the power to transfer a horse from the stables of St. Cloud to his own. I have an English groom in my service who was at St. Cloud during the three years of the Presidency. One day Louis Napoleon visited the stables in company with an Englishman; and the stud-groom, also an Englishman, trotted out a splendid chestnut to show them. 'Send that horse to me in Paris,' said the President. 'I can't do that, sir,' replied the man respectfully; 'the horse belongs to the Republic.' I am giving you the story in the very words given to me. Besides, if the Prince had all those millions of the Bank of France in his cash-box—some say it was five, others ten—why should he have wanted that miserable 50,000 frs. from London? for although the draft was made payable to Persigny, there is no doubt that the money was intended for Louis Napoleon."

No, the army did not want bribing. After three years of constant contact with the heir of Napoleon I. it was ready to do anything and everything at that heir's bidding, seeing that only a month after his advent to the Elysée the mere sight of him had aroused the troops' enthusiastic cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

Their coöperation was a foregone conclusion from that day forward, but it wanted intelligent organizing and intelligent leading, and some of the officers had to be shown that Louis Napoleon was not such a "vile civilian" as Cavaignac and his partisans had tried to make him out; not such a "melancholy parrot" as Changarnier delighted in calling him when he found the melancholy parrot develop a tendency for uttering sentences other than those he had tried to drum into him.

The task of proving that this vile civilian and melancholy parrot was "a gentleman from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, and every inch a king," as Lord Normanby, an enemy, said of him, devolved upon Colonel Fleury as far as the army was concerned. But he did more than that. It is no exaggeration to say that from the beginning of '49 till the beginning of '52 he was the virtual Minister for War, no matter who was nominally the holder of the portfolio, or, to put it in the pertinent words of Persigny—than whom no man was more anxious to acknowledge the services rendered by Fleury—"he was the Minister for the Civil War we foresaw as the result of the Prince's action." It was Fleury, who during those three years selected the regiments to be successively quartered in Paris, and sent them back to the provinces thoroughly imbued with the idea that the imperial *régime* was best suited to the physical welfare of the army at home, to its prestige both at home and abroad; it was Fleury who pointed out the officers for promotion, and recruited Saint-Arnaud and Magnan in Algeria, a by no means easy task in spite of the feeling of discontentment generally prevalent at the last public act of Louis Philippe's fourth son. Truly, the sudden departure of the Duc d'Aumale, his quiet resignation of the governor-generalship of the colony without his striking one blow for the recovery of his father's throne, had bred universal dissatisfaction among those officers in Africa; but the recollection of the Duc's splendid courage and leadership remained; and though the officers had withdrawn their allegiance from him, they were, perhaps, not quite prepared to transfer it at a moment's notice to an "individual"—the term is not mine —of whom in spite of the glamour of his name, they knew comparatively nothing, who had, moreover, not gained in their estimation at the hands of the two immediate successors of the Duc, namely, Changarnier and Cavaignac. This feeling of hostility

to Louis Napoleon in the African contingent of the French Army only wore off by degrees; as late as 1852 there were still some slight traces of it left; for the Prince-President could not counteract it by the charm of his personal presence. Fleury, however, was not only a valiant soldier and a thorough man of the world, but a far from despicable organizer, and, what was better still, a skilful diplomatist. Even Thiers had to admit this, though reluctantly, after his journey to St. Petersburg in the end of 1870, at what time Fleury had vacated his post of ambassador but a few months. Alexander II. not only referred constantly to Fleury's diplomatic capacities, but almost plainly hinted that if a sense of a soldier's duty had not compelled Fleury's departure, the sequel to Sedan might have been different from what it was. To the outside world of 1848, though, Colonel Émile Fleury was nothing more than a brilliant, dashing officer with a splendid record for personal valor, but otherwise in no way distinguished from a host of similarly endowed African campaigners, except for a greater fund of amiability and an utter absence of buckram, brusqueness, and conceit. It is doubtful whether the newly elected President of the Republic chose Major Fleury—he was only a major then—as a member of his military household for any but his social qualities. Fleury was a *viveur*, so was Louis Napoleon. Fleury was fond of woman's society, Louis Napoleon was too fond of it. Fleury was a constant visitor to the greenroom of the Comédie Francaise and other theatres. Louis Napoleon, while an exile in London, was frequently seen at the wings, especially when there was a pretty actress in the cast. "It appears, *commandant*, that you go behind the scenes," said the President, shortly after his accession, when a discussion about the prosperity of the House of Molière arose. "You must have some one to represent you worthily, Monseigneur," was Fleury's ready answer.

But beneath the jovial and apparently careless *bon-vivant*, Persigny had detected the sterling, clever emissary necessary to his purpose. Fleury went to enlist Saint-Arnaud, if feasible; Persigny, in all probability, had indicated him. The men who helped to make the *coup d'état* were all, with the exception of one (Dupin), without fear; for Morny, though refusing to take the dose of poison offered to him by Persigny, had given proofs of his courage on the battle-field; none but one (Fleury) was

without reproach. "One cannot force a cathedral door with a toothpick; and in a fight, provided one knocks one's adversary down with it, the ledger of the National Debt (*le grand livre*) is as good as a Bible," said the Emperor one day when referring to those who had helped him. I have written the sentence in English, but it was delivered half in English, half in French. It was a habit of Louis Napoleon to use two and sometimes three languages in so many sentences. "I do not like my thoughts to sit fretting at home because they do not happen to have the exact clothes to go out in," he remarked on another occasion, in explanation of this habit. Persigny knew all about Saint-Arnaud without having been told. Both men had led a checkered career. Saint-Arnaud, though belonging to a very good family, had been a commercial traveller, an actor, a fencing-master, and heaven knows what else besides, before he entered the army a second time. Persigny had followed many occupations, and none for very long, after he exchanged the dragoon's uniform for the dress of the St. Simoniens, and the latter garb for that of every-day life. Saint-Arnaud and Persigny had no doubt met at some period of their lives, but it would not have done for a simple civilian to sound the general of brigade and Knight Commander of the Legion of Honor on so dangerous a subject as that of his co-operation in the *coup d'état*. So Persigny sent Fleury, whom, as a negotiator, he knew to be immeasurably superior to himself. "I can send Fleury into a quagmire of intrigue with a pair of dancing-pumps on; he will come back as clean as a new pin and with the object I want; Persigny with his jack-boots would get up to his waist in the mud and bring back the object utterly unfit for use. It is because the one would have made the journey with his eyes and ears wide open; the other with his eyes fixed on the sky watching for visions and only listening to the promptings of his own fealty and loyalty to me. Fleury always spoke and acted like the envoy of a Cæsar; Persigny, in spite of himself, conveyed the impression of his having been sent by a Catiline. Intrinsically there may not be much difference between the motives of these two, but history says there is, and history often spells 'prejudice.'" This was Louis Napoleon's estimate of the respective characters of his two principal collaborators.

None of the precautions so essential in the case of Saint-Arnaud was needed in that of Dr. Louis Véron. At that time, Dr.

Véron was the proprietor of the *Constitutionnel,* and what was better still, from the Prince-President's view, the sole arbiter of its policy. The influence of the *Constitutionnel* itself can best be measured by a couple of sentences from Lamartine with regard to it. "The Republic has produced nothing better in the way of a daily paper. The *Constitutionnel* is a clan of men of wit encamped one day on the Boulevard, the next in the Rue de Rivoli, watching the Revolution as it passes by, and looking at men and things with the smile of *dilettanti* and through an opera-glass." The chieftain's name had long before that become a household word with the Parisians, and Paris then as now dictated to the rest of France. There had been proprietors of nostrums before Dr. Louis Véron, but never such a one as he; there is not a single device in the way of advertising resorted to by the present vendors of patent medicines that was not suggested by him. The genius for booming his wares, himself, and those whom he wished to befriend, he brought to bear on the management of the *Révue de Paris* and on the direction of the Opéra, though with different results. The periodical was a comparative failure, simply because the public were not quite ripe for exceedingly good literature, but of a lighter kind, in monthly doses; secondly, because there sprang up in the mind, if not in the heart, of Dr. Véron himself a formidable rival for his affections, namely, the opera, which in the course of five years he raised to a pitch of prosperity such as it had never attained before nor has attained since. Dr. Véron ought to have been a happy man and clung to the Muse that virtually made him a prominent figure by the side of such celebrities as Meyerbeer and Scribe, Auber and Adam, Hugo, Balzac, and Dumas, with whom, of course, no one attempted or pretended to compare him intellectually, but with whom, nevertheless, he associated on a footing of social equality; basking, as far as the public was concerned, in the reflected glory of their fame. That, however, was not sufficient for him. Though he commanded social distinction long before similar distinction was accorded to great operatic impressarios in other lands, he flung operatic management to the winds to become a factor in politics. He was bitten by the mania which in those days gripped some of the most brilliant luminaries of the literary firmament, Lamartine, Hugo, Dumas, Sue, etc. Unfortunately he chose to make his political *début* under the

guidance of Thiers; in other words, he bought the *Constitutionnel* and made Thiers its master, and Thiers rewarded him as he had always rewarded, and rewarded to the end, all those who made themselves the stepping-stones to his ambition: with ingratitude and promises which were not only never realized, but never intended to be realized.

It must not be supposed for one moment that Dr. Véron sat fretting over his political disappointments. He simply consoled himself for them by making money, for making money was a supreme enjoyment to him. But he was no miser. I knew Dr. Véron personally during the last ten years of his life, and, though too young to judge critically, I remember many acts of his kindness to the poor. Truly, as I remarked elsewhere, he did *not* do good by stealth and blushed to find it fame, but he did good for all that. My uncles were frequent visitors at his house, for though he had relinquished the active profession of a surgeon almost at the outset of his career, he was fond of the society of his former colleagues and proud of his medical degree. I never saw Lord Brougham in the flesh, but whenever I come across a portrait of the eminent English statesmen, my thoughts always wander back to Dr. Véron. I dare say the likeness exists to a great extent in my imagination. I have never tested it by putting their portraits side by side. I doubt, however, whether the two men had much in common mentally and morally, except their overweening vanity. Lord Brougham, I have been told, often made himself ridiculous in private life; I feel certain that Dr. Véron never did either in private or in public. Long before he flung Thiers overboard he must have known that the latter was furthering his own political ambition, and solely his own, by means of the *Constitutionnel*, but until he felt himself capable of navigating the ship himself, and sighted the America of his own ambition, he submitted to Thiers's whimsical dictatorship.

That moment of independent action struck shortly after the advent of Louis Napoleon to the Presidency, to which advent the *Constitutionnel* had contributed at the instigation of Theirs, who had made up his mind to be Louis Napoleon's successor at the expiration of the latter's four years of office, the period provided for by the new Constitution. In order to prove this, I append one of the Emperor's remarks on the subject to my uncle. "Shortly after my election to the Presidency, Thiers asked me

one morning what official costume I was going to adopt, and when he heard that I was wavering between the uniform of a general of division and that of a general of the National Guards, he said, after a few moments: 'Take my advice—adopt neither the the one nor the other. I feel convinced that the nation will be delighted to see its *civic* chief magistrate adopt civilian dress. Besides, if you were to adopt a military costume, your successor might be awkwardly situated if he could not do the same.' It was telling me in so many words," concluded the Emperor, "'I'll be succeeding you in four years, and I cannot very well put myself in a General's uniform.'" All these designs of Theirs were knocked on the head one day by an article in the *Constitutionnel*, entitled "Two Dictatorships." It was written by the father of M. Paul de Cassagnac, and simply announced that the *Constitutionnel* had gone over with arms and baggage to Thiers's enemy.

By that time the paper had already an enormous circulation—of course for the France of that day. Véron increased it still further by grouping around him all the literary men of note. He did more. He instituted a daily dinner at his house and a weekly gala one, both of which became the active centres of the propaganda of the Napoleonic cause. In the course of these chapters I shall be enabled to show the influence of the drama, music, and pictorial art on the history of France; I need not, therefore, insist upon it here. In fact, except M. de Maupas, not one of Louis Napoleon's *collaborateurs* has ever denied Véron's share in the *coup d'état*; and much as I owe to Napeleon III.'s Minister of Police, I feel bound to say that his evidence is tainted with jealousy. M. de Maupas never reconciled himself to the fact that there were 10,000 men in France who could have given the Prince-President the same intelligent cooperation he gave, and that chance befriended him in being selected for the task. There were not a half-dozen Vérons. General Magnan, assuredly more clever as a soldier than was M. de Maupas as a prefect of police, never advanced such pretensions of being unique in his way. Colonel de Béville, who performed his share in the affair with equal tact, determination, and skill to that of General Magnan, was as modest as he. The Empire, on the threshold of which we now stand, will show that, save Fleury, not a single one of Louis Napoleon's henchmen was capable of improving what he had helped to create, and least of all among

them M. de Maupas. But, like Louis Napoleon, I also must change my dress while preparing to enter the Tuileries. Henceforth, at any rate for a considerable time to come, I accept the part of Court chronicler; not a slavishly blind one, the reader may feel assured. Like Latour, the famous eighteenth-century pastellist, I will endeavor to be impartial alike to master and servants. If, at the end, the master still stand out as a great, though very faulty, man, it will be because the servants were faulty without having an atom of his greatness.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(To be Continued.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

HOW TO PREVENT STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

WHAT has been the history of the average strike? A grievance or grievances; an appeal for redress. The determination on the part of the capitalist, either justly or unjustly, not to accede to the demands. The men are "called out," loudly protesting their hard treatment and their determination to appeal to the tribunal of "public opinion." They strongly proclaim their respect for the laws and aver that no rioting or disorder will be permitted, and offer to protect the property of their employers. Protect it against what? Who is going to molest it? Other capitalists? What rank hypocrisy! Then men hungry for employment and the rewards that employment will bring seek to avail themselves of their inalienable right to "sell their labor in the highest market." What follows? Appeals, intimidation, threats, blows, and all the wild horror and disorder of riot and bloodshed. Destruction of property follows or is imminent. The civil authorities are appealed to. The civil arm is paralyzed. Then the power of the military is invoked. The soldiers are called out. The fever is at its height. Rage is rampant. The bounds are overstepped and the deadly bullet sows death and order. The sight of dead and wounded comrades awakens reason. The strike is lost. A mad rush for reinstatement follows, and the last end is worse than the first. Is this overdrawn? It was the history at Pullman and the centres of sympathetic disturbance superinduced by that act of monumental folly on the part of "Union" workingmen.

The Brooklyn strike is a more recently written page of folly as great and results as deplorable. Admitting that the grievances of the motormen and conductors were great, did their strike accomplish aught? Had there been no workingmen willing to earn wages by taking the places of the striking employees, would the cars have been run? Who received the blows and stones of the enraged strikers? Assuredly not the capitalists; but poor, unoffending citizens, inanimate cars, and fellow-workingmen. These were the sufferers, together with the strikers themselves. The City of Churches was avoided as a plague spot, and her inhabitants cruelly wronged and distressed because of the mistaken notion that a strike could redress the wrongs, real or supposed, of a few thoughtless and brutal workingmen.

The public mind seems to be impressed with the thought that antagonism and conflict are, in some way, inseparable from the relations of employer and employed: that strikes and lock-outs are necessary incidents, where some men work for others. So imbedded is this thought that all remedies, so far suggested, accept by implication the major premise that the strike and the lock-out are natural concomitants of these relations.

A careless use of words is responsible for this impression. There is no conflict between "labor" and "capital." There can be none. Misconceptions, brought about by this careless use of words and current phrases should be eradicated. A knowledge of the meaning and correct use of words is essential to accomplish this result. The word "capital" is carelessly and wrongly used, instead of "capitalist," and the word "labor" is, with similar misuse, substituted for "laborers" or "workingmen."

In its broad sense, capital is merely accumulated surplus above the necessary expenditure for maintenance. Colloquially it is made to stand for the owner or capitalist, just as labor is used to represent the whole body of those who work for wages. Of itself capital has no power for either good or evil. Only from its use can there arise either benefit or oppression. Its use necessarily implies a user, who may be either an owner or a hirer. Where the user is also the owner, both the capital itself and the gain, if any, from its use are legitimately the property of the owner. Where the user is a hirer, only so much of the gain from its use, less the sum paid for hire, is the legitimate property of the hirer. However rudimental all this may seem, it is evident that even these primary truths have not been learned by the members of labor-unions. By them "capital" is arraigned as selfish, oppressive, and subversive of the rights of the employed. It is innocent of these charges. Capital may be used for selfish purposes. Its use may even serve as a means of oppression; and its possession may make the possessor careless of the rights of others. It is not, however, the antithesis of labor. Of itself it is helpless; unused, it is self-destructive. Accretion comes only through use. Decay and disintegration are inherent in all forms of wealth; gold, silver, and the precious stones being least affected.

The desire to accumulate wealth is a legitimate one; legitimate effort to secure it is praiseworthy. Both desire and effort are common tendencies with the poor as well as the rich. Those who will may not only desire to secure capital or wealth, but may make every honest effort to lay it aside, and when obtained it is wholly and solely the property of the possessor. No one has any right, either legal or moral, to share the accumulations of another. Yet this preposterous doctrine is urged by trade-unionists. It is claimed that as their labors contributed to the accumulations of capital, they have a right to a share of it. As well might the capitalist claim a share in every investment made by his provident workmen. This is a most dangerous heresy.

Of the total working population probably four-fifths are non-union men. Have these four-fifths no rights? If non-union men seek the employment refused by the union men, and are willing to accept the wages which these refuse, what right has the minority to attempt by intimidation and force to interfere with them? There is then a conflict! But this conflict is not between the laborer and the capitalist. No! this conflict is between about one-fifth of the working population, organized in trades-unions, and four-fifths, not so organized. The conflict is between union and non-union men. It is the non-union men of whom the strikers are in fear. These are the people to be kept from employment at every hazard. These are the antagonists.

What becomes of the fine phrase "The injury of one is the concern of all"? Is its meaning narrowed and restricted to the few who are banded together in the unions? These organizations have been posing as the representatives of those who toil; whose one common cause was the ameliora-

tion of the hard lot of the workingman. They have been fighting "capital" indeed! Who are the "scabs" and "black-legs"? Workingmen: plain non-union workingmen. These are the men who are persuaded, intimidated, even beaten into insensibility, if they dare to exercise the inalienable right of "selling their labor in the highest market."

Let us have done with misnomers. There is no conflict between workingmen and capitalists. But there are strikes and lock-outs! How shall they be prevented? An elaborate "Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes," of New South Wales, concludes with no better recommendation than "that the very first thing to be done in order to permit of the settlement of a labor dispute is to try the effect of *conciliation*." This failing, the next thing is "arbitration." But these remedies imply contention, conflict, disorder, disruption of friendly ties and disturbance of business through lock-outs on the one hand and strikes on the other. Bureaus of arbitration assume the continued use of these weapons of offence and defence. The remedies they propose are inadequate. Not being founded in reason, they always have failed, and always will fail. The day will come however, when the lock-out and strike as means of coercion or redress will be looked upon as barbarous. The assertion is ventured that even to-day if a secret ballot had to determine for or against, there would seldom or never be a strike.

It took many years for communities to realize that loss by fire, no matter how fully covered by insurance, was an absolute one. When this fact was understood, intelligent effort was at once directed toward diminishing the fire risk. Every safeguard is now adopted to minimize the liability to burn and to prevent a fire from spreading. Every lock-out and strike results, just as surely as fire, in absolute loss to the community. No matter who is victorious, the loss is absolute and irretrievable. What folly to persist in methods so wasteful, destructive, and inconclusive. But there is a remedy. Trades-unions, as now organized, are too narrow—too restrictive. The demagogue and the slugger fill the high places. The walking delegate is an autocrat, blatant, ignorant, and repulsive to American institutions. Self-respecting and educated men revolt at this tyranny, and refuse to come under its yoke. All this must be changed. The scope must be broadened through education and judicious legislation! Would there be any conflict if labor organizations included all who work for wages? Such an organization would be invincible. There could be no conflict. The capitalist, though he may sometimes be an oppressor, is not a fool. If he employed workmen he would see to it that no issue should be raised between him and such a force. In a strife, his poor capital would be helpless and as worthless as Robinson Crusoe's gold was to him when on his uninhabited island.

It may be urged that the elimination of force as a means of compelling amelioration of the laborer's condition would defeat the purposes of organization. Such a result would not follow. Let a new declaration of independence be made. Enact laws that will conserve every man's right, his inalienable right, to dispose of his labor upon terms and conditions satisfactory to himself. Sweep from the constitutions and by-laws of labor unions every vestige of restriction and brute force. Nothing has been accomplished *vi et armis* but terrorism, bloodshed, and incalculable loss. These methods must be relegated to a black and uninviting past. Make more perfect unions, extend their influence for good and include in their

membership *all who toil.* Cease this conflict with fellow-workingmen. Store up power. The money spent in strikes is wasted, gone, irretrievably lost. Conserve these funds. These accumulations are capital, and capital in use gives power. Where now is the oppressor? With a liberal and perfect organization that shall include all who work for wages, with means and skill, what cannot be done if guided by enlightened and temperate zeal? Are you dissatisfied with your lot? Use this stored up power, build factories and workshops of your own, buy shares in mines, and own the stock of railroads and trolley lines. If selfish and unwise capitalists think to take any undue advantage, do not fear them, your dollars are as potent as theirs. But abandon, now and forever, all brutal and destructive methods that have only brought distress and obloquy upon the fair fame of the American workman.

STOCKTON BATES.

THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF HAWAII.

THE great political importance of the Hawaiian Islands is mainly due to their unique geographical position. They are situated midway from Panama to Hong-Kong and directly on the shortest line from Puget Sound to Australia. Here the two great lines of Pacific Ocean trade intersect, and here vessels must stop for refuge and supplies.

In 1875 the United States and Hawaii concluded a treaty of reciprocity which has undoubtedly given to the Islands their present wealth, and, in connection with their geographical position, their commercial importance. Several amendments were added by the Senate relative to the use of Hawaiian harbors by the United States. In 1887 another treaty was made which agreed that in exchange for certain commercial advantages the United States should have *exclusive* right to establish a naval station in the Hawaiian Islands; and Pearl Harbor was designated. In 1889 the United States proposed an enlargement of these provisions by which both were to have superior advantages and the United States were to have *perpetual* as well as *exclusive* right to establish and fortify a naval station.

Hawaii is an American State, and is embraced in the American commercial and military systems. The United States has for many years past kept warships at Honolulu, and has exercised a friendly suzerainty over the Islands which is without parallel in the history of the world. The attitude of this Government has been that of a *de facto* supremacy, in reality a protectorate. The treaties that have been discussed and ratified between these countries have been for the closest reciprocity and for a restriction upon the disposal of Hawaiian bays, harbors, and crown lands to other nations; and attempts have been made by both to have ratified treaties of annexation. Indeed, for the past fifty years this has been a question familiar alike to Americans and Hawaiians, and its importance increases with each new event in the Pacific and with each island seized there by European maritime powers. In 1886 Hawaii was nearer to the United States than to the territory of any other country. Now, the English possession, Johnson Island, acquired in 1891, is only 600 miles away. England has also seized and fortified Fanning and Christmas islands, forming a chain of possessions toward Australia. France and Germany have not been far behind Great Britain. Both have strongly fortified stations in the Pacific. It is a notable fact that European powers, especially England, have been strength-

ening themselves more and more in the Pacific as an isthmian canal has become a possibility of the near future. England has a chain of fortified stations around the world at intervals of 3,000 miles or less, guarding all the main thoroughfares of trade on the globe. There is a single flaw, the non-possession of Hawaii. She is weaker in the Pacific than in any other quarter of the world. The possession of Hawaii would make her strong where now she is weak, would make her mistress of the Pacific as now she is mistress of the Atlantic. Sentiment has not hoisted the British flag over strongly fortified stations all over the world. Centuries of experience have taught Great Britain that this is the only way to protect her commerce in peace or in war. Other foreign nations have not been slow to grasp this idea. France, Germany, Holland, Spain, and Russia are second only to Great Britain in the possession of such stations.

Hawaii is the strategic point of control for the whole northern Pacific. Turn for a moment from the Pacific to the Atlantic and examine the condition of affairs there. Our Atlantic coast is menaced by a line of hostile stations. England has strongly fortified and completely munitioned stations at Halifax and St. John's. Bermuda has been fortified and supplied at very heavy expense, and there she has built the largest floating drydock in the world; ample shops and immense quantities of coal have been provided. Thus at 690 miles from New York and less than 600 from the Carolinas, she has a station second to none in the world, from which as a base her ships could in a few hours attack any Atlantic seaport and control the commerce of the western hemisphere in that ocean. Our Gulf coast is similarly threatened by Jamaica and St. Lucia; and these with Belize would control any isthmian canal on the Atlantic side. England recognizes that the opening of such a canal must of necessity divert the route of trade on the Western Hemisphere from the Straits of Magellan to the Isthmus, and she is endeavoring to be ready for such a contingency. France has St. Pierre and Miquelon on the northeast, and Guadaloupe Martinique, and Cayenne on the south and southeast. Spain has Cuba and Porto Rico, while the Dutch at Curacoa and the Danes at St. Thomas, either of which could probably be used by Germany, complete the line of hostile bases on our Atlantic coast.

Returning to the Pacific, any foreign power occupying Hawaii would have an impregnable base from which to strike at any part of our Pacific coast and destroy our Pacific commerce. Not only this, but Hawaii is the only base in the Pacific from which this could be successfully done. Great Britain's ships are never more than 1,500 miles from a base of supplies and repair, where, protected by immense land batteries and all modern appliances for harbor defence, they can find havens of safety and refuge.

One of the greatest difficulties is in coaling ships of war. Vessels of the "Philadelphia" class have a coal capacity of 1,000 tons. Moving at a moderate rate of speed, such vessels can accomplish about 6,000 miles without recoaling, but under forced draught 3,500 miles would probably be the greatest distance they could hope to make. Commerce-destroyers are designed to make very long cruises, and will carry from 2,000 to 3,000 tons of coal. Moving slowly, such vessels will accomplish about 16,000 miles without recoaling; but to overtake and destroy commercial steamers, they must often move at their highest speed, and under such circumstances they would not make over 10,000 or 12,000 miles. Therefore, if ships of war operate from a single base, 1,500 to 2,000 miles for cruisers and 5,000 to 6,000 miles for commerce-destroyers would be the

extreme distances for operations, barring delays from accidents and crippling from hostile vessels, which are always likely contingencies. Much has been done in recent years to improve the United States Navy. New ships, equal to any others in the world, have been built at very great cost, but the government does not seem to have been equally progressive in providing the necessary coaling stations. All other great nations have recognized the necessity of providing them. Without such stations, for example, no nation could make succesful war against the United States, a fact fully appreciated by Italy in the late diplomatic incident arising from the New Orleans affair.

To protect our Atlantic coast in case of war the United States would have to capture and retain the hostile bases fronting that coast, and to protect her Pacific Coast, she must similarly hold Hawaii. If she possessed these strongholds she would be safe against the combined attacks of the world. The power that holds San Francisco and Hawaii will control the western outlet of the isthmian canal and hence the commerce of the Pacific. The possession of the Bermudas by the British in the war of 1812-14 caused immense damage to American trade in the Atlantic. Geographically the Hawaiian Islands bear the same important relative position toward the Pacific that the Bermudas do toward the Atlantic coast, a position which makes them important alike to foreign war and maritime powers and essential to the United States.

England has sought in every possible way to establish commercial and social supremacy in the Hawaiian Islands, to the end that some time the over-ripened plum might fall into her lap. She doubtless would be much pleased to join the United States in a Samoan-like protectorate over this group. She is now striving to land a British cable from Vancouver to Australia on Neckar or Bird island and but ill conceals her chagrin that the diplomacy of the United States has forced her to give up the Hawaiian group and pass seven hundred miles farther on to Fanning Islands.

"The maritime power that holds Pearl River Harbor and moors her fleet there holds the key to the North Pacific." "For no trade could prosper or even exist, while a hostile power, possessing a powerful and active marine, should send out its cruisers to prey upon commerce; but once firmly established upon them (the Hawaiian Islands), it might put to defiance any means of attack which could be brought to bear upon them." On the other hand it is declared by a United States naval officer that in case of war, the islands would be a source of national mortification. He advocates their neutralization by international treaty so that all nations could coal and refuge there, and declares that the rest is sentimentality. It would doubtless be very philanthropic to neutralize these islands, but it is difficult to accept the idea on any other ground. Another objection urged is that the native population is not fit for American citizenship. Perhaps not; but the native population is less than 30,000 and rapidly decreasing, and moreover is far more intelligent than was the Southern negro when the Fifteenth Amendment gave him citizenship in 1866. Again we hear that the United States should not enlarge itself territorially by this annexation; but an examination of previous enlargements in various ways renders the objection to 7,000 square miles of Hawaiian territory absurd. In 1783 our territory was 827,844 square miles, while to-day, through the Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Mexican, Gadsden, and Alaskan acquisitions it is 3,603,884 square miles.

Still another objection is the distance of those islands from the Ameri-

can coast, but this distance is much less than the average distance of our Alaskan territory, and in the present state of ocean travel 2,100 miles is a short distance. Indeed, no sufficient reason can be advanced against the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, while on the other hand American interests, American glory, American supremacy are at stake.

Every consideration in fact forces us to the conclusion that the annexation or territorial acquisition of these islands is a military, naval, and commercial necessity to the United States.

JOHN A. HARMAN, *Lieut.* U. S. A.

THE DANGER OF THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY.

THE Federal Judiciary is in great danger from itself! Unless it is shorn of much of its arbitrary power, and many imperfections which have become engrafted on the system are eradicated, it may not be long before Congress, which has power to abolish all Federal courts except the Supreme Court, may be compelled to enact such legislation as will practically amount to their abolition. For many years a feeling of unfriendliness to those courts has been growing. About seven years ago Congress, to mollify a public demand for legislation against them, cut off their jurisdiction in more than two-thirds of the number of their cases. This for a time seemed to quiet the public, but there have been so many fresh causes for dissatisfaction, that there is now a greater cry against them than ever.

It would be almost a calamity to have the jurisdiction of Federal courts over controversies between residents and non-residents taken away. The loans made by foreigners to Americans, and by Eastern to Western people, are almost fabulous, and out of them arise the greatest and most important contests, and it would not only weaken credits, but it would be a great injustice not to furnish such litigants a tribunal free from local prejudice and influence. But this system cannot long endure unless there is a radical change. Some "reformers" will always be found who believe that the jury system should be abolished, and yet all the States, including the last that have been admitted into the Union, guarantee it to the people, and no State government would be considered perfect without it. Many Federal judges, however, treat the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury as a meaningless, high-sounding phrase, and look upon the jury as a species of ornamental furniture. The law contemplates that the jury shall decide the facts, and the judge the law; but in many Federal courts, the judge, in his charge to the jury, argues the facts, taking a one-sided view of them; and often the most fervid and partisan argument in the case is the judge's charge. Then, after he has thoroughly biased the minds of the jury, he says cynically: "Now, these are my ideas, but it is for you to pass upon the facts," and the appellate courts say that this is a legal antidote for the poison he has administered; but every lawyer knows, as a matter of fact, that it is not. As long as the people so revere this system as to make it a part of their written constitutions, they will look with great disfavor on courts that make a farce of it. In most of the State courts, the judge is required in his charge to state both sides of each contested proposition of law, and permit the jury, without comment from him, to decide the facts. If the jury system is unworthy, blot it out of the Constitution, or else let the jury, unawed by the powerful influence of the judge, perform its duty.

When a Populist Legislature, "recognizing the severity of the times,"

passes a law extending the period in which property can be sold under execution, the country rises up in arms, and the courts promptly declare such legislation unconstitutional, with respect to existing contracts. It does not, however, require great ingenuity for a man, heavily indebted, to have a friend bring suit against him in a Federal court, alleging some interest in his property, and have a "dear friend" appointed receiver for his property. Generally the only people to be affected by this proceeding are creditors, who are not even notified. By this sleight of hand performance, they are precluded from enforcing their contracts, until they can obtain permission from the court. Unless the court is really blind, as justice is proverbially said to be, it must see that the proceeding has but one purpose, and that is to hamper creditors; and yet, although their notes and mortgages have matured, the Court says to them, "In view of the severity of the times, equity demands that you delay, until times ease up." Thus a Federal court successfully does, under one form, what a Populist Legislature is not permitted to do under another.

Through a system of unwarranted judicial legislation, these courts practically confiscate mortgages by giving parties who furnish supplies to railroads and other institutions, within a certain time before a receivership, priority over recorded mortgages. When a mortgage is recorded, it ought to be beyond the power of the mortgagor to impair it, and that always was the law until the Federal courts, assuming legislative functions, changed it. A widow in Maine buys a first mortgage bond on a Kansas railroad. Her money goes toward paying for the entire road. Five years after her mortgage is recorded, a man supplies some ties for the track, and if the road, a month thereafter, goes into a receivership, he is given priority over her; her first mortgage is degraded to a second, and the man who has no mortgage finds himself in a better position than one who has.

The climax of the exercise of "Federal court power" was reached recently when a Federal judge enjoined men from striking or quitting labor that had become distasteful or unprofitable. It would be a waste of time to seriously discuss the injustice of such an order.

Strikes are disastrous, and employees seem to forget that they are more direful in their consequences to them than to their employers, but the power to strike is the only protection laboring men have against their employers. Lockouts, too, are disastrous, but no court could take this power from employers. The judge who issued that injunction is an upright man, and what he did was simply a violent manifestation, on his part, of the idea that has been growing among many Federal judges, that they can do almost everything necessary to enforce their ideas of justice.

The growth of much of this spirit is attributable to the fact that until recently there was no appeal in most cases involving less than $5,000, and in such cases the judges often did not adhere to written law, but each judge decided each case as he believed to be right. The safety of the community requires that the law should be stable and the same in every court, so that every man may know, before he enters into a transaction, what the law is, and govern himself accordingly.

That Federal judges are subject to the every-day weaknesses of humanity was very forcibly demonstrated, when so many of them appointed relatives to office that Congress, a few years ago, was forced to pass a law absolutely forbidding it.

In 1891 a bill was passed by Congress allowing appeals in all cases, but

even now appeals are so excessively expensive as to amount to a denial of justice to poor men, and an unjust tax on others more fortunately circumstanced. The new bill created Federal Courts of Appeals, but their make-up is unwise, and to some extent makes the Federal system look ridiculous. The new courts are generally composed of one District and two Circuit judges. Under the new system, a Supreme judge goes from Washington to Chicago and hears a case, and his decision is reviewed on appeal by three judges of inferior rank; or a Circuit judge hears a case, and his decision is reviewed by one judge of inferior rank, and one judge of equal rank with himself. It looks odd to see an inferior judge reverse his superior—a captain reversing his general's orders! Take the World's Fair case at Chicago; it was decided by one District and two Circuit judges. On appeal it was heard by the Chief Justice and two District judges, and they reversed it. If the judges had not been unanimous, the two District judges alone had the power to reverse their superiors, the two Circuit judges. The worst feature is that much of the trial work is still done by Circuit judges whose decisions are reviewed by their associates on the Appellate bench.

Most of the evils in connection with the Federal courts grow out of the fact that all the Appellate judges are permitted to try cases on the circuit, and the Supreme Court judges sit in review on their own decisions made on the circuit. If the Appellate judges were not permitted to hear cases on the circuit, they would not permit the trial judges to do many things which now reflect on the Federal courts. There are other grounds for complaint than those growing out of the exercise of arbitrary powers by the judges. Although nearly every State has abolished the old and complicated equity practice, the Federal courts cling to it. This system, overflowing with old fogy technicalities and refinements, puts litigants to great and needless expense in time and money, and gives rise to great battles of quibbles about pleadings, and often requires months to take testimony by deposition, which could be taken orally in a few days or possibly hours, and occasions the expenditure of large sums for taking and printing the testimony, simply to keep up useless forms. These are only illustrations of some of the things which subject these courts to adverse criticism.

The entire Federal Judiciary system should be overhauled. The power to indulge in judicial legislation should be effectually taken away. The power of the courts should be put in harness. In jury cases, the judge should be required to confine himself to the law, leaving the facts to the jury. No Appellate judge should be permitted to hear cases on the circuit. Appeals should be made comparatively inexpensive and easily obtainable. Congress should formulate a new judicial system, characterized by simplicity, under which litigants can feel assured that the law, as it is written, will be administered, and that it will be the same to and for all, and not depend upon the whim or caprice of any individual judge.

HENRY WOLLMAN.

PAST EXTRA SESSIONS.

JOHN ADAMS, at his inauguration on March 4, 1797, was confronted by one of these "extraordinary occasions" provided for by Article 2, Section 3, of the Constitution, which empowers the President to "convene both houses, or either of them," and he called Congress in extra session. The cause of this action was a threatened rupture between France and the

United States. In the war then under way between France and England the former expected support from this country because of the aid extended by her to us in the struggle for independence, and because of a treaty binding the United States and France in an offensive and defensive alliance. President Washington committed the country to a policy of rigid neutrality between the belligerents. He regarded the treaty as annulled by the change of government which had just taken place in France, and he particularly desired to avoid all entangling alliances with European nations, and to take no part in the Old World's quarrels. This policy pleased the Federalists, but it enraged France and gave offence to France's admirers in the United States, the Democratic-Republicans, the predecessors of the Democrats of a later period. The Jay treaty between the United States and England during Washington's administration was one of the causes of the ill-feeling of France toward this country. France, then governed by the Directory, adopted decrees and orders highly injurious to American commerce, and refused to receive Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, a Federalist, who was sent as ambassador to that country shortly before Washington retired from the Presidency.

This was the situation of affairs when Adams went into power. The Congress which he called into session to devise means of meeting the emergency met on May 15, 1797, and adjourned on July 10. It approved the course proposed by Adams, who sent three envoys—the Pinckney before mentioned and John Marshall, Federalists, and Elbridge Gerry, Democratic-Republican—to France. The Directory declined to receive the envoys openly, but Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs, treated with them secretly through emissaries indicated by the letters X, Y, Z. An intimation by Talleyrand's agents that a loan from the United States to the French Government would buy protection for American ships from French attacks and avert war, called out from Pinckney the historic response: "War be it then! Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute!" The failure of the commission aroused a warlike feeling in the United States against France. Measures were taken to raise an army and build a navy, and Washington was called to the chief command of the army. Some fighting took place on the ocean between the two countries, although war was never formally declared. Adams, in 1799, made further efforts to end the troubles with France, and, Bonaparte, who desired friendly relations with this country, overthrowing the Directory and going to the head of affairs about this time, a peace convention between the two nations was signed.

Jefferson, in his eight years in the Presidency, called two extra sessions of Congress. The first one, which began in October 17, 1803, was called to consider the treaty with France through which the territory of Louisiana passed out of the control of that country and became part of the United States domain. The negotiations attending the purchase had already been completed, and the amount to be paid was about $11,250,000, the United States assuming, in addition, the claims of American citizens against France, estimated at about $3,750,000. In the Senate the treaty was promptly ratified, and in the House action to carry it into effect was taken. According to the Federalists, who were strict constructionists then when out of power, the purchase of Louisiana was a violation of the Constitution. Jefferson himself said that he bent the Constitution in this transaction to near the breaking point. However, the country has emphatically indorsed it, and Jefferson will be remembered longer for bringing it about than he will for

writing the Declaration of Independence. Through it the national domain was much more than doubled, and a region was gained out of which fourteen States and two Territories are formed, and all at a cost of only about two cents an acre. It was the greatest real-estate deal on record.

The second extra session called by Jefferson met on October 26, 1807. This was made necessary by the wars between England and France, which had troubled Adams ten years earlier, and which were still being fiercely waged. Both belligerents, contrary to international usage, were assailing American commerce. Jefferson asked Congress to pass a law forbidding commerce between this country and the rest of the world, and as his party had a large majority in each branch the law was passed. This was known as the Embargo Act. The embargo was repealed in March, 1809, except as to commerce with France and England, and the next year it was entirely repealed. The country which was hurt most by the embargo was the United States. The raids on our commerce by both France and England being still under way when Madison went to the Presidency on March 4, 1809, he called Congress in a session which began on May 22 of that year and ended on June 28. In those days of United States feebleness this country had no rights which the big European nations felt bound to respect. England, however, was the chief aggressor, and the United States declared war against her on June 18, 1812. The second of Madison's extra sessions, which began on May 24, 1813, and ended on August 2, was called to provide additional ways and means for carrying on the war.

When Van Buren went to the White House on March 4, 1837, a financial convulsion more widespread and disastrous even than that which greeted Cleveland on his entrance into power in 1893 was at hand. Wild speculation in public lands had been under way for several years, which had been stimulated by the ease with which loans of currency were obtained from the State banks which sprang up just before the death of the United States Bank in 1836. Jackson in 1836, in his so-called Specie Circular, made public lands payable in gold and silver. This caused a run on the State banks for specie, which these institutions were not able to meet. They immediately called in their loans, consternation seized the business community, and the panic of 1837 was "on." Specie payments were suspended by the majority of the banks in the country. The financial wrecks in New York State within a year agregated over $100,000,000. Congress was summoned by the President and it met in a session which began on September 4, 1837, and ended on October 16. Congress was asked by the President to create an Independent Treasury, so that the Government could have direct charge of its own funds. This was the only measure of relief which he recommended. Congress disregarded this suggestion, but passed an act authorizing the issue of $10,000,000 in treasury notes. In the next Congress the Independent Treasury was established. The financial clouds still lingering, W. H. Harrison, on March 17, 1841, thirteen days after he entered office, and eighteen days before he died, called Congress in session to meet on May 31. Congress abolished the Independent Treasury and passed a bill creating a United States bank. This was vetoed by Tyler, the Vice-President, who went to the Presidency on Harrison's death. Another bank bill was framed with the features objectionable to Tyler, as its champions imagined, left out, and this, too, was vetoed. This enraged the men who elected Tyler. He was "read out of the party," and all his cabinet except Secretary Webster resigned. The extra session ended on September 13.

An extra session which began August 21, 1856, and ended August 30, was convened by Pierce. In the regular session which closed on August 18, the House, which was Republican, refused to pass an appropriation bill for the army stationed in Kansas, except on the stipulation that the soldiers were not to be used in enforcing the decrees of the pro-slavery Legislature of the Territory. The extra session was for the purpose of securing the appropriation without any conditions, and the House gave way.

Now comes an extraordinary session in which more constructive legislation was had than in any other equal period in the history of Congress. This is the session called by Lincoln, which began on July 4, 1861, and ended on August 6. It was summoned to provide ways and means for carrying on the war against the seceded States, and to uphold the national authority. In the thirty-three days which the session lasted sixty-one public and seven private bills and five joint resolutions were passed. Measures were enacted calling out 500,000 volunteers; making large appropriations for their support; constructing a navy; closing the ports of the seceded States; defining conspiracy against the Government and providing punishment therefor; confiscating all private property, including slaves, used against the Government, and increasing duties under the Morrill tariff. This act, in its original shape, was signed by Buchanan about two days before he retired from office. The changes made in it in the extra session of 1861, however, would ordinarily have consumed nearly as many months of time as it did days then.

Twice Congress met in extra session during the Hayes Administration. The Congress which stepped down with Grant on March 4, 1877, had failed to make the necessary appropriation for the support of the army, an omission which was particularly embarrassing at that time, as the great railroad strikes in the summer of that year necessitated the use of troops at several points of disturbance. Congress was convened on October 15, continued at work until the regular meeting day on December 3 came, and provided the appropriation. Hayes' next called session met on March 18, 1879, and closed on July 1. The work provided for it was the passage of several money bills which had failed in the preceding Congress. The new Congress, which was Democratic in both branches, persisted in attaching to the bills "riders," which the President opposed. After a long wrangle between President and Congress, during which some of the bills were vetoed, all of them were enacted without the objectionable provision except one measure, which was killed for the session.

On August 7, 1893, Congress met in special session under the call of President Cleveland to repeal the purchase clause of the silver act of 1890. The repeal bill was passed by the House on August 28, by the Senate on October 30, and Congress adjourned on November 3. These comprise all the important called sessions of Congress which have been had since the beginning of the government under the Constitution.

CHARLES M. HARVEY.

BANKS FOR THE PEOPLE.

THE "term people's" banks is humorously and even derisively applied to the pawnbroking establishments. It is agreed, by all those who have studied the ways and methods of pawnbrokers, that their business is simply legalized robbery. It is wrong that the poor should be robbed in the

hour of their need and distress. It is wrong that they should pay five or ten times as much for "accommodation" as the rich and well-to-do. Just at present there is a formidable movement in England against the pawnbroker's business, which is practically the same there as it is in this country. A Commission, appointed by Parliament, is now investigating the whole system, and those who are active in the reform advocate the establishment of municipal pawnshops. The establishment of the Provident Loan Society last year in New York City by a number of charitable persons is a step in the right direction. Then there is the plan of municipal pawnshops which has been tried for many years in France with success and satisfaction. The *monts de piété* are placed under official supervision; they are patronized by all classes of people, and loans are made at a fair rate of interest.

What people with small means need is a place where they may obtain loans on security at the same rate of interest as people with large means—that is, 6 per cent. per year, instead of 30, 40, or 50 per cent. In other words, there should be banks to serve the smaller class of customers in the same way as the National and State banks now serve the large customers. There is urgent need of intermediate banks between the commercial banks and the pawnshops. Hence, we propose bringing banking facilities to all classes—to the poor man as well as the rich man, to the workingman and the farmer as well as to the manufacturer and capitalist. We propose banks of the people, by the people, and for the people. It is no John Law scheme that is here recommended, nor is it a Socialistic enterprise. It is a scheme that has been tried and proved in other countries, and in Germany especially has reached high success.

It is now some forty years since Herr Schulze established the first Registered Credit Association, or People's Bank, at Delitzsch, a town in Saxony. It was an association of ten workingmen, who paid very small weekly instalments, and, on the basis of money paid in, they obtained loans from the bank. The idea of Herr Schulze was to encourage the spirit of thrift and providence among the working-people, and at the same time to accommodate those who wanted to borrow a little money for buying tools for their trade, stock in their shops or on the farms. The growth of these "*Vorschus und Credit-Vereine*" was rather slow the first ten years. But, as soon as the objects and advantages of membership became better understood, People's Banks (*Volksbanken*) sprang up all over the German Empire. The prosperity and strength of these banks may be said to date from 1865. Since then they have waxed exceeding strong, so that to-day they are the most powerful combinations of labor and capital in the world. There are now about 2,000 People's Banks in Germany. They are managed by the people and for the people. They have a membership of over 1,500,000; they have a capital of $10,000,000, and handle $500,000,000 annually.

The scope of the *Volksbanken* has been broadened as modern conditions have required it. There are now Credit Associations in Germany, having the following objects in view: (1) To give advances and credits; (2) to acquire raw materials and to open stores; (3) to manufacture and sell goods for joint account (called Societies of Production); (4) to produce the necessaries of life and of production wholesale (called Associations of Production); (5) to build dwellings for the working-people; (6) to farm and cultivate the land. To summarize: In round numbers there are in Germany about 2,000 People's Banks, 1,100 Societies for Production, 900 Distributive Societies, and several hundred Building Societies.

The loaning of small sums of money at a low rate of interest is one part of Herr Schulze's scheme. There is the other side—that of helping people with little money to carry on their trade or business. Many a man by securing a small loan is enabled to purchase more tools for his trade, and thus earn more money. Small shopkeepers need money in this way from time to time, but the security they can furnish would not be taken at the banks. The manager of the Boston "loan bureau," which is called the Collateral Loan Company, cites a case of this kind in point. One day last autumn a man came to the company's office with a large roll of silk. He was a small merchant in the neighborhood, and needed the money for the holiday trade, and he took this means of obtaining it. The silk was taken as security and redeemed within three months, the charge for the accommodation being a small one. Several of these German Societies for Production manufacture goods on a large scale. They compete with the large manufacturers and capitalists in the open markets of the world.

It is to be regretted that there is no recent information in English as to the working of People's Banks in Germany. Twenty years ago Herr Schulze published a book, entitled *Vorschus und Credit-Vereine als Volksbanken*. There are also a number of official reports and papers. Some twelve years ago the attention of the British Foreign Office was directed to the People's Banks in the German Empire, and the Ambassador at Berlin was "ordered to furnish a report upon the People's Banks in Germany." This report, which was printed as a Parliamentary Paper, contains a clear and concise account of the working of these German banks and associations.

It would be well for the State Department at Washington to request the American Ambassador at Berlin to furnish a report, giving additional information as to the recent growth and progress of these German banks and associations. Such a report could not fail to be interesting and instructive. Now, it would be desirable to have such a strong and powerful organization as the above in the United States. We believe People's Banks can be established here by the working-people and made to pay. They could be organized independently of the Production Associations. The most important point would be to have a good board of management. When we see how Building and Loan Associations are managed by workingmen, we have no doubt that People's Banks could be conducted just as prudently and successfully.

There is no good reason why the large, industrious and respectable class of tradesmen, storekeepers, farmers, and working-people who now can get no "accommodation," should not establish their own banks. It is admitted that our commercial banks are not popular enough. The loan-bureaus, pawnshops, and like concerns are too unpopular. The legal position of People's Banks could be made definite and solid without danger to the national banking system. The same safeguards that are thrown around national and other banks and associations could be applied to People's Banks.

Such, in brief outline, are People's Banks. They deserve the careful study and consideration of our plain people, and of those who are interested in social economics.

LEE J. VANCE.

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A LAST TRIBUTE.

BY EX-SPEAKER REED.

THE three months' session of the last Congress which the Democratic party will control for many years, has not been any more profitable to the country than the previous period of its existence; nevertheless, there exist to-day fewer opportunities for that ringing condemnation which characterized comments on its former sessions. There is a limit to the evil which any one Congress may do, and even the incompetent get tired of the exercise of their own incompetency. Still there were some points of incapacity which remained to be illustrated in order that the country might have a rounded result which would remain as a significant lesson to the people for a long period of time. It will not be possible, however, to describe these last three months with as much vigor as was suitable in describing those which preceded it. Human nature revolts against it. The verdict of the people was so overwhelming at the last election that there is upon us all that soberness which one cannot help feeling for the dead even when they did not die in the Lord and can have no desire that their works shall follow them. Moreover, the country more thoroughly than ever before appreciates the extent of the disaster which has happened to it and realizes how slow must be the process of recuperation. There are times when depression is so great that men have no heart to revile even those who were the sources of their sorrow.

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When Congress assembled in Washington in December, the condition of the Treasury was such as to excite the alarm of judicious men and cause much apprehension for the future. All the anticipations which had been indulged in by its enemies as to the revenue-producing powers of the new Tariff bill, with its adjuncts, the increase of the spirit tax and the income tax, had been more than realized. The last month's loss to the treasury, comparing its expenses with its disbursements, had been more than nine millions, and it seemed probable that the following months would show still worse results. Into what bad shape we were getting was, however, far from being understood. Never before since the stress of the war had the revenues of the Government fallen behind its expenditures. We had always so great a surplus that we were far ahead of the sinking fund requirements, and were able even during the trying times which preceded the resumption of specie payments to make our revenues more than meet our expenditures, and were not forced to add to the depression of business the still greater depression of a bankrupt treasury. This last depression we have been obliged to undergo during the two preceding years and under peculiar circumstances which rendered it most disastrous.

One of the circumstances which made the condition of our treasury so much more unfortunate for us at this time than any other arose from the manner in which the resumption of specie payments was brought about. We had in circulation at the time of resumption, the legal tender notes, amounting to three hundred and forty-six millions, which were secured by a reserve of one hundred millions in gold and unlimited power of borrowing lodged in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. We afterwards added, as the result of monthly purchases of silver under the law of 1890, one hundred and fifty million of notes, which the policy of the Government had made equal to the legal tenders in their power to demand gold. Hence, when the present Administration came into power there were four hundred and ninety-six millions of paper resting upon the gold reserve. In this state of affairs Congress adjourned last summer with a deficit already existing and a still larger one staring the country in the face. That the regular expenses of the Government must be paid no one doubted. Government expenses must

go on, for governmental expenses are, like food, raiment and shelter, the prime necessities of human life. Without courts justice would fail, and just now a large proportion of our railroads could not be run; without paid officials even our deficient revenues could not be collected; without lighthouses the ships could not come to port.

Notwithstanding this plain outlook there was no special provision made. Whether this was the result of ignorance or pride makes no difference, the fact remained that as a business establishment, the United States having directly before its vision an empty treasury and a deficient revenue, made no special provision for the exigencies so plainly in sight. Before the present Administration came into power, the possibilities before it were so plainly evident that provision was made by the Senate giving to the Secretary of the Treasury a borrowing power to enable him to meet any possible deficit which might occur in the transition period between the two systems of taxation, the one already existing and the one which was to come. This provision was rejected by the House with the consent of the Administration. I say with the consent of the Administration, because such is common rumor supported by at least one reliable witness. Certain it is that such a measure might have been passed had the Administration desired it.

This abandonment of the temporary power of borrowing thus proffered by the Senate left the Government only one resource, which was the power given it under the acts relating to the resumption of specie payments, to borrow money for redemption purposes. Of course this power was not intended to be used to supply deficient revenues. Such was not its object, but it was made use of in this way. The legal tender and perhaps other notes redeemed out of the gold reserve were reissued after their redemption, and reissued in payment of those current expenses which could not be paid out of the current revenues because they were not sufficient. In this way about $107,000,000 of deficit were paid. To a careless observer it might seem as if it would make no difference. In either event, whether the money was borrowed under the acts relating to resumption or under the proposed temporary power to borrow, the same United States paid. But there was another side to this method of procedure. The United States had become both a business house and a banking insti-

tution; as the issuer of legal tenders it had agreed to redeem them on presentation. It did so, using the redemption fund for that purpose. But instead of storing up the redeemed notes as any bank would have done when there was a run upon it, and as the United States Treasury would have necessarily done had the revenues equalled the expenditures, the treasury paid out the notes again to liquidate its debts and to be again redeemed out of the resumption fund. From a political point of view this might have been excellent, for it concealed from the people the tremendous deficit. From a financial point of view it was exceedingly disastrous. As the people saw pile after pile of gold set up to melt away like snow beneath a summer sun, it seemed as if all human confidence in our Government had disappeared. There are no matters in which there are so many illusions as in currency, especially during financial crises, and nowhere more than in the domain of finance does the unexpected happen. Who would have ventured to say until it happened that the issue of the one-pound notes in 1825 in England would have ended the monetary crisis of that year. What was perhaps an infraction of the law has twice saved us by the issue of Clearing House certificates. Of course, the relation of cause and effect in these cases is now understood, but the knowledge was the result of experiment. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the process by which the redemption of legal tenders and the payments of the deficit were mixed up, helped greatly to create the feeling of insecurity which has rested so heavily upon our people. It seemed as if redemption of nearly 200,000,000 legal tenders had been demanded by an untrusting world, and that no end of this process was in sight. In reality only 88,000,000 had been retired; the other money, the bulk of the sum which had disappeared, had gone to pay debts due—debts resulting from tariff action—and threatened action which caused the Treasury to fail to pay its way by that great sum.

Such being the condition of the Treasury, the first thing which would naturally have been done by a compact, competent party in charge of all branches of the government would have been to replenish the Treasury by the passage of acts which would have created the needed revenue, or if a future surplus was really believed in or hoped for, by acts which would have enabled the Treasury to separate in the public mind the payment of debts

from the redemption of currency and cut the "endless chain" which was pumping the gold of this country into the "markets of the world."

Instead of this, under the auspices of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Springer presented to the discordant multitude which held sway in the House of Representatives a bill to reconstruct our entire banking system. Hardly had the subject been presented to the House before it was apparent to all that the system was incongruous and impossible, acceptable neither to the House nor the outside world.

Mr. Springer then opened a campaign in favor of a substitute, which had no better success and deserved the fate it met, for it attempted to harness to the same team steeds which could never pull together. The whole equipage seemed to fall of its own inherent weakness.

In the case of both these bills no effort whatever was made to take the questions involved out of politics and to enlist the services and support of those in favor of a sound currency without regard to political affiliations. The sole effort seemed to be to unite their own people on something consistent with the prejudices, prepossessions and platform of the Democratic party as a party. Of course, if that party had been united and compact, or even capable of being made so, this would have been a laudable method to adopt. But everybody knew, by the fatal experiences of the two preceeding sessions, that such was not the case—that there was no possibility of cohesion, no probability of agreement.

It was admitted on all hands that something ought to be done with regard to our banking system. The only excuse for the existence of banks is the public advantage, and if they are worth establishing at all they should be adapted to the uses which make them of public advantage. The business of this community depends on banking facilities much more than people ordinarily comprehend. With bank deposits of $4,500,000,000 as a basis on which bank credits can be issued the purchasing power of the country is very greatly enlarged, and its influence on prices and on business cannot be too much insisted upon. Such is the facility with which credits can be transferred and so easily are payments made by this means that the proportion which these deposits bear to the amount of currency, a proportion of three to one, in no way measures the relative importance of the

two. During the last panic we were brought face to face with one phase of this influence of bank deposits on the transaction of business. We found that it was a very serious clog to business when banks, from motives of prudence, declined to credit uncollected checks and drafts, and the minds of men were turned to the question whether there might not be some reason for legislation which would make all deposits safe as well as all currency. If there had been behind all deposits a certainty of protection, as there is behind all currency, currency would hardly have been at two or three per cent. premium.

National banks have been the subjects of much sharp criticism because of the money they made out of the favorable circumstances connected with the United States bonds. The cause of that criticism has certainly passed away, as has been shown by the diminished circulation which they have made use of.

In 1873 the bank circulation reached $341,000,000, and, notwithstanding the increase of population and of business, in 1890 was reduced to $122,000,000, and has since reached $207,000,000. The deposits in banks are made up of the money of the people temporarily not in use, the odds and ends, as it were, of business. The amount of each deposit may be and is comparatively insignificant, but the total is vast. The time each particular deposit can be available is most uncertain, but the average of the whole is in ordinary times, at least, nearly unvarying. Therefore, it happens that what separately would be incapable of use, collectively becomes of constant use.

One obstacle to the adjustment of our banking situation has been the high price of United States bonds and the 90 per cent. restriction. If this restriction were removed and some readjustment of bonds made by refunding, with reduction of interest, coupled with a suitable change in taxation, the banking facilities of the country might be much increased.

One thing is certain, that banking is a business which men enter upon for the purpose of making money, and no way has ever yet been invented to induce men to go into any sort of business permanently which does not pay. In this country, and perhaps in all others, there are statesmen who think, though they do not quite acknowledge it, that there is some method discoverable whereby business can be carried on, traffic set in motion, and great enterprises carried out with no incentive whatever, and

especially without the incentive of possible profits. But history is rather against this unacknowledged theory, and also human nature, so far as it has yet been investigated.

Had something in the directions indicated been proposed, the House might have taken some action—though, of course, the action of the Senate might have been difficult to predict. But, instead, a system of banking on assets alone was proposed, with three different kinds of banks—old national, new national and State banks—and the plan had little support. Whether a radical change in our system is to be demanded by the country only time can tell, and with divergent opinions likely to be entertained by the two branches, or, perhaps, we should say three branches of the legislative power, there will be time enough to consider the whole question in all its bearings during the vacation now before us.

These two attempts of Mr. Springer ended the efforts at financial legislation until, under the stimulus of a special message, a new attempt was made to strengthen the position of the Treasury. This new attempt, which was on party lines without consultation, was also placed in charge of Mr. Springer, whose rapid progress from his free silver position in 1890 is a living illustration of the controlling influence of responsibility. While the bill contained many things deserving commendation, it failed in one thing absolutely essential. It had not the power to secure its own passage through the Senate. This everybody in Congress knew, but the people did not know. Recent events have made this apparent and the attitude of the Senate is now clearly visible. Under these circumstances, which were evident to all thinking men in Congress and are now evident to all outside who have watched the course of events, the Republicans of the House, without any party designs, for the sole purpose of aiding their country in distress, after full consultation with the members of the Senate who have, in a special degree, the confidence of the country, determined to proffer a practical measure which would give to the Treasury all the aid which was possible with the present membership of the House and Senate. They would gladly have aided in any measure to increase the revenue, but when the Secretary of the Treasury declared his faith in a coming surplus, they felt it impossible to force upon him revenues which he declared he did not need. Hence, the Republican proffer included only a right to issue certificates of indebtedness on short time to pay the deficit and a further enlarge-

ment of the power of the Secretary to borrow for resumption purposes. Had such a bill passed, with some modification if needed to prevent the use of the national bank notes to deplete the redemption fund, the demands made on that fund would have taken care of themselves. The run would have stopped of itself.

The utility of this plan was very great, and even now ought to become a part of our permanent financial system, if the Treasury is to be a redeeming agency. It was precisely what Mr. Sherman, then Secretary of the Treasury, recommended as necessary in his report of 1879, after the resumption of specie payments. "I suggested," said Mr. Sherman in the Senate, Feb. 27, 1895, "that there ought to have been two separate funds—one for resumption and one for current disbursements. If Congress had performed its duty at the time, this trouble would never have arisen." Mr. Sherman's report for 1879 is well worth reading in this connection. What Mr. Sherman recommended in 1879, and the Republicans were ready to do in 1895, was what Mr. Manning tried to do without law while he was Secretary of the Treasury. What he could do, however, he did. He separated the resumption fund of 100 millions from the ordinary assets of the Treasury. This arrangement, unfortunately, not having the direct sanction of law, broke down as soon as the exigencies of a depleted Treasury began to be felt.

This proffer of the Republicans, with an amendment to secure the issue of bank notes up to the par of the bonds, would have carried but for the express disapproval of the Secretary of the Treasury. His remedy appeared later in the bond contract, now somewhat famous. The salient features of this transaction have been so fully criticised that there is no intention here to repeat the criticisms. One thing, however, ought to be distinctly understood. The clause giving us ten days in which to proffer gold bonds was known to every one in Washington to be impracticable and impossible. Not only did the Secretary know it, but the bond buyers must have known it, for they advertised abroad for subscriptions before either House had passed on the question of the option. That the syndicate will make a large sum of money I cannot venture to assert, for the contract is not yet fulfilled. When the pool is closed we shall know. In the most important aspect of the case it is of no consequence whether these enterprising people make money or not, nor from this point of view is it even of con-

sequence whether the Secretary of the Treasury wisely paid the large difference between the $62,000,000 at 3¾ per cent. and the same sum at 2¾ per cent. In any event, the Democratic party have so governed this country that in two years after they came into power they have cost us 5 or 10 millions on a loan of $62,000,000. That is the measure of the disaster which has overtaken us. Whether the Administration is to blame for a bad bargain, or whether the party is to blame for placing us where such a bad bargain was a good one, amounts to one and the same thing. These people have cost us this large sum of money in some way or other.

The Republicans, when money was active and everywhere sought for, funded $250,000,000 at 2 per cent., and the present Secretary, when money was a drug in every bank, has funded $62,000,000 at 3¾ per cent. It is quite true that there are other things beside the demand notes of various kinds which depend upon the promise of the Government to make all the dollars equal and interchangeable, and that in a certain sense all the currency we use is based on the Treasury reserve. Yet there can hardly be a doubt that a very limited temporary withdrawal of the demand notes would make apparent the large amount of currency required to do even the diminished business of this country, and the resulting reduction of currency would work its own cessation.

It has already been said that the Government must live and must go on. We have to make appropriations, whatever may come into the Treasury. Yet I fancy that the country, especially that part of the country which remembers the wild outcries in 1890 about the Billion Congress, will be surprised to learn that no deficiency in the revenue, not even though it approaches a hundred millions, has prevented this Congress from declaring by their appropriation acts that the "wants of the Government economically administered" exceed by several millions what they used to denounce as the wanton extravagance of Republicans, and this, although more than 50 millions have been saved by the natural decrease of pensioners by death. As matters of reproach between parties, these great figures have ceased to be very valuable and are to be quietly added to that long catalogue of things which the Democracy does when in power and denounces when out of power. Even Judge Holman, after a lifetime spent

at the shrine of vocal economy, was forced by personal experience to realize that national expenditure is national necessity. Representatives do but respond to the demands of the people and the real source of public economy must be in the people themselves. Taxes are no longer imposts placed upon citizens to be wasted for purposes of magnificence and show, but are for the most part wealth of the whole used for the benefit of the whole. Nevertheless, whether the income tax, the spirit tax, and the sugar tax produce for us or not a surplus, as is fondly hoped, the fact remains that the annual earnings of this country have not for long years been so small nor its power of expenditure so much limited. It is sincerely to be hoped that any effort made by the next Congress to keep down the appropriations may have the support of public sentiment and popular forbearance. For if each portion of this country should be reasonable in its demands, the total also would be reasonable.

After all the great causes of complaint against the outgoing House, it will seem a trifle unimportant to comment on the appointments of the members of the House to represent the country at the possible international conference to restore bimetallism. The House to which these gentlemen will report will be Republican by a large majority, and it seems as if a sense of propriety would have dictated the appointment of two Republicans out of the three so as to represent the majority of the body to which they will report if any action should have to be taken. This is not said in criticism of the presiding officer, who, undoubtedly, reflected the sentiments of his side of the House.

We have now come to the end of the two years during which the Democratic party have held control of both Houses of Congress and of the Executive. There is no need whatever to show by language what the results have been; no words can add to the force of living facts. The immediate cause of the failure has been party dissension and party differences. The whole being unable to agree, the more violent have had the larger sway—modified, however, by the control given to conservative men by the small majority in the Senate. What would have happened had the new Postmaster-General and his friends held exclusive sway we shall happily never know. What we do know without that is sufficient.

Bad as the state of the country is, it might have been worse.

But such as it is, there seems but little hope of rescue, so far as legislation may go, in the immediate future. Hence, it seems sensible for us to consider and treasure up in our minds certain simple facts. The expression of feeling in the country last autumn—deep, powerful and satisfactory as it was—must be remembered in its relations to our institutions. The will of the people, as to the party to which it has concluded to trust its future, has been expressed; but it has not yet been executed. Under our system of government there is no way in which even 130 majority in the House of Representatives can be made effectual outside the walls of the Chamber. It cannot overflow into the Senate, nor can it overpower the Executive. Whatever, therefore, is expected of it must be modified in the mind of every wise man by the conditions which, by the past votes of the American people, still remain in the Senate and in the White House. All these different and differing people must think together to be effectual. Where it is evident that they cannot think alike the differences can only be reconciled by the vote of the people when next comes to them the opportunity to rectify any of the mistakes of the past.

The great advantage of the last election, and perhaps the only advantage, is that a halt has been called to destructive legislation. We may hope, with some assurance, for nothing worse, even if we can expect nothing better.

THOMAS B. REED.

THE FUTURE OF THE TORPEDO IN WAR.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, ROYAL NAVY.

SOME little time back* I wrote for this REVIEW a forecast of the future of the warship. Balancing, as I then did, amongst the various facts before me, I concluded that changes in motive powers and weapons were ostensibly the modifying forces at work, but that while the experience of the past was the best guide in dealing with their probable action, that taught us that mere fashion, the mere feeling of any time, was liable to overweigh the pure reason of problems and to assert itself. This fashion is, however, never supreme, because it is always uncertain in its action; and if a new weapon, or a new development of an existing weapon, appears in a striking light, fashion will often join hands with the apparent reason of the thing, and create sudden and almost revolutionary changes. Matters being in this condition, he who would forecast approaching changes must ever keep his eyes open to any new combination that arises, and must endeavor to regard its influence both from the reasonable and, if the word be permissible here, from the fashionable standpoint. I am going to take a view of the near future of the torpedo, which is comparatively new to my own mind, and may perhaps present subject-matter for new thought to those who pursue their business in the great waters of speculation as to naval war.

I seem to see that, by a series of apparently disjointed side issues, greatly influenced by the fashion of the moment, we are approaching an issue graver than any we have yet encountered since steam began to trouble the sublime repose of the old naval mind. I begin, with something of a startled feeling, to foresee the recrudescence of an idea widely spread ten years ago on the Continent, but since suppressed by the weight of indubitable

* October, 1893.

fact. I begin to wonder whether the conditions are not altering so fast that the facts hostile to the idea are not being lifted off it, and whether it will not spring up again, no longer as a fashion of thinking, but as a question that must be seriously met.

We have to group together a series of new conditions independently developed without any view to a general conclusion, and we have to see whether, when they are so grouped, a tremendous and unexpected conclusion will not present itself. The conditions are entirely indisputable. They are : the great increase which has been recently given to the power, accuracy, speed, and range of the torpedo ; the sudden rise of a large group of vessels which are named and being built as "torpedo-boat destroyers," which have an astonishing speed, and which are in reality a most powerful class of torpedo vessels ; and lastly, the great size and cost of the latest battleships.

The torpedo was at first introduced as an auxiliary weapon in large warships. It represented a gun of immense power, but of very short range, and of inaccurate trajectory. It was a sort of glorified carronade, where the greater destructiveness was balanced by the shortness of its range and its bad shooting ; and it was possible to debate over its real value on somewhat the same lines as those on which our forefathers debated over the large calibered short-range carronade, compared with the small calibered great range "long" gun. About the terrible power of the torpedo when exploded against a ship's bottom there was never any doubt. It would open a chasm through which one might—to use the familiar simile—drive a coach and horses. Even when the charge of gun-cotton in the head of the torpedo was only 60 pounds, which was the case ten years ago, it was but barely possible by interior arrangements of air spaces and coal barriers to restrict the inflow of water, after such a catastrophe, to quantities short of being fatal. But now, when the 18-inch torpedo carries 190 pounds of gun-cotton, I suppose that all hopes of such special defences must be abandoned. If a ship does not quickly sink after such a blow, it will be by favor of the multicellular system of construction, which, in the cases of the *Howe* and the *Victoria*, have recently and sadly disappointed us. A short time ago a system of strong wire netting, extended by spars thirty feet from the hull, was supposed to offer fair protection from the blow of a torpedo to a ship at anchor. This appears to be all over. Tor-

pedoes can be furnished with instruments which enable them to cut their way through any netting without premature explosion, and afterwards to explode against the ship's bottom.

If the torpedo had been restricted to the position of an auxiliary weapon in the battleship, it could scarcely have had more effect on construction than to keep down the size of the ships so as to diminish the total risk, and, on tactics, than to keep fleets far apart in battle, each side trusting that it might win with the gun only. Undoubtedly neither side would at first care to run tremendous risks that they could not control, and which were quite as likely to be against them as against their adversary. The exception would be that the originally weaker force, or the force which was finding itself being beaten in the gun fight, might turn to the torpedo in a desperate hope. The commander of such a force might argue that he could not be worse off than he was, and that the chances—perhaps the even chances—of the torpedo might enable him to sell the victory dearly if he did not win it. But in this case the superior or winning force would strain every nerve to avoid a torpedo battle.

But almost from the first it was seen that an ordinary steam pinnace, carrying a torpedo on each side ready for launching, was a full match for the most powerful and costly warship ever heard of, if only she could get within the 200 or 300 yards of her which limited effective torpedo range. The American Civil War had familiarised the naval world with ideas of secret and silent night attacks using explosives against the sides of too secure and careless adversaries. The locomotive torpedo offered an almost infinite field for this sort of warlike ingenuity and daring, and the thoughts of all were full of it. There is some difficulty in tracing exactly the connection of ideas between this particular form of attack, and the construction of light and fragile vessels of very high speed to carry it out. I do not recall clearly whether any reasoned demand for such a vessel as the *Lightning* was the cause of her construction, or whether, being constructed on an outside and instinctive view of the situation, she became the cause, and not the effect, of naval views. Here she was, however, as far back as 1877, only three or four years after the torpedo itself had secured a position. She was fragile in hull beyond the dreams of naval architecture. Displacing 27 tons, and being 84 feet in length, she was too large to be called a

boat and too small to be called a ship; but she could discharge a missile capable of destroying any ship afloat at a blow, and she possessed the then enormous speed of 19 knots an hour.

What did she mean exactly? Did she mean the same to the dominant naval nation as to such as were sub-dominant? Was she a threat to British naval power, or did she enhance it? How was British naval power going to fit her into its policy and programme? The new vessel had certain disabilities. She was scarcely sea-going. She was certainly not sea-keeping. To use a phrase which her type gave rise to, but which it is an anachronism to employ as respecting her alone, her "radius of action" was short; she could not operate at any great distance from her mother-port. But for sub-dominant nations the role of the *Lightning* type was clearer. Costing a mere trifle, exposing to hazard the lives of not more than a dozen or 15 men, and yet being a solid threat against the life of a battleship costing half a million of money, and against the lives of the five or six hundred men embarked in her, the new vessel was eminently qualified to prevent the blockade of her mother-port, and to compel all ordinary warships of the enemy to keep their distance. All the Continental nations forthwith began to build multitudes of improved *Lightnings*. They were generally larger, with greater speed, and with longer radii of action as a consequence of improved coal supply and economy of consumption. Their force was also increased by additional torpedo tubes and a larger reserve of torpedoes.

Not altogether willingly, England in 1878-9 built a few improved *Lightnings*. Ripening opinion claimed that long before she could be driven to employ the new torpedo-boats to raise the blockade of her home ports, she must have been on her knees, suing for an ignominious peace. But granting—which was not so easy—that high speed was necessary for the success of secret and silent night attacks upon enemy's ships within their ports, England thought that she found a more congruous outlet for the new idea, in building smaller *Lightnings* which she called "Second Class torpedo-boats." These were only 60 feet long, they weighed only 15 tons, they steamed only 15 or 16 knots, but they carried 2 torpedo tubes and could be hoisted into the battle-ships like any other boats, carried thus off the enemy's ports, hoisted out and sent in on their destructive errands on the blackest and therefore most suitable of nights.

As to the original connection of high speed and torpedo night attack, I have observed that it was not obvious, and perhaps rested more upon fashion than upon argument. The last thing that any one would do who proposed to attack a ship in a torpedo boat under cover of darkness would be to approach at speed. The noise of the engines and of the rush of water would make her approach audible; the flame from the short funnel, which always showed itself when a boat was at speed, as well as the white foam at the bow, would certainly make her approach visible. Such an advance upon the enemy put an end to all ideas of secrecy and surprise. Reasonably, the great speed of the torpedo boat in a night attack could only come into play either in a desperate rush in after premature discovery, or in a frantic flight after the discharge of a torpedo within distance. There was an unreasoned feeling drawing together the ideas of extreme daring and extreme speed which may have been the original promoter of the topedo-boat ideal. But now that the first and second class boats with those exceptionally high speeds existed, and rôles for each class were found, the *raison d'être* of the latter began to establish itself. For the second-class boat, hoisted out, it might be, at a distance from the port she was about to attack, a speedy run in was necessary if the work was to be done in possibly short hours of darkness. She might require her highest speed to run in, though she might drop to her lowest on drawing more near to her quarry. For the first-class torpedo boat, issuing from port to threaten and drive off a blockading fleet of battleships or cruisers, the highest speed was a mere necessity. Such a threatened fleet or squadron would never dare to rest and await the attack of foes as insignificant as they were deadly. There was but one thing to be done, namely, for the warships to turn their sterns to the topedo boats and, while thus flying at their highest speed, to pour from their sterns the heaviest possible stream of comparatively light missiles, every one of which would be effective on the fragile hull or on the exposed crew of a torpedo-boat, if it struck. The pursued would desire, by superior speed, to keep the pursuers under fire till either its physical effect put them *hors de combat,* or its moral effect destroyed the will to advance. The pursuers, on their side, would in any case desire to press the speed, because the further they drove the enemy in any given

time, the better for the opening of the port behind them; while, if they could actually reach torpedo-range before the ship's fire could check them, their highest aim would be achieved; they would fight, and perhaps win, a torpedo battle.

The building and improvement of the first-class topedo boats went on; lavishly on the Continent, grudgingly and intermittently in England, though she found a place for some of them as defenders of her distant outlying war ports. The nominally vast superiority of the speed of the boat over that of the ship maintained itself, and it was scarcely possible that the picture painted above, of a fleet of battle-ships driven to fly before a group of mere wasps, should not be ever repeated. If men were brave enough to press on their torpedo-boats in such a pursuit at night-time, and if it was uncertain whether or not they might win in the course of it, was it so impossible to do the same thing in broad daylight? Great numbers of these boats could be assembled for such a concentrated attack. The money risk and the life risk would be as nothing to that involved in assembling the orthodox fleet. Were heavy war-ships doomed from henceforth never to approach an enemy's port with hostile intentions? But, if this were so, would the area of operations be limited to the immediate vicinity of ports? The sea-going and sea-keeping qualities of the torpedo-boat were being continually improved. The theatre of European naval war was, after all, restricted. Could not torpedo-boats take and hold the command of it? Then followed a thought delightful to those of our Continental neighbors who, for one reason or another, desired that British predominance at sea should determine. Several writers showed how, by a series of hypothetical cases, the British fleet must utterly disappear before the attacks of the Continental torpedo-boats. It was not suggested that two could play at the game. England was to stick to her orthodox fleets and lose; Continental powers were to adopt the heterodox torpedo-boat flotillas and win.

Experiment, consideration, and a more practical acquaintance with the tricks and manners of the first-class torpedo-boat checked these extreme ideas. It was found that the fire of the machine gun, when tried upon the hull of a dummy torpedo-boat, had such a severe effect that no boat and no men could be expected to sustain it for any time. It was found that the

sea speed and the measured mile speed of the boat differed considerably. Comparatively slow vessels at sea could gain upon torpedo-boats; nominally swift torpedo-boats made no hand at catching up the orthodox warship. French admirals taking torpedo-boats to sea with them as a presumed necessary adjunct of their battle-fleet, found they were of more trouble than they were worth, and sent them ignominiously home again. Worse indeed than this. The French found that a considerable class of their torpedo-boats could not discharge a torpedo at all when they were steaming against a sea.

So far, then, as operations in the open sea were concerned, the torpedo boat, and the torpedo with her, fell back some paces to her first position, while it was made evident that she must be improved even to hold the position of a preventer of blockade. She must be made more capable of retaining her speed in a seaway; she must not fail in the discharge of her torpedo while at speed in a high sea. France and other nations, but France especially, proceeded with the building of a larger class of torpedo boats, which became first class, while she relegated all the earlier boats to a lower status. She also began to build what she called sea-going torpedo boats. They weighed perhaps 150 tons, they were 140 or 150 feet long, they started with a speed of 20 knots, which was running up to 25, they carried three or four torpedo tubes and a gun armament of two or three three-pounders, they accommodated crews of 25 or 30 men, and were perhaps sea-keeping as well as sea-going vessels. At any rate they were intended to take that position, as opposed to the enemy's battleships, which their forerunners had failed to take.

In England it was impossible to ignore the position created for her by the possibly hostile swarms of torpedo-boats, especially by those immediately across the channel. If these torpedo-boats were efficient for operating against ships in the vicinity of their ports, was it not clear that if they had coal enough they could cross the channel and operate with much more certainty at night against our ships in the home roadsteads and accessible ports? A strong section of naval men fixed their minds steadily on the conception that, if nothing was done to hinder it, the outbreak of war between France and England would be heralded by a tremendous rush of French torpedo-boats across the channel, and a vast destruction of British warships in port on the night after

the declaration of war. There was reason in it. No southern British port was beyond the radius of action of the French torpedo-boats, and France fostered the English feeling by establishing all along her channel coast special torpedo-boat stations in which issuing boats left nothing behind them requiring defence, and could therefore only issue for purposes of attack. And then there was another point. If these torpedo boats were capable of preventing close blockade of enemy's ports, they opened the door for the issue of commerce destroyers, and they might themselves become commerce destroyers. What would be the British position then ?

It was felt that the situation was really serious. There were strong comments by the public, but not by the naval public, on the meagre show of British first-class torpedo boats as compared with the Continental swarms. But the authorities, and most of the experts, felt strongly that the ordinary first-class torpedo boat was not an answer to her fellow across the water. Looking at the double necessity of blockade, a class of sea-keeping vessel was required by England, which might, by her small size, minimize the dangers of torpedo attack ; might by the character of her gun-armament be a strong, if not a conclusive, threat to the torpedo boat proper; and might herself carry such a torpedo armament as would make her even more efficient for that kind of attack than an ordinary torpedo boat. It was essential that such vessels should have high speed.

The result of these cogitations was the production in 1886-7 of the first of the so-called "torpedo-gun-boats," the *Rattlesnake, Grasshopper, Sandfly* and *Spider*. These were vessels of 525 tons, 200 feet long, intended to steam 19 knots with coal enough to carry them 2,400 miles at 10 knots. Their gun armament was 1 4-in. gun and 6 3-pounders, and they had 2 torpedo tubes. Being considered not wholly successful after trial, supposed improvements were made in the nine vessels of the *Sharpshooter* class, launched in 1888-9. These ships were rather larger, intended to be rather faster, with an armament altered in the direction of increased number of heavier with decreased number of lighter guns of reduced calibre, and considerable increase of torpedo power. It is not exactly clear to one who has nothing to say to the initiation of these things, why the next group of vessels, embodying the same ideas, and apparently designed to fulfil

the same functions, should have been simply larger than the last group. But while the *Sharpshooter* class were of 735 tons, the 11 ships of the *Jason* class, produced in 1892-3, were 810 tons, with the same torpedo and gun armament as their predecessors, and with at least no greater speed. It is said that the last result is simply a boiler failure, but we are not concerned to debate the question, as the five ships of the *Dryad* class now built and building have followed up the increase in size to 1,070 tons without increase of speed, though with some increase in coal capacity and weight of metal, balanced by a reduction in torpedo power.

Judging from the characteristics of these vessels, their rôle was especially that of the blockaders of enemy's ports. They might draw off to sea in the daytime, and close in at night, making their torpedoes an effective threat against the issue of battleships and cruisers, while their guns—especially their lighter ones—might be held an effective threat against the issue of torpedo boats. Though there are anomalies in these vessels that I cannot explain, and though I fail to understand how it has come to pass—unless fashion put her hand in—that we have doubled the size of them since we began; yet I think they would go far towards filling their place in war if they should be unhappily ever put to it. They have never been tried as blockaders, but it must be admitted that, as opposed to torpedo boats in the open sea, general, and especially torpedo-expert, opinion has strongly condemned them. They have not shown the speed for successful pursuit of the first-class torpedo boat; the commanders of torpedo-boats which have encountered them in mimic war despise the power of their armament. But on this point it must be said that all over the naval world, commanders of torpedo-boats have always despised the gunfire of their orthodox adversaries. In every encounter the torpedo-boat claims to win, and rejects with scorn the equally strong claim of the battleship or cruiser to have destroyed her.

We must note that none of these torpedo-gunboats has been designed to attack battleships in open fight. That idea is in England, and perhaps always has been, unauthoritative. The vessels took up the popular title of "torpedo-catchers," as the short for "torpedo-boat catchers," and are condemned only because it is believed they cannot catch torpedo-boats. It is scarcely noted of them that in fulfilling their function of blockaders, it is

more a question of whether the enemy's torpedo-boats would attempt to run past them, than whether they were competent to catch the boats after they had run past. But these are points we have not space to enter into; what we have to note is that these vessels are defensive, not offensive, like the French sea-going torpedo boats, and that they do not influence the tactical question so far.

But all the torpedo-boat experts in England became distinctly bitter against the whole tribe of these torpedo-gunboats. There was a loud expert outcry in the press which seemed to declare that the torpedo-boat was the only answer to the torpedo-boat, and to swell the demand of the inexpert public that our ports should swarm with torpedo-boats as those of France did. It now appears that this was not the real demand; but yielding to it, the Government of 1892-3 promised 10 first-class torpedo-boats of superior size, speed, and power; boats of 140 feet in length, of 130 tons displacement, and of 23 or 24 knots speed. But this was still not exactly what was wanted. Counsels not disclosed to the public were given and accepted, and in the estimates of 1893-4 an entirely new type was promised, to be called "torpedo-boat destroyers," with a guaranteed speed of no less than 27 knots. The first of the new class, the *Havock*, was tried a few months ago, and reached 26.78 knots speed; the second, the *Hornet*, was tried last February, and steamed 28 knots; the third, the *Daring*, tried only the other day, ran on the 23d of June at the astonishing speed of 29.3 knots, the speed, it has been said, of an ordinary railway train.

These vessels are 180 feet long, and displace 220 tons; they have fair accommodation for 42 men, and they cost about £35,000 apiece. Forty-two of them have been ordered. What strikes me about them most of all, after their astonishing swiftness, is the fact that though called "torpedo-boat destroyers," they are more distinctly torpedo-boats, pure and simple, than anything yet seen. They are to have 5 torpedo tubes, while their gun armament is not significant. They carry one 12-pounder and three 6-pounders, with a possibility of mounting two more of the latter. But five torpedo-tubes on a displacement of 220 tons assuredly means torpedo warfare, and not anti-torpedo-boat warfare; and the fact brings us face to face with the *denouement*, all undesigned, as I believe it to be.

We have seen how some ten years ago the idea of the torpedo-boat becoming the master of the battleship took root, flourished, and withered. We know that it withered not because of inherent absurdity, but because the torpedo-boat of that day was really neither sea-going nor sea-keeping, and above all had not sufficient speed to enable her to make sure of closing on a battleship or cruiser quickly enough to run safely through the storm of her gun-fire. The class of torpedo-boats being built abroad has been such as to get over these disabilities, and apparently our new class of torpedo-boat destroyers, already being followed up on the Continent, seems to place them out of question. What, then, is to prevent the successful attack—even in broad daylight—of these new torpedo-boats on battleships?

If our torpedo-boat commanders are right, the gun-fire of battleships is less to be feared than was supposed. In any case it is a question—for the open attack—of speed of approach. When the question was mooted before, the stern fight which the battleship was to offer was expected to either prevent all advance of torpedo boats, or else to make it so slow that the guns would have the best of it. But now we have the torpedo boat in all ordinary weather probably with an excess of speed over our fastest battleships of perhaps ten knots, over others of fourteen knots. Gun-fire cannot be very effective over 2,000 yards at sea. If the torpedo-boat destroyers can maintain their speed as well as the fastest battleships at sea, then they can, in pursuing a battle fleet, run through its fire, and be amongst it in six minutes. Should such a fleet contain within it a fourteen-knot ship, and be unwilling to abandon her, then the torpedo boats will run through the fire of the ships in perhaps 4¼ minutes. But the boats would not require to run close up. They would be more likely to manœuvre so as to surround a battle fleet and to take up positions in advance of it, all beyond effective gun-fire range. The closing in to perhaps 400 yards or so would then be much more rapid and therefore much more secure for the torpedo boats. It is not easy to see why such attacks should not be made; it is most difficult to see how battleships could guard against them.

We must remember what an immense target the most modern battleship now offers to the torpedo. An underwater area of 390 feet by 27 feet ought to be easy to hit at 400 yards even

allowing for all difficulties in estimating speeds. But a torpedo set for 800 yards and fired into a group of battleships is like a shot into a covey of partridges. If one is not hit, another may be. Then we must note the enormous disadvantage under which a battle fleet lies in point of cost and exposure of life when compared with a torpedo-boat flotilla. In cost the battleship must be 24 to 1, in exposure of life from 12 to 15 to 1. How could a 17½-knot *Magnificent* deal with twelve 28-knot *Darings*?

These are striking and startling antitheses, yet a more striking point remains. In the very strength and height of the cry for battleships, the British navy has given them up, and had done so even before these astonishing feats of speed had been performed. There had long been a vague sort of feeling that the British battleship was not able to protect herself, but Commander Sturdee, in his prize essay on naval tactics, has nowhere been attacked for laying it down that every battleship must henceforth be accompanied by a torpedo boat-destroyer "to protect her."

We have, therefore, dropped from the clouds into a staggering position on the sea. We could not possibly have meant it, or we should have held our hand over the production of battleships in such an insecure position. If our battle-fleets are open to the sort of attack we have described, and if they are incapable of withstanding it, will an enemy make any other sort of attack? But if our battleships are not going to meet battleships, what is the use of sending them to sea? Note what a series of knock-down blows we receive when we contemplate the conditions of tactics set out. We are to send a battle fleet to sea in order at least to keep the enemy's battle fleet in port. But we are so sure that the enemy can beat our battle fleet without using a single battleship, that we are going to send out a second fleet of torpedo-boat-destroyers to take care of the first fleet of battleships. But surely if it is the enemy's torpedo boats that we fear, there is no object in sending the first fleet to sea at all. If we kept the battle fleet in port, dismantled, and only sent the torpedo flotilla to sea, the enemy's battle fleet will never quit port to expose itself to destruction by a flotilla we all admit it cannot face. It is our torpedo flotilla that is holding the command of the sea, and the enemy must fit out an anti-torpedo flotilla—which we admit the battle fleet is not—in order to beat it.

I cannot as yet sound the depths of these staggering considerations. I can understand how, in land war, infantry may be employed to protect artillery without placing artillery in the position of a useless arm. But I cannot yet see how the torpedo-boat destroyer can be necessary to protect the battleship, and yet have the latter as a necessary arm. Battle fleets are not necessary elements of an army, such as batteries of artillery are. They are the army itself. If one side brings a force of battleships and torpedo-boat destroyers into the field because of the admitted weakness of the former, I cannot conceive an enemy also bringing the weaker element of force into the field. It seems to me he is compelled to endeavor by superiority of torpedo-boat destroyers to first beat those of the enemy, and then to defeat the unprotected battle fleet with his victorious torpedo flotilla. Such are the issues raised by the trials of the *Daring*. I think I am right in calling them momentous.

P. H. COLOMB.

TWO YEARS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

BY SENATOR GEORGE GRAY, OF DELAWARE.

SENATOR DAVIS, in his article entitled "Two Years of Democratic Diplomacy," declares that the "conduct of our foreign relations during the last two years has not reflected honor upon this country." Reading the title and the declaration together, there seems to be an implication that there is a certain brand of diplomacy known as Democratic Diplomacy, which is bad, and another brand known as Republican Diplomacy, which is good. I am unable to admit the existence of such a distinction. But, as an American citizen, equally interested with the distinguished Senator in the honor of the country, I comply with the request of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to examine his thesis and the arguments by which he has endeavored to support it.

It is argued that the Administration was derelict in admitting the complaint of the German Government against the discriminating duty of one-tenth of a cent a pound imposed on sugars from countries (among which is Germany) that pay a bounty on their exportations; and it is said that such an admission can be sustained only by "special pleading." Whether this charge is well founded is a question not difficult to determine. Our treaty with Prussia, concluded in 1828, not only provides (Article IX.) that neither nation shall grant to any third nation any "favor" in navigation or commerce which shall not immediately become common to the other, but it also provides (Article V.) that neither nation shall impose on the importation of any article the produce or manufacture of the other, any "higher or other duties" than shall be payable "on the like article being the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country." These two clauses, which occur in different articles, though often referred to as securing

"most-favored-nation" treatment, are yet distinct; and it is in consequence of failing to observe this distinction between them, that Senator Davis is led to argue that the treaty does not prevent the imposition of discriminating duties, but only the concession of "special and isolated favors." When writers, in construing the most-favored-nation clause, have spoken of it as comprehending only favors or privileges, they have referred to the first clause above quoted, and not the second. Not even "special pleading" can make a prohibition of "special and isolated favors" and a prohibition of discriminating duties mean one and the same thing.

For this reason the recent opinion of the Attorney-General as to the duty on German salt, to which Senator Davis refers as decisive of the question of the sugar bounty, has no bearing on that question. The law imposes a duty on salt from countries which levy a duty on American salt, and grants free admission to salt from countries which admit American salt free of duty. This statute offers a favor on a certain condition. The treaty with Prussia contemplates just such a case, when it provided (Article IX.) that any "favor" granted by either party to another nation shall immediately become common to the other party, "freely, where it is freely granted . . . , or on yielding the same compensation, when the grant is conditional." Germany can secure the "favor" of the free admission of her salt into the United States, by paying "the same compensation" as other nations are required to pay for the privilege, namely, the free admission of American salt. The Attorney-General so held, and it was the only question before him.

What possible bearing can this decision have on the case of a law that imposes upon a certain article, besides the regular duty, an additional and discriminating duty, when such article comes from a country that pays a bounty on its exportation? Bounties, like protective duties, are intended to stimulate domestic industry. They may alike operate to the disturbance of production and manufacture in other countries; but they are considered as measures within the competence of independent governments, and, so long as they are uniform, are not treated as constituting national discriminations. A government no more places itself in a hostile attitude toward foreign countries by adopting one of these measures than it does by adopting the other. As between

the two the bounty is the more generous, since it cheapens goods to the people of foreign countries, and enables them to live more or less at the expense of the bounty-paying country.

Senator Davis says that, if the view taken by the administration be correct, "the power of Congress to legislate in matters of revenue and internal concern can be suspended, impaired, or destroyed by the exercise of the treaty-making power." This is to a certain extent true, but it is not a novel idea. All our commercial treaties have more or less diminished the freedom of action, legislative as well as executive, of the contracting parties. It was with that design that they were made—a fact of which the provision against the laying of discriminating duties is itself conclusive evidence. Discrimination is a game at which two can play. If we would have others abstain, we must engage to abstain also.

In reality, the effort made to save the discriminating duty imposed on sugars from bounty-paying countries is only another of the desperate attempts, of which we have seen so many on the part of protected interests, to maintain their grasp on the pockets of the American people without regard to the nature of the obstacle, whether it be the will of the people or a treaty obligation. Senator Davis, therefore, with great appropriateness, closes the commercial branch of his argument by lamenting the repeal of the misnamed "reciprocity" clause of the McKinley act—a clause under which retaliation was to be dealt out to countries whose tariffs, when compared with our own, should be found, as the clause most truthfully said, to be "reciprocally unequal and unjust." The best Senator Davis can say for it is that its results, during the "short period" of its existence, "were most encouraging." The present competent chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department says, that its "most apparent effect" seems to have been "the restriction of the natural tendency to trade." Under it so-called treaties of varying quality and diverse operation were made as to Brazil, Cuba and Porto Rico, four small Central American States (Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador), the Dominican Republic, and certain minor British possessions. In 1892 retaliatory proclamations were issued against Colombia, Venezuela, and Hayti, with all of which countries our trade immediately fell off to a large amount. From Venezuela alone our imports, which were chiefly of coffee

and hides, in two years declined in value to the extent of more than $8,000,000, while our exports to that country, which had for years been steadily growing, fell from $4,716,047, in 1891, to $3,991,908, in 1892. With Colombia, besides our loss of trade, we became involved in a treaty controversy in which I regret to say that our Government did not appear to advantage. While our exports to Brazil from the year 1889, two years before "reciprocity," to 1893, two years after "reciprocity," increased in value up to $3,000,000, yet from 1891 to 1893 they declined about $1,700,000. From Cuba our imports of sugar and molasses showed an increase in keeping with the decrease in our importations of those articles from other quarters, and our exports also increased. Indeed, so far as the arrangements were framed on the sound democratic doctrine of liberalizing the conditions of trade, trade increased. But, the result of their operation showed not only that they were to a great extent worthless for that purpose, but also that the retaliatory attachment with which they were operated worked most injuriously.

It is said that "the proceedings of the present administration respecting Hawaii form a composite of blunders, cruelty and usurpation." As in the case of the discriminating sugar duty, the facts are stronger than epithets and refute this charge.

More than fifty years ago the government of the United States, acting upon what was then understood to be an American doctrine, recognized the native government of Hawaii "*as a government suited to the condition of the people, and resting on their own choice.*" Not only were we the first to take that step, but we insisted that other Powers should respect the independence which we had acknowledged. Such was our traditional and honorable policy. This policy in January and February, 1893, was suddenly reversed. In the closing weeks of President Harrison's administration, the country was startled by the news that the established government of the Hawaiian Islands had been overthrown by a revolution in the city of Honolulu. The steamer that brought this news brought also to the country commissioners from a so-called Provisional Government, tendering a treaty of annexation to the United States. While people were inquiring with wonder how this revolution could have been accomplished without premonition, and without the firing of a shot, President Harrison sent to the Senate for ratification a treaty concluded by

him with these Commissioners, providing for the incorporation of the islands into, and as a part of, the United States.

By the documents which accompanied the President's message it for the first time appeared, after they had been printed and considered, that United States Minister Stevens and the forces landed from the ship-of-war *Boston* had been to some extent, but to how large an extent could not then be known, active in deposing the Queen. It appeared that the deposition occurred January 17, 1893 ; that the Commissioners to the United States were appointed January 18, and sailed for San Francisco January 19, and that they communicated their arrival in Washington by a letter to Secretary Foster, dated February 3. The treaty of annexation was concluded February 14, and sent to the Senate February 15. This indecent haste did not meet with the response that was demanded of the Senate. The country knew nothing, and could know nothing, of the circumstances surrounding the transaction, and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, given pause by the significant and suspicious intimations gathered from the official documents referred to, declined to act on the treaty before the close of the session on the ensuing 4th of March, though urged by the then Secretary of State to immediate action. This caution on the part of the committee was amply vindicated by subsequent information.

President Cleveland, immediately after his inauguration, was confronted with this situation. There was more than enough in the facts, as disclosed by the papers, to put him upon inquiry as to how far the honor and good name of the United States might be involved in this unusual and precipitate proceeding. He accordingly withdrew the treaty, without prejudice, for further investigation. To properly inform himself of the situation, before and after the overthrow of the established government in those distant islands, it was absolutely necessary that he should send there a trusted agent, to see with his eyes and hear with his ears what the President could not see and hear with his own. His choice fell upon the Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia. No better selection could have been made. Mr. Blount had just retired from public life, after twenty years of honorable and useful public service in the House of Representatives, with a testimonial from his colleagues as to his character and worth, such as has been rarely accorded to a public man. Within the limits of

this article, we can only refer the reader to the instructions given to Special Commissioner Blount by the Secretary of State, and the report made by him to the Secretary, after patient and intelligent investigation, extending through four months.

From the testimony thus collected, largely from those concerned in the *emeute*, it abundantly appears that the overthrow of the established government was accomplished by an understanding between the conspirators and United States Minister Stevens, by which resistance on the part of the government was prevented by a demonstration of the naval and military forces of the United States. By this means the Queen was induced to surrender. This she did in a formal paper signed by her, and received and filed by the President of the Provisional Government, without comment or dissent. In this she says, among other things:

"I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency, John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu, and declared that he would support the said provisional government."

The "Committee of Safety," consisting of the thirteen managers of the "revolution" (seven of whom were Americans), and who, on January 17, proclaimed the Provisional Government, on the 16th, the day before, sent a letter, signed by themselves, to United States Minister Stevens, in which they say:

"We appeal to you and the United States forces at your command for assistance. . . . We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and therefore pray for the protection of the United States forces."

This appeal was promptly responded to, and the forces were landed from the United States ship, *Boston*, that afternoon. The next day, January 17, after the proclamation of the Provisional Government, a communication was sent to Minister Stevens, signed Sanford B. Dole, "Chairman Executive Committee," which, after stating that demand had been made upon the ministers of the Queen to surrender, concludes in this remarkable fashion:

"We request the immediate support of the United States forces, and would request that the Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces take command of our military forces, so that they may act together for the protection of the city."

Some days after this transaction another appeal was made by

President Dole and other officers of the Provisional Government to Minister Stevens, in which they

"Pray that you (he) will raise the flag of the United States for the protection of the Hawaiian Islands for the time being."

To this appeal Minister Stevens responded by raising the United States flag over the government building, and occupying the same with United States sailors and marines. This was continued for three months, and until the flag was removed and the troops withdrawn by Special Commissioner Blount. It is hard to conceive how the testimony and documentary evidence in the case could be examined by a patriotic American, without having the conclusion forced upon him, that the honor and good name of his country had been seriously compromised by the occurrences of January, 1893, in the Hawaiian Islands.

The trouble has been that this evidence has been too voluminous to be read by the general public, and the opportunity has thus been made to prepossess the public mind with biased and partisan views in the interest of the annexation conspirators.

Let any honest and fair-minded American examine this evidence, or at least read President Cleveland's message of December 18, 1893, and ask himself wherein the President was wrong in regard to this shameful business, when he says:

"I mistake the American people, if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality, that there is one law for a strong nation, and another for a weak one, and that even by indirection a strong power may, with impunity, despoil a weak one of its territory."

It is charitable to believe that if President Harrison had possessed all the information disclosed by the investigation set on foot by President Cleveland, the treaty of annexation would never have been concluded by him in such hot haste.

We are told that President Cleveland could no more reconsider his predecessor's recognition of the Provisional Government of Hawaii than he could reconsider the recognition of the Republic in France or in Brazil. But the cases are not parallel. The prior governments in France and Brazil were overthrown by citizens of those countries, not by the naval forces of the United States; our recognition of the new governments was not obtained by false assurances; and they claimed to possess and to exercise the ordinary attributes of governments. The Provisional Government of Hawaii, on the other hand, presented the extraordinary spectacle

of a temporary, revolutionary, self-constituted committee, gotten up for the sole and avowed purpose of handing over the country to another power, and of thus depriving it of its independence. Moreover, the Queen's submission was secured with the understanding that the matter should be heard and determined by the Government of the United States. Mr. Damon, the Vice-President of the Provisional Government, who was sent to obtain her abdication, says so. The Queen herself so declares in her protest, which "S. B. Dole, Esq., and others composing the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands," to whom it was addressed, received without criticism or dissent.

Every impulse springing from sensitive regard for his country's honor and fair fame, must have constrained President Cleveland to seek how he might undo the wrong that had been done this feeble people under the sanction of the power and name of the United States. That he did so seek, will remain an enduring credit to his administration. If there were wanting an example of civil courage and conscientious discharge of high public duty, the conduct of President Cleveland in the Hawaiian episode, in the face of popular clamor, excited by truculent misrepresentations and partisan denunciation, would furnish it. The responsibility for the stain on this page of American history must now rest with Congress.

Senator Davis charges the Administration with exhibiting a "malign disposition" in ordering the U. S. S. *Philadelphia* away from Honolulu "against the warnings of a most competent officer, which subsequent events justified with the accuracy of the fulfillment of prophecy." The officer referred to is Admiral Walker. The "subsequent events," as detailed by Senator Davis, are that "an English vessel, which had been a smuggler of Chinese into the United States and of opium into Hawaii, was chartered for the kindred work of smuggling arms from a British port into Hawaii to aid a royalist insurrection," and that a "revolt took place" in which "American citizens and property were endangered." Senator Davis says that the departure of the *Philadelphia* was "the signal and occasion for rebellion." It appears, however, that Admiral Walker was ordered away from Honolulu on July 20, last; the revolt took place on the 6th of the following January. From the time of his arrival at Honolulu, on April 18, Admiral Walker reported nothing but peace

and order. On July 12, he wrote: "The Royalists must accept the republic or attempt a counter-revolution by physical force, and of such an attempt there is no probability whatever." His "warnings," which were written at sea on August 17, while he was on his way to the United States, related solely to the spectre of British intervention. As to the effect of the entire withdrawal of foreign men-of-war upon affairs in the Islands, he declared that it would be "not unfavorable to order and security," and that "leading members of the Government and others" were "strongly of this opinion" and had expressed "satisfaction with the prospect of being left for a time entirely alone." Judged by the event, the Admiral's gift of prophecy, with which Senator Davis is so deeply impressed, is yet to be demonstrated. A revolt ultimately occurred, but there was no British ship and no British intervention. Even the arms, as it now turns out, were shipped from San Francisco on an American vessel. And after the revolt was over, President Dole expressed to our minister at Honolulu his gratification that no national ship was present during the disturbance, as it gave his Government "an opportunity to prove its ability to take care of itself, which if once done would probably insure permanent peace."

Senator Davis finds further evidence of a "malign disposition" in the recommendation made by President Cleveland, at the request of the Hawaiian Government, that our treaty with that country be so modified as to permit the lease of either Necker Island, French Frigate Shoals, or Bird Island to the British Government as a station for a cable from Canada to Australia. Perhaps we shall all regret, when the Hawaiian frenzy has passed away, that such a simple request was not granted. The islands in question are small uninhabited rocks. Necker Island, which lies midway between the other two, was described by Admiral Walker in April last as "a very small islet, about 270 miles" distant from the Hawaiian "group"; and he said that, while it had always been claimed by Hawaii, "no one had actually landed there and taken possession, owing to the difficulty of landing." Senator Davis sees in this matter an attempt on the part of Great Britain to "install herself on one of the (Hawaiian) Islands," and declares that "it is not correct to say that Hawaii desires it." The Hawaiian Government, however, sought to effect it, expressed a confident belief that the Hawaiian legislature would liberally

subsidize a branch cable to Honolulu, and spoke of the "great and unquestioned importance to the country" of such an opportunity. It seems unnecessary to argue this subject further.

The next proof of the badness of "Democratic Diplomacy" is described as "the delivery to China by this Government of the two Japanese students at Shanghai, and their decapitation at Nankin." We are told that "the blood of these youths is on our hands." Indeed, Senator Davis says "it is difficult to discuss this abominable transaction with moderation." Perhaps a plain and simple presentation of the law and the facts, will show that the distinguished Senator has found it not only difficult but impossible to do so.

In July last, when hostilities between China and Japan became imminent, our diplomatic representatives at Pekin and Tokio were instructed respectively, to afford their "friendly offices" for the protection of Japanese subjects in China and of Chinese subjects in Japan. The function with which they were thus clothed, in accordance with the wishes as well as with the consent of both those Governments, presented no new question. Our representatives in Mexico had discharged a similar function in behalf of Frenchmen and Belgians, in peace as well as in war; and our minister in France had assumed the protection of Germans during the Franco-German war. Moreover, our diplomatic and consular representatives had for many years extended protection to citizens of Switzerland in various countries, including China; and on July 25, 1872, the Department of State instructed our Minister at Pekin that "the protection referred to must necessarily be confined to the personal and unofficial good offices of such functionaries," that even this could "properly be done only with the consent of the Chinese Government," and that such consent "must not be allowed to imply an obligation on the part of a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in that country to assume criminal or civil jurisdiction over Swiss citizens, or to make himself or his Government accountable for their acts."

The extra-territoriality—or exemption from the local law—which the citizens of certain foreign powers enjoy in China and Japan, rests solely upon the treaties and is measured by their terms. By the treaty between China and Japan, signed at Tientsin September 13, 1871, it was provided that a citizen of the one

country, charged with an offense within the jurisdiction of the other, should, if at a port, "be tried by the local authority and the consul together"; but that he should, if in the interior, "be tried and dealt with by the local authority." Thus Chinese in Japan and Japanese in China, did not possess the complete exemption from the local law, which Americans and certain other foreigners enjoy in those countries.

The war, which was declared by Japan on August 1, having abrogated the treaty of Tientsin, the Japanese Government, by an Imperial ordinance of August 4, declared that Chinese in Japan, should thereafter be wholly subject to the jurisdiction of the Japanese civil and military authorities. It is superfluous to say that, as the provisions of the treaty of Tientsin were strictly reciprocal, the effect of its abrogation on the status of Japanese subjects in China, was necessarily the same as that upon the status of Chinese subjects in Japan. They became wholly subject to the jurisdiction of the local authorities.

On August 18 the Chinese Minister complained to Secretary Gresham that Mr. Jernigan, the Consul-General of the United States at Shanghai, was protecting Japanese spies. Inquiry of our *Chargé d'Affaires* at Pekin elicited the fact that on the 13th of the month the Consul-General of France at Shanghai had, at the instance of the Chinese authorities, caused two Japanese subjects to be arrested in the French concession, and, not deeming himself authorized to hold them, had delivered them over to the Consul-General of the United States; that, at the time of their arrest, they were "wearing Chinese clothing," and that "plans were found upon them"; and that, though they were charged with being spies, the United States Consul-General had refused to deliver them up. These circumstances, as well as the suggestion made by the *Chargé d'Affaires*, that the Consul-General should be ordered to examine the case with a "Chinese official present," seemed to indicate that our representatives in China were laboring under the impression, that they were somehow authorized to exercise criminal jurisdiction over Japanese subjects in China, according to the forms of the abrogated treaty of Tientsin, even where such subjects were charged with offenses against the laws of war. The Secretary of State, therefore, instructed the Legation that lending "good offices" did "not invest Japanese with extra-territoriality," and that neither

the legation nor the consulates should be made asylums "for Japanese who violate local laws or commit belligerent acts"; that protection must be "exercised unofficially and consistently with neutrality"; and that the Consul-General should not have received the two Japanese and was "not authorized to hold them." On September 1 the *Chargé d'Affaires* at Peking directed the Consul-General to deliver the alleged spies to the Chinese authorities. With a view, however, to prevent any summary action, Secretary Gresham obtained from the Chinese minister a voluntary assurance—there being no authority to demand any other—that the men would not be tried till Colonel Denby, the Minister of the United States at Peking, who was then absent on leave in the United States, should return to his post. While this assurance was not kept, the trial of the men was postponed, and they were not executed till six weeks after their surrender.

On the 5th of September, the Legation of Japan in Washington declared, that the action of the Consul-General in delivering the men up "was entirely in conformity with the Japanese interpretation of the authority and power of neutral consuls in a belligerent country," and that, if the case were reversed, "Japan would not recognize the jurisdiction of any neutral consul over the suspect." This declaration was reaffirmed by the Legation on the 9th of September, with specific references to the Imperial Ordinance of the 4th of August. When, not long afterward, the new minister from Japan arrived in Washington, he stated that it was the opinion of his Government that neither the Consul-General at Shanghai, nor any other agent of the United States in China, was authorized to refuse the demand of the authorities. In October, Colonel Denby, our Minister to China, while on his return to his post after a leave of absence in the United States, had an interview with Viscount Mutsu, the Imperial Japanese Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who "emphatically repudiated the idea that American consuls could exercise jurisdiction over Chinese in Japan," and left the whole question, as Mr. Denby says, exactly as it has been ordered, both in China and in Japan.

Is it possible to doubt that, if this transaction were not viewed as a matter of "Democratic Diplomacy," the complete concurrence of all the Governments concerned, would be regarded as leaving absolutely no room for discussion, much less for criti-

cism, as to the legality and propriety of what was done? Senator Davis speaks of the "right of asylum" and declares that the "presence (of the two Japanese) at the American Legation was not only rightful," but that "it had been invited by the arrangement for the protection by this Government of Japanese residents, to which China had assented." In these statements, however, the distinguished Senator is in error. The men were not in the American Legation, which is at Peking, but in the Consulate-General at Shanghai, which is not a diplomatic post; nor had there been any "arrangement" by which persons charged with offenses, and least of all with military offenses, were invited to seek asylum either in the legation or in the consulates. It appears that the understanding of all parties to the arrangement was just the reverse. The Consul-General had no right to grant asylum, or to act upon the theory, which Senator Davis suggests, that the case was to be treated as one of extradition. Had the case been so treated, there was evidence on which to justify surrender. But the men were not in the United States. They were in China, and, as the Japanese Government has itself declared, were subject to the action of the Chinese authorities.

Senator Davis also says that the Department of State "should have refused to deliver these men, upon the ground that they were not spies under any definition outside China"; that they "were not spies under any definition, even if their pockets had been found stuffed with military information"; and he quotes two definitions to the effect that a spy is a person who collects information "within the lines of an enemy" or "within the lines of one of the hostile armies." Our own statutes, however, provide (Act of March 3, 1863, *chap.* 75, *sec.* 38) that all persons who in time of war "shall be found lurking or acting as spies in or about any of the fortifications, posts, quarters, or encampments of any of the armies of the United States, or elsewhere," shall be triable by a military commission, and shall, upon conviction, suffer death; and by section 88 of the "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field," a spy is defined as "a person who secretly in disguise, or under false pretense, seeks information with the intention of communicating it to the enemy." It has been seen not only that the two Japanese, who pretended to be simply students, were, when arrested, disguised in Chinese clothing, but that "plans were found

upon them"; and Mr. Jernigan, in one of his despatches, says that some of the papers found in their possession "would naturally, in the state of war now existing, create a suspicion of a character tending to support the alleged charge." The Chinese Government states that, besides these evidences of guilt, the prisoners admitted, without torture, that they had been employed as spies in obtaining and transmitting to their Government by telegraph and otherwise, information useful in conducting military operations against China.

In regard to this case I have only one more observation to make. No sooner had the men been delivered up, than there began to appear in the public prints a succession of reports, whose evidently unauthentic and sensational character gave warning that the incident would not be permitted to perish for lack of dramatic treatment. It was at first announced that the prisoners were beheaded, apparently without trial, immediately after their surrender. When this was shown to be untrue, rumors of cruelty began to take place of reports of decapitation; and, toward the close of November, Mr. Julian Ralph, a popular writer for the press, published in *Harper's Weekly* a story of torture, which surpassed in horror all prior reports, and which was so minute in its details that it even specified the various methods and the duration of the torture and gave the last words of the victims. A few days afterward, however, when interrogated as to his authority for these statements, Mr. Ralph, as reported in the press, could only say: "The truth as to whether the men were horribly tortured or not rests with God and the Chinese. Everybody believed the stories when I was in China." It appears, therefore, that the story so dramatically told had precisely the same basis—that of common rumor—as previous reports in respect of which Mr. Jernigan, in one of his despatches, declared that many of them were "so false as to be past finding out." And it should also be noticed that Mr. Ralph, when asked whether it was "certain" that the men "were not spies," frankly admitted that "there was great reason to believe that they were." He said that Japan had been covering China with spies, and that when the men were arrested an inculpatory paper, containing military information, was found in the lining of the coat of one of them. In a despatch of November 2 Mr. Jernigan reported that "their cases were under investigation for nearly six weeks,"

and that he was assured that "there was no unfairness practiced against them during the investigation." In a despatch of the 26th of the same month, written in Shanghai almost at the moment when Mr. Ralph's article appeared in New York, Mr. Jernigan further says: "A letter from an intelligent foreigner residing at Nankin, where the two Japanese spies were executed, discredits the report of their torture. Other letters from the same gentleman have proved so accurate, that I am disposed to accept the reported torture as without substantial proof."

Having reviewed the grounds on which the conduct of our foreign relations during the last two years has been condemned, I deem it proper to refer to certain important incidents not mentioned by Senator Davis. When the present Administration came into power, our relations with China had fallen into a condition which might with moderation have been described as discreditable. Without seeking to impute blame to any one for that fact, it is permissible to say, that the present Administration has made a treaty by which our relations with that country have been restored to their former basis of honorable reciprocity. An epoch-making treaty has also been concluded with Japan, by which that progressive empire has been admitted to a position of international equality. The difficult situation that arose in Brazil, in consequence of the revolt of persons who were understood to possess the sympathy of certain European powers, was treated with a consistent and unwavering firmness which forced those who would not approve to be silent. The same thing may be said of the management of the Bluefields incident, which involved the long-contested claim of Great Britain to a protectorate over the Mosquito Coast. Nothing could have been easier in the beginning, or less likely to be productive of advantage in the end, than to make this incident the subject of a wordy controversy and of national alarm. But, by the exercise of a wise and tactful diplomacy, a final settement was attained in accordance with American views. I think it may be said that the conduct of our foreign relations during the last two years has reflected great honor and lasting benefit upon the country.

While I declined, at the outset, to recognize such a distinction as that implied by the terms Democratic diplomacy and Republican diplomacy, I am prepared to admit that I have heard of a spurious diplomacy—sometimes called "thoroughly American"

—which its advocates are welcome to the privilege of calling Republican diplomacy, if they so desire. Its conscious advocates are perhaps few, but there is reason to fear that its dupes are many; and neither its advocates nor its dupes are exclusively confined to one party. But, unless the glories of our past history are to be discarded, it is not American diplomacy. It is meddlesome and aggressive; it is envious and suspicious; it is covetous and not very scrupulous; it exemplifies the evil of power without self-control, and of susceptibility to insult without a due proportion of self-respect. Its spirit is that of conquest; its first reason, as well as its last, is force. It began its career by embroiling us, under a Republican Secretary of State, in the quarrels of South American republics in 1881, only to be rebuked by another Republican Secretary of State in 1882. It has claimed the right, in disregard of our own most cherished traditions, to visit and search the ships of friendly powers on the high seas in time of peace, only to be condemned by an impartial tribunal of arbitration. It overthrows by force a Queen in Hawaii in the name of liberty and annexation, and maintains by force a King in Samoa in the name of independence and autonomy. If this be Republican diplomacy, and we are to have more of it, God help the American Republic!

GEORGE GRAY.

THE POSITION OF JUDAISM.

BY I. ZANGWILL.

THE fall of the Ghettos has left Israel dazed in the sunlight of the wider world without, his gaberdine half off and half on. If he throws it off, will he throw off his distinctiveness and fade into the common run of men ? If he keeps it on, can he keep his place in the new human brotherhood ? And as he gropes, irresolute, he stumbles at every step amongst the ruins of the Ghetto wall against a *débris* of problems—not merely problems of 'doxy which the *Zeitgeist* brings to him as well as to Christianity, but problems of racial integration and disintegration, problems of transformation of sociologic function as of restoring the Jew to the soil, problems of "ceremonial" conduct, of allegiance to the Mosaic and Rabbinic codes, problems of international politics, of immigrations and persecutions and Palestine-restorations, problems of patriotism, of fidelity to a universal Jewish citizenship, so jealous and exacting that it would even forbid intermarriage with the citizens of another country ; and all these problems are complicated by problems of compromise between the ideal and the practical. For the Jew belongs to a race as well as to a religion, and may wish to remain in either, or both, or neither. A Jewish Robert Elsmere would have settled but the least of his problems when he decided to abandon the orthodox creed.

With these internal problems it is impossible to grapple here. They will probably be settled less by reason than by that large drift of things which lies outside the individual consciousness. I can only venture to suggest a few thoughts concerning the common Judaism which underlies all the jarring factions and to view this essential Judaism broadly in the light of history.

Modern philosophy, which began with Descartes, still suffers from the static introspection of the Cartesian method. We are

not so thrown upon our own resources; the Ego is not our only torch. Even if to begin *de novo* were possible—even if the past did not think through us—it would be foolish to neglect consciously what light the past throws upon the meaning and purpose of life. In a philosophy of history—a pressing need of the times, that is not altogether satisfied by the conception of evolution—Judaism would be what Bacon calls an ostensive or light-giving instance, in which normal traits usually obscure are accentuated so as to allow of facile observation. If the clue to the process of the suns is not to be picked up in the Ghetto, I know no more promising quarter in which to seek it. If the history of Israel which touches all recorded time has no dynamic significance, supplies no hint as to the destiny of humanity, then is Life indeed "a walking shadow," and history "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

For the story of this little sect—the most remarkable survival of the fittest known to humanity—in no way corresponds with its numbers; it is not a tale of majorities. It is a story that begins very near the beginning of history, and shows little sign of drawing to a conclusion. It is a story that has chapters in every country on earth, and which has borne the impress of every period. It ranges from the highest tragedy to the lowest farce; veritably Shakespearian in its jostling of princes and scholars and clowns, rogues and heroes and sages. All men and all ages pass through it in unending procession, the stern warriors of the ancient world, the rotund burghers of the mediæval, the prosaic citizens of the modern, and the toe of Shylock comes so near the heel of Hamlet, he galls his kibe. But, picturesque as the story is outwardly, it is mainly by its inner religious content that it claims consideration. For, to the Jew the world owes its vision of God.

The religion of a race is its vision of the Good, even as its science is its vision of the True, and its art its vision of the Beautiful. Israel's vision of the Good was God; and to his unifying instinct the True and the Beautiful had no separate existence. Abraham—the father of Israel's race—was the first to conceive the moral God, nay, to impose his individual vision of righteousness upon his God.

"But Abraham stood yet before the Lord. And Abraham drew near and said, Wilt Thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked? . . .

That be far from Thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked: and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from Thee. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

And Abraham's seed perpetuated this faith in a righteous God who was revealed in Israel. That oft-quoted saying of Jehudah Halevi, "Israel is among the nations as the heart among the limbs," will be truest if interpreted in that metaphorical sense which makes the heart the seat of emotion. For it is the heart that sees God. The righteous God is an intuition, which, even if it does not contradict experience, is not reached by it. Israel first had this conception of the Creator and of his relation to a prophet-race and through it to the world. It is a unique ethical and political conception; there is no parallel to it, nor to the documents that enshrined it, nor to the race that incarnated it. The chronicle of Israel is a record of backslidings and castigation, a religious epic whose incidents only serve to point morals, and its mightiest heroes are weak and sinful. And this conception found material realization in a moralised state-system: in a theocracy to which nothing human was alien, so that sanitation was as much a part of religion as sacrifice; in a worship of Justice and Mercy; in an unfaltering adoration of Right before Might that was a paradox in a Pagan world; in a brotherhood of Israel which was to be the nucleus of the brotherhood of man. Israel planned righteousness as Sparta planned hardihood or Rome conquest, or China self-conservation; it was to be a people consecrate to consecration; through its sanctity the world was to be sanctified. Of all the ideals that nations have produced, nothing more noble, more Quixotic, can be conceived than this national idea of self-perfection as an instrument for the perfection of the world; and if, on the whole, Sancho Panza has been as much in evidence as Don Quixote, that is the inevitable tragi-comedy of human existence. To think of the course of Jewish history is to stir those thoughts that lie too deep for tears.

Among this little people Christ was born; and His teaching, more or less transformed and for a century and a half not clearly distinguished from Judaism by the Pagan world, was propagated by Jewish apostles in Egypt, Rome, and Syria, and, soon conquering the conquerors of the world, begat the Greek Church and ultimately the Roman and the Protestant Churches—this last Church a product of Christianity crossed again by the Old Testa-

ment, and in England in particular generating so Hebrew a type of character that at this day the Englishman is regarded throughout the Continent as the Pharisee of Europe. As a colonizer, as a "mother of nations," England smacks more of Phœnicia than of Rome, and in the making of Englands, Old and New, the Old Testament has counted for more than the New. Nine centuries earlier, this same wonderful Book, *das Tagebuch Jehovahs*, as Heine calls it, had inspired in Mohammedanism a far more potent and pervasive creed. Through Christianity and Islam, the moral impulse of Judaism was communicated through the greater part of the civilized world, and each of these great religions has sent out missionaries even to those polytheistic savage races which have remained outside the great currents of history. In the very year that the Jews were expelled from Spain, a Spaniard won a new world—America—for the Jewish Bible. And from century to century, even unto this day, through the fairest regions of civilization, the Bible, written entirely by Jews, dominates existence; its vision of life moulds states and societies, its texts confront us on every hand, it is an inexhaustible treasury of themes for music and pictures. Its psalms are more popular in every country than the poems of the nation's own poets. Beside this one book with its infinite editions, with all the good and ill it has done, all other national literatures seem "trifles light as air." Jerusalem, as Rénan points out, is truly "a house of prayer for all nations." Equally venerated by the Jew, the Christian and the Mussulman, she is the Holy City of half mankind.

But while Christianity and Mohammedanism were thus doing Israel's work, what was Israel doing?

Israel was become a Protestant nation. The original Catholic Church of Humanity was gradually made to appear Protestant by the growth of a majority permeated by a belief in the divinity of Christ. Gradually there had been evolved the touching but confusing conception of the Man-God of Sorrows, taking on human attributes to bridge the gulf between Infinity and Humanity and atoning by His death for the sin in which He had caused humanity to be born. To speak of the Jews rejecting Christ when it was the Jews who spread His gospel is a strange, popular blunder; but the bulk of the community did remain blind to whatever was edifying in the new conception, by whatsoever divine or mytho-

poetic process it arose. The loftiest sayings of Christ were familiar to the Jews in the Rabbinic lore or in their old Testament, and though these dicta had never before been so fused as the expression of a personality, yet, on the other hand, Israel was not unaccustomed to pseudo-Messiahs, both before and after Christ; moreover, the mysteries of the Incarnation and Atonement were in direct opposition to the spirit of Judaism (as they seem a needless complication of the essence of Christianity), and by abolishing the authority of the ritual law, Christ disturbed the sociological conception which is at the bottom of practical Judaism.

The course of Christian history did not tend to reconcile Israel to Christian conceptions. For Christianity, after emerging from a period of persecution, turned persecutor, avenging upon Judaism Christ's voluntary death for the redemption of the world, and thus indurated Israel in its negative attitude. The development of Judaism went on side by side with that of Christianity, for no religion has ever remained at rest, except in the eyes of its followers ignorant of its history. Movement is at once both the law and the test of life, though in every religion ossification has curiously been considered "orthodoxy." The orthodox members of a creed are those who preserve the organism in which the change is being effected and who constitute the hostile environment in which new ideas and ideals have to struggle for existence. Judaism, which by the ignorant Jew, no less than by the ignorant Christian, is supposed to have remained stereotyped since Christ, not to say since the last page of the Old Testament, has really been a living activity that has manifested its inner vitality in many shapes and forms; and, as Dr. Schechter of Cambridge has shown in his brilliant epoch-making lectures on "Rabbinic Theology" and Jewish Philosophers and Mystics, instead of being merely a negative religion, the essence of which was unbelief in Christ and the rejection of pork, it has produced legends and liturgies, sects and movements and Messiahs, poems and philosophies and ideals, and even new Cabbalistic or humanized conceptions of the Godhead. But all this has been purely internal, and only part of it has been development.

Since the rise of Islam, Judaism has had no direct influence upon the outside world. With perhaps the solitary exception of fostering, through its distinctively religious thinkers, the scholastic philosophy of the latter part of the Middle Ages, Judaism

has been dead to the world for over a thousand years. Speaking broadly, if Christianity had succeeded in eliminating the Jews, the religious history of Europe would have been the same as to-day. And not only has Judaism been dead to the world, for long, wretched periods, it has been dead to itself; it has remained stereotyped, immobile. Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries lie the Dark Ages of Judaism. But the miracle is that Judaism kept any spark at all—for these were the Ghetto Ages *par excellence*, the days of the yellow badge and the Dominican whip, "and the summons to Christian fellowship." It was life enough to have retained suspended animation. Israel has had to run the gauntlet of the world, every man's hand against his, and his against no man's, and to repeat as a race the martyrdom of Christ as an individual.

But what, nevertheless, becomes of the mission of Israel? How are we to reconcile the conception of a nation destined to be "God's witnesses" among the heathen, with a thousand years of unobtrusive stagnation. Well, "they also serve who only stand and wait." The mills of God grind slowly: in the eyes of the Eternal, as in the eyes of the apostles of evolution, "a thousand years are but as a day." And, in a sense, the mere obstinate survival of Israel may still be deemed a witness to "the finger of God." Moreover, the Jewish idea of a "mission" is not of that fussy activity, as of Mrs. Jellyby, which Christianity connects with the word; of imposing verbal beliefs upon savages, whose vision of life is quite other. It is, in fact, the Rabbi's duty to dissuade the would-be proselyte. One may influence one's time by simply *being:* each righteous soul is a radiation of good. And the "saving of worlds" is not perhaps best effected by noisy propagandism. The merit of staying at home is eloquently expounded by Carlyle. The rabbis had a pregnant saying: "It is not thy business to complete the work, but neither hast thou the right to neglect it." To do one's own work well—that is the wisdom of the ages. And so, though Judaism was temporarily self-centred, it is not nothing for it to have consoled and uplifted a hundred generations, to have made life liveable even in Ghettos. Judaism achieved sufficient triumph in surviving at all. To have actively propagated its negative doctrine of disbelief in Christ would have been to court annihilation. Jews did not indeed shrink from disputing theses with Christians in those

mediæval tournaments of theology, but we know that they never carried off the victory. Such proselytes as they did make were burnt. One Jew, Solomon Molcho, whose family still survives in the Orient, set out, greatly daring, to convert the Pope. The Pope was stiff-necked, but urbane, and it was not till Solomon broached Judaism to Charles V. that the poor missionary was consumed by fire. Yes, it is enough that Israel has survived, battered it may be, and stained with shame and pusillanimity; warped by evil growths of cunning and covetousness developed in the struggle with superior forces; distorted not infrequently by the perverse action of a religion that lent itself too easily to formalism; here and there, too, materialized and vulgarized by the sudden sun of prosperity, but strong by force of standing alone, tenacious, energetic, soberly adventurous, brilliantly intellectual, spiritual and idealistic in certain directions, domestic, civic, patriotic, infinitely adaptable, a marvellous reservoir of intellect and emotion and will and sanity, sufficient to renovate a decadent civilization. The vices of Israel are on the surface, his virtues lie deep. In the language of Galton, he is a "grade" or two above normal humanity.

But this admission of a thousand years of non-influence requires an important modification. It is only as a religious organization that Israel has remained barren; as a race it has played a very considerable rôle in history, both in the gross and through the individual. Judaism may have stood still, but Israel never. As a body, Jews were the great agents of the Middle Ages—the wandering Jews, a human network of intercommunication. They carried literature and folk-lore; they brought science from Arabia to Europe by way of Spain; they invented the mechanism of commercial exchange, and, less creditably, were the chief slave-dealers. Mediæval Israel was mainly an intermediary.

It is only through isolated individuals that Israel has influenced the world at first hand. Through Spinoza it affected the whole course of modern philosophy; through Ricardo it founded political economy; through Karl Marx and Lassalle it created socialism; through its financiers and politicians it has time and again shaped European politics; through a host of poets, scientists, actors, artists, musicians and journalists—of whom *longum est dicere*—it has been in the van of the world. To-day, in spite of

two thousand years of suppression, and though but a small fraction of the population of the world, it looms large in the arts and letters and Bourses of every capital of civilization.

But now we are confronted with the curious fact that the individuals through whom Israel has influenced the world have been for the most part divorced from the body proper. They have been heretics; caring little or nothing about "The Mission of Israel," and not immediately concerned about Righteousness. They have been "racial" not "religious" Jews, and even their race they have sometimes disavowed. Even when, as in Spinoza and Lassalle, the spirit of the ancient Prophets has broken out in them, they have not consciously connected their moral fervor with the mision of their race, nor recognized the significance of their heredity. This is indeed a shining example of the irony of history, and almost leads to the suspicion that the function of Judaism during the last thousand years has been to conserve an environment favorable to the production of great heterodox Jews. Jesus himself drew from the nursery of Judaism those ideals which enabled him to react against their distortion in practice; and from Talmudical dialectics the Jewish mind derived the subtlety that expressed itself later through mathematicians and jurists and philosophers and chess-players; its talent for music was fostered by the fondness for melodious ministers; by its domestic poetry and its tragic history it accumulated the genius of a Heine, whose humor sprang from that pervasive cheerfulness which aided his race to survive, and which tinged even its theology with genial *esprit;* its adaptability, its natural mimicry of all races, fitted it for triumphs on the stage, and its enforced deference to its persecutors prepared it for comedy; to the prenatal power of the orthodox code the heterodox celebrities were indebted for their health, their head and their heart, and from the diaspora and the persecution came their assertive individuality and their cosmopolitan standpoint.

And while through the stagnation of its masses and the indifference of its energizing units, Judaism *quâ* religion has been a waste force in the world, by a further irony of history the battle for Judaism has been fought by a thousand outsiders. The dogma which has been the key-stone of Christianity has been shaken from all sides. The divinity of Christ is practically all that Judaism denies, and there is no need to insist on the negative attitude

of modern thought towards this primal conception. From the ranks of Unitarianism, Theism, Agnosticism, and Atheism, the disbelief has definitely spread to Protestantism, the doctors of which are providing more or less nebulous substitutes for the concrete Christ of the every-day Christian. The literature of the day is thoroughly anti-Christian, the great writers to a man do not believe in Christ. It is not only the specifically polemical writers like Mrs. Humphrey Ward, it is the literary class in general. Books with distinctively Christian teaching appeal only to cliques; the leading things of general literature are the work of men not Christians. The higher mind of the world is being fed from non-Christian sources. The great movement of the modern mind is away from the Trinity. Of the writers with European reputations, Tolstoï alone maintains even the ideals of Christianity, and Tolstoï is accounted mad.

In our own literature alone, the most conservative of all modern literatures, what trace of Trinitarianism is there in Browning, Swinburne, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, William Morris, George Meredith, George Eliot, Carlyle, Emerson, Hawthorne, Whitman, Lowell, Holmes, Rudyard Kipling, Stevenson, Hardy, Howells, Henry James, Mill, Spencer, Darwin, and a score of others who do the modern man's thinking? This part of Christianity is crumbling away even while Judaism looks idly on. History and science do not corroborate the episodes on which it is founded, and the conception itself jars upon the modern mind. Its very professors are vague, and even Mr. Gladstone has been making heretical approaches to the Jewish view of atonement.

And while the negative side of Judaism is thus being approached by the internal movement of Christianity, so is the positive side of Judaism likewise being arrived at by the thinkers of Christendom.

By the positive side of Judaism, I mean simply the conception of life which is its essence. There is more in Judaism akin to the modern spirit than there is in any other religion, for the modern spirit is really akin to that of the Old Testament. The God of the Old Testament, invisible and incorporeal and incomprehensible, in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning, whose thoughts are not our thoughts, nor His ways our ways, who visits the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generations, and who yet, on the whole, makes for righteous-

ness and happiness, that terrible yet tender Father, who is still the God of Judaism, has more in common with the unity which we apprehend behind phenomena than the god of any other creed. The Mosaic code, if read to-day depolarized, in Wendell Holmes' phrase, as one would read a book by the newest thinker, would be found, allowance being made for the circumstance that it is a code for an agricultural people, to aim at all that is best in socialism without interfering with the free play of individual activity. It is practical sociology, social science applied to life so as to insure the moral and physical well-being of the race. Only it is sociology raised to religion, so that obedience is rendered, not to cold hygienic laws, but to warm religious feeling. Sociology will never gain a footing in the modern world till it is touched with emotion, and the consumptive lover will never refrain from propagating himself unless kindled by a religious conception of duty to the race.

This Mosaic code, with its Rabbinical Commentaries, became the nucleus of a poetic domesticity that sweetened poverty and persecution ; it made Israel cohere and be one in a brotherhood of obedience, despite dispersion to the four corners of the earth. This sanctified sociology made the sensuous sacred equally with the spiritual. Judaism sanctified the sensuous, Christianity was an abolition of the sensuous. In the result Christianity succeeded only in abolishing it from religion, not from life. No priestly pitchfork has ever expelled human nature. Christianity has fostered an unfortunate dualism by which part of life has become secular, and religion, which should be the breath of the whole, is set in opposition to the material framework of life. The attempt to ignore the flesh and the world must defeat itself ; the flesh may be brought under law, it must not be relegated to the Devil. In Judaism even sanitary arrangements are part of religion. To put away certain sides of our nature, as though God were ashamed of them, is of a piece with that other dualism of "Science *versus* Religion." The uneasy dread with which Religion regards Science is really a suspicion that the Creator is a dishonest dealer whose books will not bear auditing. Nothing is more typical of the opposed *Weltanschauungen* of Judaism and Christianity than their marriage services. In Christianity, marriage is a concession to the weakness of the flesh. In Judaism, it is the divinely ordained method of perpetuating the race joyfully and nobly through

love. "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the bridegroom to rejoice with the bride." The Christian formula savors of topsy-turveydom. To make the continuance of the human race merely a concession to the weakness of the human flesh is to deny the divinity of life. Christianity is a religion of death, of pessimism, as Schopenhauer saw, or at least an other-worldly religion. In practice, of course, Christianity manages to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, and the dualism of its creed is paralleled by the dualism of its code in actual life. It is not only in the Hegelian logic that to be and not to be are the same. The Christians around us run contrary ideals with amusing simultaneity—one code for daily life, another for Church, a lachrymose liturgy followed by a fashionable parade. They eat their cake and lay it up in Heaven as well; besides believing that it is wrong to eat cake anywhere, anyhow. Religion is outside life, as sentiment is outside business. It is something strange and esoteric, like Greek plays and the blessed word Mesopotamia.

For Judaism the centre of gravity is here and now. Though we were immortal, yet eternity is only a succession of to-days. The whole problem of life faces us to-day. Judaism may be a selection from nature, a moral human harmony shaped by spiritual genius upon the desolate chaos of nature, but Christianity is a contradiction of nature. Neither is verifiable by science, but, while Judaism inspires life, Christianity inspires to negation of life; valuable as a "counsel of perfection," Christianity can only stimulate chosen spirits, making saints of the few and hypocrites of the many. *C'est magnifique mais ce n'est pas la vie.* Judaism does not despise the world, it accepts it, and it says grace not only for food (as Charles Lamb complained Christianity does exclusively), but for the sight of forest and ocean. This acceptance of the world is the very note of "modernity." Christianity is concerned rather with the failure and inadequacy of life. "When the Devil fell sick, etc." "Man's extremity is God's opportunity." Man's prosperity should rather be God's opportunity. He should be at the root of all joy and all work. That people should be Christians on their death-bed is of the very smallest use to the world. Christianity is individual, Judaism is communal. Israel confesses its sins in common and in public. Christianity stimulates an unhealthy egoism, a spiritual self-torture; Judaism makes for a sane sanc-

tity. It is not without significance that Max Nordau, the German author of "Degeneration," who has raised the rallying cry of sanity in the face of a Europe given over to morbid literary cults, should be an Israelite. Judaism aims at influencing character through conduct, Christianity at influencing conduct through emotion. Judaism builds up the moral character out of moral acts, Christianity thinks to get morality out of sporadic spirituality. Eight out of the Ten Commandments concern acts; only in the tenth and last does Judaism exhort a state of soul, "thou shalt not covet." The soul, built up on the basis of moral acts, becomes capable of moral states. If Judaism is in danger of formalism and Pharisaism, Christianity runs the risk of an empty spiritualism. In fact, Christianity—a negation of life—has never dominated and could not ever really dominate life. It has never expressed the Western vision of the Good. It has been external not internal. The average Christian is half Jew, half pagan. You cannot get "the new heart" of the gospels to order. It must evolve from within. The Mohammedan missionaries have been more successful with savages than the Christian because they offer a religion of acts, not impose a new view of life. Souls cannot rise above their level. It is true that in working through the figure of Christ, Christianity stands on a basis of sound psychology, for nothing affects character like character. But there must be already a latent affinity between the two character . There is no such thing as "conversion," no sudden fire, without prior accumulation of inflammable matter.

If I were asked to sum up in one broad generalization the intellectual tendency of Israel, I should say that it was a tendency to unification. The Unity of God, which is the declaration of the dying Israelite, is but the theological expression of this tendency. The Jewish mind runs to Unity by an instinct as harmonious as the Greek's sense of Art. It is always impelled to a synthetic perception of the whole. This is Israel's contribution to the world, his vision of existence. There is one God who unifies the cosmos, and one people to reveal him, and one creed to which all the world will come. In science the Jewish instinct, expressing itself, for example through Spinoza, seeks for "One God, one Law, one Element"; in æsthetics it identifies the True and the Beautiful with the Good; in Politics it will not divide Church from State, nor secular history from religious, for Israel's

national joys and sorrows are at once incorporated in his religion, giving rise to feasts and fasts; in ethics it will not sunder Soul from Body; it will not set this life against the next, this world against another; even in theology it will not altogether sunder God from the humors of existence, from the comedy which leavens the creation. *Unitas, unitas, omnia unitas.*

Like Christianity, Judaism has the defects of its qualities. Its wisdom is the wisdom of age and the ages, not the divine discontent of youth—its sanity is sometimes overpowering, stupefying—it needs a touch of that divine insanity which leads to martyrdoms and missions, poems, and pictures, and symphonies. The young do not understand it at all, and its ministers rarely touch the true chord of its poetry. Israel has been noblest in suffering; Jeshurun, grown fat, kicks. Despite his crude conception of the equation of merit and reward—based on the grosser texts of the Old Testament—the Jew has never shrunk from suffering for his faith; despite his proverbial astuteness in his religion, the Jew has made a very bad bargain.

The wider conception of unjust suffering and misery which runs through Ecclesiastes and Job, the conception of "original sin" and vicarious punishment which appears in "The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge," must be woven more conspicuously into the web of Judaism; the doctrine of reward for virtue must needs be transferred from the individual to the race, as it is already in the conception of a mutually responsible brotherhood. On the side of art, Judaism may now profitably widen itself. The latter part of the second commandment, which for long centuries combined with his introspective intellect to withdraw the Jew from the plastic arts, has survived its function in the world. There will never be again the worship of image as deity; though in a more subtle sense the worship of the beautiful may replace the worship of the good. But just as Christianity has not conquered Judaism, so has Judaism not conquered Paganism, or rather Hellenism. But the ancient intensity of that opposition of ideals, when each ideal had yet to develop itself, is no longer necessary, and to-day their prismatic hues may blend in the white light of the religion of the future, and Judaism may as unhesitatingly accept the Hellenic cult of beauty, as it may compromise with "the Christ that is to be." And, indeed, the worship of beauty may well be incorpo-

rated into a religion which already says grace at first sight of spring buds—grace for a world lacking naught and containing "goodly creatures and goodly trees to give delight unto the children of men." The unifying instinct of the Jew may still identify the beautiful with the good; but there is no longer need to dread the Grecian wisdom against which the Jewish poet of the middle ages warned his brethren; even an infusion of the Greek scientific spirit would strengthen rather than impair, while, if Judaism remains sociologic, the most modern discoveries in practical science might profitably be embodied in the religion, so that culpably to endanger the public health should be accounted "sin."

Of the trinity of ideals, the Good is the most important; without it life is impossible, corrupt, distraught. Israel's mission has been the noblest of all, its task the largest and widest; but its only hope of influencing the future hinges on its power to absorb the culture of the day so as to bring its own peculiar contribution to the solution of the problems of its time, its own moral vision of the world. It must come out of the *débris* of the Ghetto and enrich humanity by its point of view. Israel is too apt to forget that existence is not its ideal, patriotic pride was not its goal; its superiority was but to be the means to an end. "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." The most useful work Israel is doing at this moment is in the unnoticed form of colonization. Wherever new lands are to be exploited there the Jew is found, pioneering and building up states. But this function scarcely justifies his separate existence. Religions must live up to themselves if they are to continue to exist; they must be redeemed from the leaden meaninglessness of the commonplace and transfused with reality and vitality. Their truths can only be proved through the lives of their followers; for religions are not true in the sense in which scientific facts are true. They live by what is true in the appeal of their ideals, and by the organization which they provide to link the generations. Judaism needs to live in its own spirit, true to its ardent belief in life—full-blooded, manifold life, life that is worth living now or never. The drift of the higher spirits of the world seems to be towards autonomous morality, with the sense of sin superseded. For people refrain from wrong in proportion to their power of sympathy, of imaging the consequences to others. The larger the heart, the less the wrong-doing.

"Yes, what was wanting," thought Mr. Pater's Marius, when he saw the gladiatorial brutalities, "was the heart that would make it impossible to witness all this; and the future would be with the forces that could beget a heart like that."

This heart was the Jewish heart, and the forces of the future are still with it.

To such a creed as Judaism the verbal authenticity of its sacred book is a triviality; to such an organization as Israel even the fall of theism would not be necessarily fatal, the energy stored up in it could still be conserved and turned to humanity's benefit. But when one thinks how this earliest of theistic creeds, this original Catholic Democratic Church of Humanity, has persisted through the ages, by what wonderful constructive statecraft it has built up a race of which the motto might well be Sanity, Unity, Sanctity, a race of which the lowest unit is no forlorn outcast, no atom in a "submerged tenth," but an equal member of a great historic brotherhood, a scion of the oldest of surviving civilizations, a student of sacred books, a lover of home and peace; when one remembers how he has agonized—the great misunderstood of history—how his "pestilent heresy" has been chastised and rebuked by Popes and Crusaders, Inquisitors and Missionaries, how he has remained sublimely protestant, imperturbable amid marvellous cathedrals and all the splendid shows of Christendom, and how despite all and after all he is living to see the world turning slowly back to his vision of life; then one seems to see "the finger of God," the hand of the Master-artist, behind the comedy-tragedy of existence, to believe that Israel is veritably a nation with a mission, that there is no God but God and Israel is his prophet; not Moses, not Christ, not Mohammed, but Israel, the race in whom God was revealed, and if whose faith and hope be a dream, it were well to abandon the search for significance in the futile and ephemeral life of man, and to look forward hopefully to the Messiah of the cosmic catastrophe.

I. ZANGWILL.

NAGGING WOMEN—A REPLY.

BY CYRUS EDSON, M. D.

MRS. LYNN LINTON, in one of those graphic essays published some years ago under the title *Modern Women* comments on the curious attitude of women towards criticism, or what they accept as being such, of another woman. She describes in sentences full of fun the way in which the whole sex rallies to the defence, and she laughs over the manner in which the defenders then become convinced it is a matter personal to themselves, and end by believing they have been slandered. I confess to having recalled Mrs. Linton's essay as I read the answers to my article on "Nagging Women," as written by Lady Henry Somerset, Harriet Prescott Spofford and Marion Harland, published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March.

The gist of the criticism of my views, as contained in the two longer articles, seems to be the following proposition: As there are men who are brutal, cruel, unkind, dissipated, and all else that is bad; therefore, women do not nag, or if they nag sometimes, they are more than justified. In addition to this, there are several secondary propositions advanced; first, that the number of women who nag is very small; second, that men who permit themselves to be influenced by nagging are weak, and show this as Adam showed it when he said, "The woman tempted me"; third, that I have upheld the mischievous theory of the natural antagonism of the sexes; fourth, that there are thousands of women who are gentle, kind, affectionate, and good; fifth, that, as it is the business of the physician to cure disease, and as nagging is a disease, therefore, I should cure cases of it in place of writing about it. These appear in the articles. What does not appear except between the lines is the truth pointed out by Mrs. Linton, the intolerance women have for that which they

consider criticism. In fact, my offense is, I have written about a vice or disease which, though rare, is more common among women than among men. I know one man who is a perfect fiend of a nagger. He makes every person who is connected with him in any way miserable, and he is such an utter physical coward that a man can no more beat him than he could beat a woman. When I say a man, I mean a man, not a brute. And this reminds me. It never occurred to me it was necessary I should condemn the ducking stool or any other form of physical violence to women, and when I wrote it might be well for the naggers themselves if they were whipped, I spoke as a physician. Self-restraint is one of the best of all remedies for any disease of the brain, and, if a whipping would cause a nagging woman to exercise self-restraint, it would be the best of all medicine for her. At the same time, for fear of being misunderstood, I must confess my own utter inability to administer the remedy even were I to have a patient I honestly thought needed it.

Let me take up these objections in their order. The first and most important, that which I have called the gist of the articles by Harriet Prescott Spofford and Marion Harland, needs but to be stated to appear a *non sequitur*. The proof of the existence of a million male liars would not disprove that of one female thief. Also, it is true nagging women are not common; that is, there are not many women in whom the habit has become the disease of which I wrote. This, however, is beside the subject. Since 1870 there have been only nine cases of cholera in New York City, yet I have written much about cholera. I made no attempt in my article to say how many nagging women existed, for there are no statistics. Merely as a guess, I should think one woman in fifty has the disease in a very mild form and one in five hundred is a hopeless nagger. But I am not in the least certain these figures are correct. So far as the men who are ruined by nagging women being weak is concerned, this is perfectly true. If they were not, they would not be so much injured. But it is not the fact that these men lay the blame of their ruin on the women and quote Adam's remark. On the contrary, and this is one of the strangest things about it all, these men never blame the women, in speech at least. In the worst cases—one of which I alluded to—they are extravagantly fond of their tormentors. In others, where they are driven to

drink or other dissipation, they will generally, if questioned, tell you they prefer the saloon to their own houses. The reason is not hard to find. A man weak enough to be driven out of his house by a nagging wife is never strong enough to acknowledge her tongue is too much for him. He always has that most contemptible of all kinds of pride, the pride of being master in his house and he is fully convinced the woman is the "weaker vessel." True, he realizes St. Paul's ideas do not, somehow, work in his case and he will acknowledge to himself that before his wife's words he is powerless. But under no conceivable circumstances —unless he be very ill and weak—will he acknowledge this to others. I insert the exception because I remember a case.

There are few theories or ideas or beliefs for which I, either as a man or a physician, have such an absolute contempt as for that which is called "the natural antagonism of the sexes"; and I must confess my surprise at hearing I had upheld it. To me, when a person talks of a natural antagonism between the two halves of an apple, he is giving utterance to profound wisdom as compared to the statement of the "natural antagonism" between men and women. What "antagonism" and why, in the name of common sense, "natural"? The two sexes are the compliments of each other. Together they make up the human race. The influences at work on them, their interests, physical and mental, the objects for which they strive, are identical. So far as nature is concerned, every natural law tends in its operation to bring them together, to give effect to this identity of interests. There is no antagonism between the sexes, natural or unnatural; the phrase names what does not exist and is nonsense, pure and simple. Were there such antagonism the human race would end in short order.

To the objection to my article, which is founded on the existence of many thousands of women who are gentle, good, and all that we admire, I bow with mingled feelings. No one realizes the existence of these good women with more reverence than I; no one can admire and respect them more. Their homes are the little heavens on this earth, and happy, indeed, is that man who has one of them to bless him. But I do not quite see what their existence has to do with the subject because they never nag. May I be permitted to point out that I did not write about these women.

It is quite true a physician should cure disease if he can, and in my time I have had patients I tried to treat for nagging, although not under that name. Nervousness, I believe, was the synonym, for "bad temper" would be too distressingly brutal. But in these days of sanitary science it is the chief aim of the physician to prevent disease. Therefore, when I wrote on nagging women, I tried to point out to those in whom the disease had begun what the end would be, and if I succeeded in making one woman stop and think of the point to which scolding might bring her, then my article was a success. And I have a hope I so succeeded, for unquestionably the article attracted the attention of women. I know this not alone from the published criticisms, but from the letters I received—chiefly, curiously enough, from the West. Really, it was funny. For weeks after the publication these letters came, most of them attacking me in the most savage way, and showing, if the writers did not nag, it was not because words were lacking. I was called a "fool," "libeller," "slanderer," "idiot," and by various other epithets expressing disagreement with my views. The cream, however, was a quotation from Judge ——— (ah, what a gallant ornament of the Bench that man must be!), who said, after reading the article, it had "convinced him men could not write logically!"

I am glad to be able to agree most cordially with one of the points made in the published criticisms. It is true a life led in the open air as much as possible, with more exercise and better health conditions, will diminish the nervousness of women, and with it the tendency to nag. As I said in the first article, nagging is often the result of diseased conditions, or of strains on the strength. As those who have done me the honor of reading other articles of mine well know, I have long been an advocate of exercise and an open-air life for women, and this for other reasons. These, or rather their result, better health, will unquestionably diminish the temptation to nag, in addition to lessening other evils. But with a woman who is a confirmed nagger, a "cursed shrew," as Shakespeare calls her, neither exercise nor fresh air, nor any other agency of which we have knowledge, will do any good. She must simply be endured by those who cannot get away from her. I wonder sometimes whether these women realize for a moment how intensely they are detested.

One paragraph in the criticism of my article struck me as very odd :

"To have our costume determined by men—for their interests as manufacturers and merchants, and their pride in the personal appearance of their women, have combined to do this throughout the centuries."

Is it possible the costume of women is determined by men ? From the days of Juvenal to the present, men have satirized, laughed at or denounced the costumes women have worn. I do not suppose ten per cent. of the bills from dressmakers since the world began have been paid by men without a criticism on the styles of women's dress. Time and again have women writers, when answering the criticisms of men, told them they knew nothing about the subject. I question whether five per cent. of the men could even describe a woman's dress if their lives hung on their success. And yet, it seems, the men have "determined the costume of the women !" The best criticism of this amazing statement, however, was made by a woman who read it: "Did men determine women should wear high-heeled shoes or corsets, or are these worn to please the men ?"

In my original article I made a plea for the children who are forced to live with nagging women, and I have been somewhat surprised not to find in one of the criticisms, published or written, a single allusion to these victims. True, we are told of some poor little ones who were so terrorized by a brute of a father they could not eat, and of others who feared their fathers like fire. These stories are doubtless true, miserably, pitifully true ; but at least these children had their mother to go to for comfort and sympathy. I would, had I the power, so punish such brutes that physical terror, if nothing else, would keep them quiet. I have no words strong enough in which to denounce them. But still I think the fate of the children of nagging women is worse. For them there is no escape; necessarily, they see more of the mother, and she is a mother only in name. It is from the one person in the world they have the best right to expect love that they get nagging. It seems to me there is nothing quite as pitiful as the look on the face of such an unfortunate.

I have said the habit or disease of nagging, although not common, is more often found among women than among men. It is natural this should be true. In the first place, from the time they are small boys, all men are taught words may be followed by blows,

whereas very many women go through life absolutely certain they are safe, no matter what they may say, from physical violence. It is not a question of courage, it is simply common sense, that makes men understand unless they consider a thing worth fighting about, they must control their speech. Secondly, men, when they become angry, have nothing like the fluency of women; as a rule, they can only swear. To nag successfully requires a feminine cast of mind, and naggers among men are invariably effeminate in character. Thirdly, angry men generally show their anger by becoming sullen; they "bottle it up." The fact of the matter is, men are forced to learn self-control; if for nothing else, that they may succeed in business, and when angry, this knowledge stands them in good stead. More than this, the majority of men look with considerable contempt on many words. Taciturnity is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. These, and other influences, all tend to limit the number of naggers among men. It is a curious fact, too, that while women detest the habit of nagging in other women, men despise it in other men. A nagging man is invariably a coward, while a nagging woman may be, and more often is, physically brave. A nagging man is the more contemptible creature, for he invariably nags those weaker than himself or those who he believes will not hurt him, while a nagging woman generally nags those who are stronger. True, she is generally confident she will not be hurt, and in the "war of tongues" she has the heavier battalions.

I am glad this discussion has taken place, because it gives me an opportunity to emphasize the danger to those who have begun to nag. I hope some women reading these articles will seriously ask themselves whether it is worth while; whether the danger of becoming real naggers is not confronting them; whether they are willing to look forward to a time when they will be detested by everyone, and to one when their husbands and children will rejoice over their deaths. They can stop now, but it is sure that the habit will grow on them until they reach a point where they will not be able to stop. If they, after thinking the matter over, should decide to curb their tongues, then will this discussion have borne good fruit indeed.

CYRUS EDSON.

THE GROWING GREATNESS OF THE PACIFIC.

BY THE HON. LORRIN A. THURSTON, HAWAIIAN MINISTER AT WASHINGTON.

"Henceforth, European commerce, European politics, European thought and European activity, although actually gaining force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will, nevertheless, relatively sink in importance; while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands and the vast region beyond will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter."—From speech of Wm. H. Seward in the U. S. Senate, made in 1852.

THIS prophecy was made less than 44 years ago. The Atlantic nations were then in the full tide of a great commerce, the growth of centuries. England, Europe, and the Eastern United States were already possessed of telegraphs, railroads and steamships, and the methods, the men and the means for immediate expansion and development thereof. They moreover were possessed of the vantage ground of being homogeneous peoples, trained in the methods and familiar with the precedents and experience of a well-developed commercial system.

In 1850 Europe already had 14,465 miles of railway in operation, and a capital of £404,000,000 invested therein. The United Kingdom alone had 6,000 miles; Germany 3,600 miles and the United States 9,000 miles of railroad track, all, except 80 miles in Louisiana, lying east of the Mississippi River.

In 1853 the United Kingdom alone, exclusive of British Colonies, owned 1375 steamers and 24,374 sailing vessels, of an aggregate tonnage of 3,700,000. France owned 14,500 vessels, with a tonnage of 760,000; Italy 10,700 vessels, with a tonnage of 369,000, and the other European nations in proportion.

In 1850 the shipping of the United States, practically all

owned east of the Mississippi, amounted to a tonnage of 3,535,000, of which 1,585,000 was foreign-going.

The foreign commerce of the Atlantic countries was already enormous. The shipping entries at a few main points on both sides of the Atlantic demonstrate this, viz :—

ENTRIES OF VESSELS, FROM FOREIGN PORTS, AT :

Boston (1850)	2,872 vessels.	Tonnage,	478,000
New York (1850)	3,163 "	"	1,145,000
Liverpool (1853)	4,457 "	"	2,005,000
London (1853)	11,763 "	"	2,594,000

The telegraph, as a material adjunct to commerce, is a recent creation ; but when Mr. Seward uttered his prophecy the nations and commerce of the Atlantic were already utilizing it in their immense operations. In 1858 Europe was using 48,000 miles of telegraph line, and the United States, practically all east of the Mississippi, 35,000 miles.

The new instruments of commerce—the telegraph, the railroad, and the steamship—in full operation ; their merchants and their ships penetrating to and drawing tribute from every part of the known world ; their civilization and mercantile methods the most advanced, their knowledge of mechanical and engineering appliances the most complete, their shipping the most numerous, their commerce the greatest, the world had ever known. This was the status of the Atlantic nations when Mr. Seward uttered his prophecy.

What was the status of the countries in and around the Pacific, the predicted rivals of the Atlantic nations? There is no danger of wearying any one with statistics of their trade, commerce and shipping; or of their achievements in railroad and telegraph building. The precarious hold and slight impress which commerce had made upon them is shown by the fact that the available statistics concerning the subject are meagre and unsatisfactory. The reasons are evident. In 1850 there was no railroad track (except the 80 miles above mentioned) or telegraph line west of the Mississippi, in the United States; nor in any of the other countries in or surrounding the Pacific. As late as 1860 there were only 23 miles of railroad west of the Rocky Mountains, and it was not until 1861 that the first telegraph line from the East reached the Pacific coast. Steamships were still a curiosity in many parts of the Pacific. It was not until 1867

that a regular steamship service was established between San Francisco and the Asiatic coast; and not until 1870 that steam communication was established between San Francisco and Australia.

In 1852 the only States west of the Mississippi were Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, Iowa, and California, the latter having but just entered the Union with a population of little over 90,000.

The great territory stretching from the Mississippi to the Pacific was still almost an unknown land. California was but a string of mining camps; San Francisco a crude frontier town. Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia contained only a few scattered settlements and trading stations, from which there were practically no exports but furs. In 1850, and for years thereafter, California was an importer of flour, potatoes, and almost all the necessaries of life.

Mexico, Central America and the Pacific States of South America, although they had emerged successfully from their wars of independence with Spain, were still hampered by internal dissensions, the traditionally incompetent commercial methods of the old Spanish colonial system and the vast proportion of their inhabitants consisting of Indians and half-breeds, who never have proved, and apparently never will prove a helpful factor in the development of their respective countries.

Hawaii was known only as a place where Capt. Cook was killed; as a field for missionary enterprise and a supply station for the whaling fleet which was owned almost exclusively in New England. The uncertain movements of the whale ships around Cape Horn, making connections with the eastern United Sta es in from six to twelve months, were almost the only means of communicating from Honolulu to the outside world, although in the later 'fifties the service via San Francisco and the Isthmus of Panama reduced the average time required to reach New York from Honolulu to four months.

Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, the Fijis, New Caledonia, New Guinea, and the vast number of smaller islands lying throughout the southern and western portion of the Pacific were "no man's land," inhabited by savages and cannibals whose absolute sway was interrupted only here and there by the presence of an enterprising trader or self-sacrificing missionary.

The Australian colonies were but just entering upon their

career, giving only a suggestion of the wealth, commerce and development which they have since achieved.

China had but recently been forced by gunpowder and bayonets to reluctantly open a few of her ports to foreign commerce, while Japan was still a sealed mystery. Foreigners were rigorously excluded, and it was a capital offense for any native to leave the country. Not until 1857-8 were three ports, Nagasaki, Kanagawa and Hakodadi opened to foreigners. As late as 1861 the entries of foreign vessels for the whole year amounted to only 221. During the first few years commerce increased, the exports in 1860 being valued in round numbers at $5,000,000, and the imports at $1,500,000. In 1864 the exports to Great Britain alone amounted to over $7,000,000; but foreign commerce, so far from being encouraged, was vigorously opposed by the Government, and steadily declined until, in 1870, the exports to Great Britain had declined to less than $500,000.

So completely was Japan a sealed country that as late as 1867 an authoritative writer says:

"The system of government of the Japanese Empire is as yet but imperfectly known. The laws are severe, vindictive and sanguinary. Fines are seldom imposed; banishment to the mines, imprisonment, death by decapitation, poison and impaling on a cross, are the ordinary penalties of crime, the shades of which are little distinguished."

As for Alaska and the Siberian coast of Asia, they were in the undisturbed possession of the seal and the Eskimo, except as adventurous traders were able to get from them a few furs in exchange for fire-water and trinkets.

Has the evolution of the past 40 years verified the prophecy of 1852?

That portion thereof which predicted the actual increase of the power, wealth, commerce and importance of the Atlantic nations has certainly been realized beyond all precedent and expectation.

But what have the countries of the Pacific been doing? The busy, bustling, driving people of the Atlantic States, with minds filled with their own great business enterprises, commerce and politics, have a general knowledge that California is a credit to the United States; that Australia and Japan are making progress, and that the Pacific countries generally are developing; but it is only when a revolution, a financial crisis, a war, or

other unusual incident occurs, that Eastern attention is focused upon the Pacific.

It is discouraging to attempt to describe in a brief magazine article the development of a dozen countries, each one of which furnishes the material for a volume. All that can be done is to skim over the surface, picking out here and there an item which will serve as a suggestion of that which remains untold.

British Columbia.

British Columbia, which until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad was an obscure British colony, has become the port of entry of a great international commerce, and the centre of a continental railway and telegraphic system, with numerous lines radiating east and south. Its population has increased from the few traders and Indians of Seward's day to 56,000 in 1881 and 98,000 in 1891.

Its capital, Victoria, with a population of but 5,000 in 1881, returns 17,000 in 1891; while Vancouver, which was forest in 1881, had in 1891 a population of 14,000, with a full city equipment of banks, churches, schools, electric cars and lights, and all the accompaniments of a nineteenth century Anglo-Saxon community. It is the site of a powerfully fortified and fully equipped British naval station with dry docks and repair shops on a huge scale; is the port of entry of four lines of trans-Pacific steamers; the base of operations of the Canadian Pacific steamship service, from which its "Empress Line" of 6,000 ton steamers runs to China and Japan, and its 3,500 ton steamers run to Honolulu, Fiji and Australia; the latter soon to be superseded by 10,000-ton ships steaming 20 knots an hour, and giving a service, in conjunction with the Canadian Railway and a fast line from Montreal to London, of twenty-six days from London to Sydney.

During 1893, British Columbia produced gold, coal, lumber, and salmon of a value of over $5,000,000; imported $5,000,000 and exported $5,600,000 worth of merchandise, and was the port of registration of 246 vessels engaged in foreign trade; and yet its mines of gold and coal, its millions of acres of forest, its rich agricultural lands, its 400,000 square miles of territory, larger than all of the States bordering on the Atlantic from Maine to Florida, have yet scarcely been touched. What this country will

be at the end of another forty years can only be judged by comparison with what has taken place in its Southern neighbors

The Pacific Coast of the United States.

Every one knows that the Pacific Coast is one of the world's chief sources of lumber supply; that it is one of the world's great granaries; that it sends its fruit to the four quarters of the globe, to Hong Kong, Sydney, New York and London; that it successfully competes with Sicily, France and Spain in the production of lemons, wine and olives; and yet, how many of the intelligent citizens of the East realize that the population west of the Rocky Mountains is now over 2,500,000; within 300,000 of the total population of the thirteen colonies when the Declaration was signed?

How many realize that of the 161,000 miles of railroad in the United States in 1889, 71,600 miles, or nearly one-half, are west of the Mississippi, and that of this 11,470 miles are west of the Rocky Mountains? The railroad building of the East has been of steady growth, but that of the West has leaped into existence almost within a decade.

The "pony express" and the "prairie schooner" of Seward's day have given place to six great trans-continental lines of railway, which penetrate from the East to the Pacific Coast, all of them constructed since 1869. The railroad building of the East is comparatively at a standstill, but it is continuing in the West at a scale which will soon give it a preponderance. Already California stands third on the list of value per capita of railroad property, owning $741 per capita, being surpassed only by Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and being followed by New York with $549 per capita, Ohio with $433, and Virginia with $248, those States being the highest in their respective sections.

California alone mined one-third of the gold product of the United States in 1893.

During the ten years from 1884 to 1894, the shipping owned in the Atlantic and Gulf States decreased 710 in number and 135,000 in tonnage. During the same period the shipping owned on the Pacific Coast increased from 1,221 with a tonnage of 334,669 in 1884, to 1,520 and a tonnage of 456,359 in 1894, an increase in number of 499, and in tonnage of 121,690.

The steamship fleet of the Pacific Coast does not fill much

space in the Eastern mind, and yet it constitutes a respectable navy in itself, as the following figures show:

THE STEAMSHIPS OF THE U. S. PACIFIC COAST ENGAGED IN FOREIGN TRADE IN 1893.

Owners.	Route.	No. of steamers.	Tonnage.	Value.
Pacific Mail S. S. Co.	S. F. to Hawaii, China and Japan...	4	17,096	$6,488,369
Pacific Mail S. S. Co.	S. F. to Panama	7	17,413	
Pacific Mail S. S. Co.	S. F. to Mexico and Central America	4	7,089	
Occidental & Oriental S. S. Co.	S. F. to Hawaii, China and Japan...	3	12,260	900,000
Panama S. S. Line...	S. F. to Panama	3	6,698	625,000
Pacific Coast S. S. Co.	S. F. to Portland, Puget Sound and Alaska	6	13,437	1,552,500
Oceanic S. S. Co.	S. F. to Hawaii, Samoa, New Zealand and Australia	5	14,994	1,500,000
Dunsmuir Line	S. F. to Central America	1	1,983	80,000
Chandler Line	S. F. to Central America	1	732	30,000
Northern Pacific S. S. Co	Port Townsend to China and Japan	3	8,389	400,000
Lower Cal. Development Co.	San Diego to Mexico and Central America	2	608	40,000
Miscellaneous owners	Los Angeles to British Columbia..	1	2,438	200,000
	Miscellaneous ports	125	30,000	
	Total	165	133,137	

Mexico, Central and South America.

In spite of the tremendous obstacles to development in these countries, in the face of governmental instability, lack of roads and transportation facilities, and hampered by a large element among their populations of turbulence and ignorance, these countries are, as the following figures show, making steady progress:

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, RAILWAY AND TELEGRAPH MILEAGE, 1893.

Country.	Imports.	Exports.	Miles of Railway.	Miles Tel. Line, 1888.
Mexico	$52,468,000	60,264,000	6,723	20,500
Central America	18,127,000	30,753,000	858	10,730
Colombia	14,040,000	7,017,000	342	6,500
Chile	63,617,000	64,113,000	2,900	8,346

Australasia.

Australia is the commercial wonder of the nineteenth century. The first white man settled there in 1788, and it was so little known that until 1802 it was called simply "The Great South Land"; and yet in 1890, only 88 years after the country was named, with a population of only 3,784,000, its foreign commerce for the year amounted to $642,500,000!

The United States has the reputation of holding the world's record for rapid development; and yet, in 1860, after two and a half centuries of development and with a population of 31,400,-

000, the foreign commerce of the United States amounted to only $708,830,000.

Australia is just emerging from a great financial crisis, during which millions of dollars were lost, and yet during the year 1893 New South Wales imported for consumption $72 worth of merchandise per capita of its population, South Australia $111 worth, and West Australia $119 worth. The importations during 1893 by Great Britain were $52 per capita (much of which was re-exported); by France, $20; by the United States, $14.

A bare enumeration of the resources, the commerce and the enterprises developing in Australasia would fill a volume. For the purposes of this statement, suffice it to say, that Australia alone contains over 3,000,000 square miles, being larger than the United States, exclusive of Alaska; that in 1893 it owned 10,400 miles of railroad; 75,500 miles of telegraph line, and entered and cleared shipping from foreign ports to the amount of 17,983,000 tons; that it owns 1,500,000 horses, 9,000,000 cattle, and 98,000,000 sheep, the total value of its live stock being $330,000,000; that it owns a navy of 33 small but modern vessels; that the cities of Sydney and Melbourne compare favorably with Paris and Washington for cleanliness and beauty; that it spends $5,000 a day on telegrams to England alone; that in 1893 it produced $35,000,000 worth of gold, nearly one-fourth of the world's annual production; that its annual production of coal is nearly 4,000,000 tons; that its annual wool clip averages a value of over $100,000,000; that it is the focus of a system of steamship lines radiating to all parts of the globe, and is inhabited by a people unsurpassed in intelligent and aggressive energy, and is possessed of boundless resources yet untouched.

Japan.

The real development of Japan dates only from 1868, when the great revolution took place, sweeping away the old form of government and changing its attitude from that of stubborn and determined conservatism and hostility to everything foreign to one of advanced liberalism and the adaptation of every advantage afforded by Western civilization. Japan has recently amazed the Western world, not only with her brute-fighting courage, but by a display of the heretofore supposedly Western attributes of organization, administration, strategy, and financiering. Her

military and naval ability and resources have forced themselves upon the attention of the world by reason of their brilliancy and international character; but the same forces and intelligence which in twenty-five years created outright a modern army and navy have been at work in every other direction in Japan. A brief citation of a few figures demonstrates this, viz.:

JAPANESE STATISTICS.

Miles of railway in operation in 1870, none; in 1880, 75; in 1893	1750
" " " projected in 1893	822
Railway passengers carried in 1893	25,790,000
Miles of telegraph line in 1870, none; in 1893	9,000
Date of establishment of Post Office	1,871
Pieces of mail matter handled by Post Office in 1887	136,655,000
" " " " " " " " " 1893	277,805,000
No. Steamships in 1892, 643. No. Sailing vessels (European style) 835. } tonnage	3,255,000
No. Sailing vessels (Japanese style)	18,589
Value of exports and imports in 1893	$112,000,000

The foregoing figures only partially tell the tale. The wealth of the country is evidenced by the fact that a great foreign war is being carried on without the suggestion of a foreign loan, and without materially interfering with either the domestic or foreign commerce of the country. The intense energy of the people is manifesting itself not only in political and military development, the expansion of the railroad and shipping industries, but in every form of manufacture known to the Western world. Manufactories of ships, machinery, cotton, wool, hardware, shoes, clothing, clocks and notions are springing up in every direction, and successfully competing, both as to price and quality, with the similar products of Europe and America.

What the status of Japan will be forty years from now can only be imagined; there is no basis or precedent for estimating it.

China.

China still maintains the policy of hostility to western commerce and methods pursued by Japan prior to 1868. In spite of this, however, seventeen out of the twenty ports open to the commerce of foreign nations exported and imported merchandise during 1893 aggregating $422,600,000; and, in spite of her hostility to everything foreign, in 1893 her register shows 123 foreign-going steamships; and 265 miles of railroad and 900 miles of telegraph line had found lodgement within her borders.

Can there be a doubt that China's present experience with

Japan will break down the barriers which have heretofore isolated her from the world? And when that takes place and China wakes up to the possibilities of her military, manufacturing and commercial powers, what living man can predict the results or where the end will be?

Siberia.

Siberia is 5,000 miles long, 2,600 miles wide, and contains an area of 4,800,000 square miles; more than a million square miles larger than all Europe. It has a larger area than any other country in the world. Its southern limit is in the latitude of Cape Cod and Chicago. In the variety of its almost unlimited resources it resembles the great Northwestern territory of Canada and the United States. While the other countries of the Pacific have felt the thrill of awakening life, Siberia has remained locked in solitude and silence, a reputed icy desert. But her awakening is at hand. The mighty Russian Empire, which for centuries has been seeking a western outlet to the sea, is, for the time being, allowing that project to rest in abeyance, while with tremendous energy it is developing its Pacific empire and establishing its long-sought route to the open ocean. In 1891 the present Emperor of Russia went to Vladivostok and drove the first spike in the mighty railroad which, when completed, will reach 6,000 miles from St. Petersburg to the Pacific, at an estimated cost of $175,000,000. In 1893 he was placed at the head of the commission having in charge the construction of the railroad, and until his accession to the throne devoted most of his time to the personal supervision thereof.

Work on the road is progressing with tireless energy at three different points, while Vladivostok, just north of Corea, has grown within a decade from a fishing and trading village to a city of 20,000 inhabitants, with dry docks of the largest capacity and fortifications which make it impregnable. In 1893 the sum of $7,000,000 was appropriated to colonize Eastern Siberia, and colonists are pouring in both by means of the "volunteer fleet" from the Black Sea, *via* the Indian Ocean, and overland; while factories, foundries and farming colonies are being established all along the line. Siberia already produces one-sixth of the world's annual output of gold, and the rapidly advancing railroad is opening up vast deposits of coal, iron, lead and silver, and the forests

of timber and rich agricultural lands, the products of which will soon compete in the lumber and grain markets of the world. The great river Amoor, nine miles wide at its mouth, navigable for 600 miles for vessels drawing twelve feet, and for 2,000 miles for smaller vessels, is also being utilized as an adjunct of trade development, and already a large commerce has developed thereon. In natural resources Eastern Siberia is one of the richest countries in the world. It has needed only an opportunity to take a high place among the nations, and the opportunity has come. With the Russian Emperor for a patron, and the Imperial treasury as a source of supply, the development of Pacific Siberia is proceeding with the rapidity of a transformation scene, and before the schoolboys of to-day are men, a new and powerful military and commercial nation will have been created upon the borders of the Pacific, a competitor for its commerce and a potent factor in its control.

The following comparison of the commerce of the Atlantic and Pacific countries shows an unparallelled power of production and consumption in the latter, more particularly in those dominated by Anglo-Saxons.

The shipping entries at leading Atlantic and Pacific ports show that even now the latter do not suffer by comparison.

POPULATION, IMPORTS AND EXPORTS PER CAPITA, 1893.

Country.	Population.	Imports per capita.	Exports per capita.	Country.	Population.	Imports per capita.	Exports per capita.
United Kingdom	37,880,000	$52	$36	Canada (whole)	4,833,000	$27	$25
France	38,343,000	20	17	British Columbia	98,000	50	58
Germany	49,428,000	20	15	United States (whole)	62,830,000	14	13
Austria	43,212,000	6	7	Pacific States	2,500,000	17	14
Italy	30,535,000	11	8	Mexico	10,447,000	5	6
Norway	2,001,000	28	18	Guatemala	1,510,000	4	10
Sweden	4,824,000	18	18	Nicaragua	310,000	8	8
Spain	17,550,000	7	7	Costa Rica	243,000	23	17
Portugal	4,708,000	9	7	Chile	3,000,000	21	21
Denmark	2,185,000	40	31	New South Wales	1,223,000	72	91
Belgium	6,147,000	89	82	Victoria	1,173,000	55	55
Russia	124,000,000	2	3	South Australia	343,000	111	118
				Queensland	432,000	49	108
				West Australia	61,000	119	73
				New Zealand	668,000	50	65
				Tasmania	154,000	33	43
				Fiji	122,000	11	14
				Japan	41,089,000	1	1
				Hawaii	90,000	59	122

A large proportion of Belgium's trade is of a transit character, and much of England's "Imports" is reëxported.

TONNAGE OF VESSELS ENTERED FROM FOREIGN PORTS, 1888.

Atlantic Ports.		Pacific Ports.	
London	7,470,000 tons.	Hong Kong	3,330,000 tons.
New York	5,470,000 "	Sydney	2,380,000 "
Liverpool	5,370,000 "	Melbourne	2,150,000 "
Boston	1,100,000 "	San Francisco	1,050,000 "
Philadelphia	1,030,000 "	Chile	2,070,000 "
Hamburg	4,410,000 "	Japan	1,330,000 "
Antwerp	3,360,000 "		
Bremen	1,180,000 "		

The limits of available space prevent detailed reference to Hong Kong and its foreign commerce of $100,000,000 per annum; to Manila and its annual foreign trade of $45,000,000; to Macao; to Hawaii, the "Gibraltar of the Pacific," its rapidly developing foreign trade of $16,000,000 per annum, its remarkable record of having entered more ships flying the American flag than were entered at any other foreign port in the world during 1893, and its growing importance as a shipping and cable centre. Nothing has been said of New Zealand; of Tahiti, Fiji, Tonga, New Caledonia and the host of islands throughout the southern and western Pacific which, since their absorption by the European powers, with the advantages of improved administration and direct steam communication with the outer world, are all beginning to march in time with nineteenth century progress; and there is still in reserve Alaska, that great American Siberia, with its enormous fisheries and mineral and lumber resources; but a statement concerning the development of the Pacific would be incomplete which did not refer to the recent rapid appropriation of Pacific territory by England, France, Germany and Spain, which has ceased only with the exhaustion of raw material, Hawaii and Samoa being the only remaining unappropriated islands in the Pacific.

Spain took possession of the Philippine and Ladrone Islands in the sixteenth century. England appropriated Australia and New Zealand over a hundred years ago, and in 1842 France raised her flag over the Marquesas group, and in 1853 added New Caledonia and the Loyalty group to her possessions. In 1874 the 250 islands of the Fiji group were gathered beneath England's standard. In 1880 France annexed the Paumotu and Society groups containing thirty-six inhabited islands. In 1881 England annexed Rotumah. In 1885 Spain took possession of the Caroline Islands, and Germany took the Marshall, the Solomon and the Admiralty groups, and England, Germany and Holland partitioned New Guinea between themselves. This island is 1,500 miles long, 400 miles wide and contains over 300,000 square miles. England

again appeared on the scene in 1888, and gathered in the Gilbert, Ellice, Enderbury and Union groups containing twenty-six inhabited islands and the following single islands: Kingman, Fanning, Washington, Christmas, Jarvis, Malden, Starbuck, Dudosa, Penryhn, Vostok, Flint, Caroline and Nuie. In 1889, 1891 and 1892 England took Suwaroff, Coral, Gardner and Danger Islands, thus exhausting the unappropriated territory of the Pacific.

Another marked feature of the commercial devolopment of the Pacific is the great stimulus given thereto by direct government action, especially by the British colonies. The most prominent example of this policy is the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, made possible solely by the land grants and cash subsidies received from the Canadian Government. Almost the entire Australian railway system of over 10,000 miles is owned and operated by the colonial governments.

Another feature of recent development in the Pacific is the payment of government subsidies to steamship and cable companies.

During 1893 the Australian colonies alone paid approximately $350,000 as subsidies and guarantees to ocean cable companies.

Up to 1893 the sum of $2,995,000 had been paid by the Australian governments to the Eastern Extension Cable Company, owning the cable between Australia and India.

Steamship Routes.	Annual Subsidy paid by	Amount in £s.	Total £s.
England to Australia	England	170,000	
	Australia	75,000	245,000
England to India and China	England	265,000	
	India and Hong Kong	74 000	339,000
Canada to China	England	67,300	
	Canada	15,000	82,300
Canada to Honolulu, Fiji and Australia	Fiji	1,500	
	New South Wales	10,000	
	Canada	25,000	36,500
Australia to Samoa, Honolulu and San Francisco	New Zealand and New South Wales		34,000
Cable, Australia to India	Australia		32,400
Cable, Australia to New Caledonia	France	4,000	
	New South Wales	2,000	
	Queensland	2,000	8,000
Total			£777,200 or $3,777,192

The above is an incomplete list of the annual subsidies

now paid by the British and British Colonial governments for steamship and cable communication in or to the Pacific.

There are several other subsidies both to cable and steamship companies in addition to those above enumerated.

Among other great developing agencies even now organizing, is the project of the Canadian Pacific Company to establish a line of ten thousand ton steamers, steaming twenty knots an hour, on both the Pacific and the Atlantic, which will give a service of twenty-six days travelling time between London and Australia *via* the Canadian Pacific Railway; the Atlantic connection being made at Montreal in summer and at Halifax during the winter. Canada has already offered a subsidy of $750,000 per annum in addition to the subsidy already being paid, and New Zealand $50,000 per annum in support of the proposed line.

The inter-colonial conference which met in Ottawa last summer unanimously adopted resolutions favoring the immediate construction of a cable from Australia to Canada, at an estimated cost of $10,000,000, to be borne in equal proportions by England, Canada, and Australia, and to be owned and operated by the three governments. Tenders for constructing and laying the cable have already been received by the Canadian government.

An American corporation of responsible capitalists is now being organized to promote the laying of a cable from the United States to Honolulu and Japan, and to the Australian colonies, the intention being to seek the co-operation and assistance of the several countries to be connected by such cable system.

The Pan-American Congress, which met in Washington in 1890, recommended the survey of a railway route extending from the United States throughout Mexico and Central and South America. A considerable portion of such survey has been made and the continually extending railway construction in the several countries traversed is constantly tending toward the completion of such line.

Prophesying is dangerous and uncertain business; but it seems altogether probable that within ten or fifteen years the railroad from St. Petersburg to Vladivostok will have been completed, and that steamship lines will radiate from the latter point to Vancouver, San Francisco, the Nicaragua Canal, and the Southern colonies. The railroad system of North America will have been extended to Alaska on the north and to Chile on the south. The Nicaragua

Canal will have been constructed, and a large proportion of the enormous commerce which now pours through the Suez Canal will have been diverted to its American rival. Honolulu will be the centre of a cable system radiating to Tahiti, Australia, Japan, Vancouver, and San Francisco; while between all the main ports of the Pacific, steamers of the size and speed of those now plying between New York and Europe will be in use.

The Pacific has already made giant strides of progress, but it is yet only upon the threshold of the destiny which looms before it.

LORRIN A. THURSTON.

THE PHYSICIAN AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

BY PAUL GIBIER, M. D., DIRECTOR OF THE PASTEUR INSTITUTE OF NEW YORK.

THE human body may be compared to an immense harp of which the nervous fibres are the harmonic chords. When these fibres are well tuned, the somatic functions are accomplished in a physiologic manner, without pleasure and without pain, unconsciously for the most part, and evoke the idea of a Nirvana of the organic matter. We are made, however, for suffering rather than for pleasure, for on this Æolian harp of gigantic proportions the fibres of pleasure were distributed with extreme parsimony, and, whereas their sensorial vibrations give a languid song of short duration, the scales of pain are intense and infinitely varied.

According to the symbolic expression of religious initiators, man was made in the image of God; this means that man represents a *résumé* of the universe—he is the microcosm. But humanity, coming from one source, may be compared to one man. In reality, humanity is the real man, the universal Adam-Eve.

Perhaps this comparison may enable us to understand the state in which are the different parts of humanity; I mean, the uneasiness from which human societies suffer, and which becomes more and more intolerable as societies become more and more conscious of their existence, of their determination to exist, and of their necessities. Humanity is a great suffering being, the harp with painful chords to which physicians of the mind and of the body have at all times endeavored to restore its lost harmony.

The physician represents the initiator of modern times; the one who serves as an intermediary between the priests of the temples—I mean, the patient and learned investigators of laboratories—and the people. In representative assemblies he indicates applications of the discoveries made in institutes, and it is he

who has taught us the means which we use to defend ourselves against epidemics and contagious diseases. His rôle should not be limited to this. In a previous work* I showed that for the health of cities and the adoption of hygienic international measures his influence has been overpowering. I said that in the presence of the improvements to be accomplished it was his duty to be the champion of all healthy measures, and that in the study of social hygiene, notably, he should not remain in the rear. In fact, is there anybody able in this matter to precede the physician? Who among us, in the same journey, goes to the most intimate place in the rich man's family and at the bedside of the workingman? Who may with more authority talk to the one and to the other? He hears the selfish complaints and also the exaggerated envy, expressed without fear in his presence by those whom misery has made unjust. Nobody more than he may inspire philanthropy in the wealthy and palliate the impatience of the disinherited. In a word, by associating himself with the charitable work of the ministers of religion and of the philosophers, the physician will be the priest of the family, the apostle of social peace, and one of the firmest supporters of improved society.

The intention to make of the physician a sort of mystic counsellor is far from my thoughts. I think that his teachings must be established on a scientific basis and be supported by positive facts.

"What think you may be the mission of the physician against socialism and anarchy?" may be inquired; "for in speaking of inspiring philanthropy in the rich and patience in the poor you seem to desire that the physician shall intervene in social questions." To this I answer that the physician's rôle is not to interfere with militant politics, but to pointing to the causes which engender dangerous theories, and to fighting these causes in their nest. His habit of studying symptoms of diseases and their causes makes him seek for the etiology of every effect which does not seem normal to him, and in his eyes the troubles which he witnesses to-day are only the effects of a pathological state of society. Humanity is in a permanent state of evolution, and certain forms of socialism or anarchy may be regarded as maladies of the growth.

* "The Microbes and the Social Question." Speech delivered at the inauguration of the New York Pasteur Institute, October 9th, 1893. New York *Therapetic Review*, No. 4, 1893.

Fifty years ago an eccentric, impulsive individual lived at Dresden. He came from Russia, whence he had been banished. This man was Bakúnin, whom Tourguenieff had welcomed at his home. Superb, of athletic build, wearing abundant hair and a beard which made him resemble a lion, an excellent friend and a good-hearted fellow at bottom, he possessed, moreover, a vast erudition. He had the mania for destruction to a point so extreme that if one did not take care to distract his attention he could not look for some time at any object without wishing to break it into pieces. An idea of his state of mind may be formed from the following anecdote.

At a dinner given on the occasion of the marriage of one of his friends, and at which he had fulfilled the functions of a groomsman, he committed the most extravagant acts. He had constructed with the crockery and glasses a sort of scaffold, which the assistants feared would fall at any moment. He was persuaded to undo his work, piece by piece, instead of throwing it down at one blow, in the same manner as he wished to destroy all the governments of Europe. But he was so excited that he took a Bohemian glass, broke it with his teeth, and swallowed the pieces. A scalp disease compelled him to shave his head and he wore a wig, which he took off whenever he was not in a public place; that is, when in a friend's house or wherever he was a guest, without caring for the opinion of those to whom he thus exposed the anatomy of his denuded cranium.

It is this maniac who is justly considered as the father of Nihilism and of dynamitic anarchy, extraordinary theories, worthy children of such a father; dreams and chimeras emanating from ill-balanced brains and which dreamers are seeking to materialize into a simple doctrine for the use of the desperate.

Anarchy is a psychical malady recognizing as a predisposing cause a particular state of mind, determined principally by: I. Insufficient knowledge of human nature; II. A susceptibility painfully impressed by personal suffering and the misery of others; III. Materialistic superstition.

Let us examine these three causes, which I regard as the principal factors of a doctrine which deserves to be studied, as it may create much more stir in the world than it has done until the present time. To every healthy mind it is evident that to wish to destroy the actual social order for the purpose of reorgan-

izing it on the basis of absolute liberty and radical communism, with the hope of creating universal happiness, and to imagine that this could have any sort of duration, is assuredly the indication of an absolute lack of knowledge of human nature. One must ignore it, in effect, to think that men could live without laws, without rules, and that there shall ever be stronger people who, individually or collectively, shall not try to take advantage of the weak. One must live in a dream, and see practical life through a strange prism, to print things like the following, which I take from one of the greatest authorities of the anarchists:

"A population of three millions and a half [that of Paris and its environs] has at least one million two hundred thousand adults able to work, and as many women. Well, to insure bread and meat to all, it would not be necessary to work for more than seventeen days a year—the men only. Add three millions of days that you may have milk. Add again as much! The whole does not reach twenty-five days of five hours each. It should be a simple affair of amusement in the fields to obtain these three principal products—bread, meat, and milk—these three products which, after lodging, form the principal preoccupation of nine-tenths of humanity."*

The author proposes as a solution of the social question that every valid man of Paris, and naturally of all the cities of the world, should at certain moments do agricultural work, sow to-day, thresh to-morrow, and reap another day, should the desire for an outing suggest itself. And during this time the peasants, if it amuses them, shall doubtless come into the cities to learn the art of painting and to aid jewellers in chasing fine pearls.

Again what a poetic spectacle—the gathering of the gilded wheat, young men playing hautboys and dancing around chariots with young girls crowned with red and blue flowers! "There is not a Parisian so weak as not to be capable, after a few hours of apprenticeship, to superintend machines or to contribute to the general agricultural work."†

I think that it is needless to insist longer in order to give an idea of the inanity of similar theories. Alone, a psychologist, or a physician familiar with the maladies of the intelligence, may conceive that such theories find fanatical partisans among those whose susceptibility is over-excited.

Exaggerated susceptibility united with lack of healthy judg-

* Pierre Krapotkine, *La Conquête du Pain*, with preface by Elisee Reclus. Paris, 1892, page 279.

† *La Conquête du Pain*," page 275.

ment is, as I have remarked, the second of the principal causes to which I attribute the development of anarchical ideas. It is curious to observe that odious assaults, frightful crimes of anarchy, have for their first cause love of one's fellow-men. It is because the anarchist has been revolted by the view of misery, often without having suffered from it himself; it is because he would like to see all the world live in happiness,—that he does not hesitate to throw into a crowd bombs that bring mourning and misery to numerous families. It is because he suffers at the sight of people dying of misery, that he kills as many people as he can with the knife and with dynamite. The anarchist doctrine which Proudhon established proposed to unite all citizens for common happiness. But how should one be surprised at such contradictions? Are there not analogous ones in the history of humanity? Let us recall the hecatombs of the religious wars, the flames of innumerable stakes, the dragonnades, the persecutions and the infamous tortures which followed one another without interruption for centuries. What was the cause of these abominable cruelties? A disagreement in the interpretation of the most charitable, the sweetest doctrine which was ever preached to men. The anarchist ideal might be considered as perfect, only if men were also perfect.

Partisans of spiritualistic philosophy who believe in the immortality of the soul, admit generally that life is a trial in which the mind has the occasion to be developed. If they concede that man has the right to try to improve his lot, they repel in principle the violent means employed by the anarchists. I have found among the latter only materialists, and I will add that there was the only trace of logic that I ever observed in their doctrine. In effect, the moment that you admit that existence begins at the birth and finishes at the death of man, why should not man try to enjoy as much as possible of the good things of life? By what right should there be men who possess too much while there are others who vegetate miserably? Why should not the latter enjoy the "right to ease"? One dies only once, says the materialist; and the anarchist replies: "That is why I wish to enjoy and to satisfy all my passions without restraint. Why should I waste my life by spending it stupidly in the abjection of misery and the thirst of unsatisfied desire?"

I shall try to indicate how the physician shall be able, when

he shall have learned his mission, to fight victoriously against these twice dangerous sophisms. They are dangerous for society on the one hand, and on the other hand for minds that specious arguments of anarchism may seduce.

A nation is formed by a reunion of individuals grouped into families. Let us ask ourselves now what would become of a nation in which one-quarter of the families should suffer from mental alienation or epilepsy, while another quarter suffered from scrofula and tuberculosis? As these maladies have a sad tendency to perpetuate themselves among descendants, if the half of the nation that is sane and healthy marries with the other half, the number of scrofulous and insane people shall increase. Increase of insanity is a fact verified at present, with anxiety, among civilized nations. Many a State expends a large part of its income in the maintainance of insane asylums and institutions for idiots and epileptics, not to mention the prisons for criminals, the responsibility of whom may often be questioned. This increase in insanity is charged to the hardships of actual existence, to the excited state in which we live, and to alcoholism. These causes are not to be doubted, but one might incriminate equally marriages contracted without discernment, and see in them a powerful factor in the development of diseases of the nervous system. Most of these marriages are the results of interested motives, or often of what I shall take the liberty to call epidermic attraction. Two young people of even condition meet, please each other, and marry without information about their condition of health. It is the beautiful appearance of the epidermic covering of their features that seduces them, for if this cuticle were not seductive, although healthy, even if it covered an elevated soul, I fear that its possessor would have some difficulty in finding a mate. In this, as in many other things, man is the victim of appearances.

Experience has demonstrated that efforts of the physician are seldom crowned with success, when, foreseeing misfortune, he tries to prevent or simply to postpone a marriage. He succeeds sometimes, however, but if he has not interfered in time, or if his advice has not been followed, he should not allow himself to be discouraged, but remember, on the contrary, that superior interests impose upon him the duty to prevent, as much as may be in his power, the consequences of a union the fruits of which might be a useless charge to, or even a dangerous element of,

society. There again is a circumstance wherein the physician may, as the intimate counsellor of the family, fulfil a great social function, and his life shall not be useless if he has been able to contribute to the purification of the race wherein shall be incarnated in future generations the soul of the nation. But this is a delicate question, of which I do not propose to treat at length in this article. I shall only say now that my theory has nothing in common with that of Malthus, and that it is distinguished from the latter by the fact that the restriction which I advise affects only dangerous births. In my medical practice I consider it a duty to add, to the prescriptions which I give in certain cases of nervous, hereditary maladies, appropriate counsel in this regard. In so doing, I am confident of tendering a triple service to society, to the family, and to the individual who shall not see the light.

It seems demonstrated that as a nation becomes more civilized it ceases to increase in population ; in other words, the number of births diminishes at a certain degree of civilization; but when we shall be better civilized, as we shall have the sentiment of our duties toward humanity and the social contract shall have amended its statutes, the number of births must increase. Then, as medical science shall have reduced the causes of death from contagious diseases to a minimum ; as, on the other hand, the progress of philosophy and of science in general shall have rendered wars more and more rare, if not impossible—the white race shall increase in considerable proportions. But that this race may retain its predominance it shall be necessary for an intelligent selection to take the place of the natural and blind evolution of the present period, and it is in this selection that the physician shall fulfil the great social function of which I have just spoken.

In this article I have intended to indicate rather than to explain my idea of the part that the physician is to take in the future. The physician in the future, from the point of view of social evolution, is to be considered in his relations—*A.* To constituted bodies. *B.* To individuals—*a,* to the poor ; *b,* to the rich ; *c,* to both poor and rich.

A. With constituted bodies—municipal councils, boards of health, etc.—the physician has already done a great deal for the improvement of public health. He has much more to do, and shall have to persist in the path which he has traced for himself

in the direction of ways and means for the amelioration of cities. A city is a being which could no more live in good health, without care, than a man. The physician shall continue to apply to the prevention of contagious diseases all the prescriptions of hygiene and bacteriology. The disappearance of tuberculosis, that bacterial disease which alone causes more deaths than all the other contagious diseases combined, shall be some day the work of the physician. He shall do his utmost in order that houses built for workingmen and the people in general be as healthy as the best built houses; because it is from unhealthy dwellings that emanate contagious diseases by which towns are ravaged.

B. In his relations to individuals, let us consider first the physician: *a.* With regard to the poor. Here he may, and he must if he wishes, have a great deal of authority. As he does not limit his services—he often tenders them without any hope of remuneration—he may gain confidence and do the greatest good in a general sense. He may demonstrate to workingmen the inanity of deceptive doctrines like those of anarchy and of socialism. He may prove the importance of cleanliness of mind as well as of body. Alcoholism shall not have a more dangerous adversary; for the picture which he may make of the ills produced by fermented liquors shall make a stronger impression coming from him than from any other person. *b.* With regard to the rich what may not a physician do? Naturally he should not attempt to appeal to elevated sentiments: those who have them are not in want of his advice, although their goodwill needs to be guided. Those, more numerous, in whom these sentiments are dormant, may learn from him the fact, scientifically demonstrated to-day, that the presence of misery in a society is a permanent danger for the part of the society which lives at its ease. He should not, therefore, be weary of repeating this advice: "Work unceasingly, that misery shall disappear. It is the mother of all your ills. From misery come epidemics, cholera, typhus, diphtheria, tuberculosis, etc., which affect you and your children in the physical frame. From misery are born pernicious doctrines, socialism, anarchy, theft, and fraud, which threaten your property and security. From misery swarm the armies of unfortunates who poison the blood of your children and contaminate manners."

c. In fine, to all in general, the physician may give, in familiar life, counsels the effects of which on social existence shall be most fortunate. Enlightened by the progress of science on the character, the temperament, the causes of diseases of an individual, he will be able to guide him in most of the acts of his life. To married people he may give more than one wise advice on the manner of entertaining the affection which too often gives place to indifference and even to aversion ; but his part has its real importance, in the social point of view, in families affected by hereditary ills. In these he may prevent, to a great extent, the production of nullities and even of elements noxious to the future of society.

I have no illusion about the quantity of tact and the degree of honesty which such a function shall require. But I pray the reader to consider the evils of to-day, and perhaps he shall think as I do that the events of the present time justify propositions which are in appearance bold and in the light of reflection are only rational.

Consciousness of our responsibilities shall be enlightened in us men of art, when science, continuing its triumphant march from discoveries to discoveries, and adding a new chapter to the treaties of psychology, shall have promulgated the experimental proofs of the existence and survival of the human soul. A higher comprehension of life cannot fail to be the result of these new studies. An argument of considerable weight shall then be placed at the service of the religious idea, and, from sentimental, religion shall become scientific.

I do not doubt that the diffusion of this new acquisition of science shall be, when it occurs, the origin of a great change in the intimate life of nations, and in their international relations. From a social point of view, its consequences shall be immeasurable, and I can think of none better qualified and more authoritative than the physician, whose influence shall be proportionately augmented, to make acceptable the new knowledge in which illustrious savants have already collaborated.

PAUL GIBIER.

DOES FIRE INSURANCE COST TOO MUCH?

BY GEORGE URIEL CROCKER.

It may be thought presumptuous for one man publicly to criticise another man's method of business, especially when the critic is an outsider and not familiar with the details of such business. But the business of insurance is one as to which the public is deemed to have the right of criticism and, in some measure, of control, as is shown by the fact that it has long been subject to rules and regulations fixed by the legislatures of the various States.

Fire insurance is a system whereby the loss arising from destruction by fire may be distributed evenly throughout the community, instead of falling entirely upon the person who owned the property destroyed. The earliest organizations for thus distributing the fire loss were of the nature of clubs or societies, conducted on the plan of those benevolent societies of to-day, whose purpose is to distribute among their members the burdens caused by other misfortunes of life, such as sickness or accident. To-day the merits of the system of distribution of fire loss by means of insurance are unquestioned. The system has grown to great proportions, it has changed in its needs and its methods, and it has been extended so that every conceivable kind of loss by fire can now be distributed.

If an individual should own a thousand different houses of equal value, located each in a different town or city, there would, of course, be no necessity for his being insured through an insurance company. To such a man insurance would be simply a matter of book-keeping, whereby he would lay aside each year the estimated average amount of his loss. The plan is the same when, instead of one man owning one thousand houses, we have a thousand men each owning one house. In the latter case, the thousand

men put into the hands of an insurance company the average amount of the fire loss plus an amount sufficient to pay the cost of the care and distribution of the fund thus created. The insurance company then pays to each individual the value of his property should it be destroyed by fire.

It is well to emphasize thus the simple purpose of fire insurance, for the reason that it seems to be misunderstood by many people. For instance, some railroad companies having on their lines a great many small stations and buildings scattered through many towns and in different States, persist in insuring these stations through insurance companies instead of doing the insurance themselves.

When the false economy of this plan was explained to a certain board of railroad directors, the statement of one director was that he could see that it had been foolish to insure all these stations in the past, but it would be more foolish to stop insuring now, while there was a chance that the company might get some of the money back again should there happen to be a prevalence of fires along their line. It is a sad fact that this argument was convincing to the other members of the board, and the policy of insuring through insurance companies was continued.

The question to be discussed in this paper is whether the machinery for this distribution of fire loss has not grown too cumbersome and too expensive, and whether the public of to-day is not supporting a great mass of such machinery, which is not only unnecessary, but is wholly disproportionate to the results obtained.

To-day we find that the amount of premiums paid into insurance companies is *double* the amount paid out by them for fire loss. In twenty years in Massachusetts the people have paid to the companies $148,000,000 for protection against loss by fire, while only $77,000,000 has been paid back again to the people in payment of fire losses. In other words, the drain on the community on account of fire has been twice as great as the fire loss. That is to say, the aggregate loss to the community has been twice as great as if no insurance company existed. This means that the cost of distributing the fire loss has been as great as the loss itself. In other words, the cost of taking care of and of distributing the insurance fund which is paid in by the public, bears nearly as great a ratio to the total of the fund as the running expenses of a railroad bear to its gross receipts.

As an evidence of the importance of this question it may be said that one of the best known insurance men of this country has called attention to the fact that in the United States $150,000,000 worth of property is annually destroyed by fire. If we add to this loss the cost of its distribution, we have a grand total of $300,000,000, or more than the average annual expense of maintaining the National Government for the past ten years.

What is the cause of this tremendous cost of distribution?

It does *not* go in profits to the insurance companies. The insurance business has not for many years been profitable to the stockholders of insurance companies. Further than this, it is not necessary for most insurance companies to make any profit out of premiums in order to pay handsome dividends on their capital stock As an illustration: An insurance company in Connecticut makes returns to the Massachusetts Insurance Commission that it has a capital of $4,000,000, but that it has investments of the market value of nearly $11,000,000 which bring to it an income of $470,000 yearly. Here is a profit of over 10 per cent. on the capital stock, derived from the investment of that capital stock and of its unearned premiums and surplus. Illustrations of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely, showing that the investments of insurance companies earn handsome dividends on their capital stocks, and in many cases make up for the actual loss incurred in the insurance business.

The great cost of distributing the fire loss is *not* due to competition between the companies.

We seem to have this anomalous condition of affairs: namely, that the insurance companies complain of making no money, and at the same time there is a complaint on the part of the public that there are not sufficient companies with which to place all the insurance needed. The Boston *Herald*, in a recent editorial article on the subject, makes the statement that:

> "In the central part of our city there is hardly a merchant carrying a considerable stock of goods who can obtain the protection against fire which he wishes."

The great cost of distribution of fire loss is not universal the world over. In the first place, a great difference in the rates of insurance is found in different parts of the world. In an address

at Manchester, England, Mr. H. O. Essex, of the Lancashire Insurance Company, estimates the average rates as follows:

France	8 cents	per $100	Austria	38 cents	per $100
Germany	15 "	100	Russia	61 "	100
England	20 "	100	United States	100 "	100
Australia	36 "	100			

This estimate has been copied by insurance journals in the United States as well as by the daily press, and the accuracy of the rates does not seem to have been questioned. A similar statement as to English rates may be found in *Whitaker's Almanac* for 1894, which gives the following summary:

Common Insurances, rate 8 to 10 cents per $100.

This rate is for buildings covered with slates, tiles, or metals, and built on all sides with brick or stone, or separated by party walls of brick or stone which are carried through the roof, and used for residence or non-hazardous purposes.

Hazardous Insurances, rate 12½ to 17½ cents per $100.

This rate is for buildings of timber and plaster, or not separated by partition walls of brick or stone, or not covered with slates, tiles, or metals, and thatched barns or outhouses having no chimney, and buildings falling under the description of common insurances, but in which hazardous goods are deposited, or hazardous trades are carried on.

Doubly Hazardous Insurances, rate 22 to 25 cents per $100.

This rate is for all thatched buildings having chimneys, or communicating with or adjoining to buildings having one, although no hazardous trade shall be carried on, nor hazardous goods deposited therein, and all hazardous buildings in which hazardous goods are deposited or hazardous trades carried on.

Much depends upon the surroundings of the building insured; for a printer's or bookbinder's workshop in a narrow lane, with old wooden houses near it, the premium would be possibly from 50 to 75 cents per $100.

Special insurances, 25 cents and upwards.

These rates are for buildings and contents, among others of workers in wood, dealers in mineral oils, large drapers, some mills, warehouses, and factories. In the case of some theatres the rate is as high as $1.55 per $100.

The claim has been made by insurance men that these differences in rates between this country and abroad are due simply to the fact that fires do not occur in Europe with the same frequency

and with the same disastrous results as in this country. It probably is the fact that better building methods are in vogue in Europe than in this country, and that this fact has some effect upon the rates. But when we find rates in the United States twelve times higher than in France, and five times as great as in England, some proof of the fact that this difference is due entirely to better building methods should be offered. No such proof, however, seems to be at hand. We find, however, in comparing cities in Europe and America, according to population, and then according to fire loss, that the fire loss is somewhat less abroad than in this country. As an illustration, it appears that the fire loss in Paris for the year 1890 was $1,845,265, while the loss in Boston during the same year was $960,847. The population of Paris is about four times as great as that of Boston, while the fire loss is only twice as great. It may be said that such a comparison is not of great value, but, in the absence of anything better, it may be taken for what it is worth.

Having told what are *not* the causes of the great cost of conducting the insurance business, the question arises what *is* the cause? And there also may arise this question: If the companies are not making money, and if they seem to be unable to find a way to make money, but, on the contrary, are retiring from business in considerable numbers each year, is it not rather foolish to try to discover any cause? Are not insurance men as intelligent and as active a class of men as any in the community? Are they not as anxious to make a profit as any other class of men? If there were any waste that could be stopped, would they not, and could they not, find it out themselves without the help of any outside inexperienced critics? Then, too, if by reforming any present methods, profits to the insurers and lower rates to the insured might be brought about, why are there not intelligent men enough in the community, with plenty of capital, to go into fire insurance business and show how it ought to be done?

The answer to these questions lies in a consideration of who and what are the "insurance men" of this country.

In the first place they are *not*, as a rule, stockholders in the insurance companies, and, as such, interested in the financial success of those companies. The large stockholders of the comparatively few remaining United States companies are not concerned

in their active management. The officers, in most cases, receive small salaries, but make up for the smallnesss of their salaries by the commissions which they receive on the business which is brought to their companies.

If one considers who are meant by "insurance men," as a class, it will be found that the persons thus designated are absolutely and entirely *insurance agents* and *brokers*. It is not intended by anything said here to question the personal character of "insurance men," as a class. On the contrary, they have among their number many of the most intelligent, honest, and enterprising members of the community.

The whole business of fire insurance is conducted to-day by insurance brokers and agents. What is their interest? It will be said that if they are honest and faithful, as it is admitted they are, they will serve the best interests of the companies which they represent. They will not take too many risks in one place or too near together. They will not, unless they get extraordinary rates, take risks which they deem to be extra hazardous, and they will see that the money collected for premiums reaches its proper destination. They will also see that losses are justly and honestly adjusted. All of this may be admitted, but what business is it of the insurance man to look after the *profits* of the companies which he represents; what business is it of his whether the public pays twice as much for fires as the actual fire damage? If rates are high, the company which the insurance man represents gets more money, and he gets a larger income, because his compensation is calculated as a percentage on premiums. As to the public he does his duty when he charges the regular rates and no more, the said rates having been fixed by himself and his colleagues on his local board of underwriters.

So it appears that the honest and efficient agent or broker or in other words the "insurance man" has no real interest, pecuniary or otherwise, either in the profits of his companies or in the reduction of rates to the insured.

A certain rule passed by the Boston Board of Fire Underwriters a year or more ago shows that "insurance men" are not fully alive to the interests of the companies. The rule, in substance, was that if the assured would agree to maintain insurance on their property to an amount equal to eighty per cent of its value, they would be entitled to have their insurance at the

regular rate without any additions. But if the assured would agree to insure his property to one hundred per cent, or its full value, he would be entitled to a reduction of twenty per cent of his premium. Under this rule the companies were compelled to write a policy for $10,000 for the same price as one for $8,000 and upon the same terms. The absurdity of this rule was immediately brought to the attention of the Board of Underwriters, but it was four months before it was repealed.

An examination of the official returns of some of the more prominent insurance companies will give some further light on this subject.

Taking first, one of the large foreign companies, it is found that in six years they have paid out for brokerage and commissions, excluding salaries of officers and employees, an amount equal to 29 per cent of the amount paid by them for fire loss, and if we include salaries of officers and employees, it is found that brokers, agents, officers, and employees together, have received nearly half as much as the insured have received for fire loss.

Taking next a still larger foreign company, which has been paid in six years more than $25,000,000 in premiums, similar facts are found. Brokers and agents get nearly a third as much as the insured get for fire loss, and brokers, agents, officers, and employees get half as much as the insured.

The same state of affairs is found in the American companies. A large Hartford company reports that it has paid in commissions an amount equal to 28 per cent of the amount paid for fire loss, and that the total paid brokers, agents, officers, and employees is equal to 47 per cent of the amount paid the insured for fire loss.

The companies here mentioned are the *best*. If extraordinary cases were being sought, there might be mentioned one small company which reports that its expenses have been a little more than *twice as great as its fire losses*.

It may be noted that what one might expect would be a large item of expense, namely, the maintenance of the system of inspections and rating of buildings and property, is not included under the head of salaries or commissions. This work is done under the charge of boards of underwriters, the expenses of which are divided among the companies, so that the expense to each company is trivial.

In short, it is found that a very large part of the money laid aside each year by the public as an insurance fund to protect against fire loss, finds its way immediately into the pockets of brokers, agents, and officers of the insurance companies. This amount is half as great as the amount that is returned to the public in settlement of losses, and is equal to at least a quarter of all the premiums paid in.

One extraordinary feature of the matter of commissions is that the insured has to pay a broker's commission on every dollar's worth of insurance, *and on every renewal*, whether he desires the services of a broker or agent or not. It is not to be denied that a broker may be of service to a person desiring to procure insurance, but that the public should have to pay a broker from 10 to 15 per cent. on all premiums, and generally a further sum as a commission to an agent, seems ridiculous.

A fact that shows the rottenness of the present system of conducting the insurance business is the custom for a broker to divide commissions with the insured to obtain his business.

It is not unusual to receive an offer of a rebate from 5 to 10 per cent of the premiums of insurance, as an inducement to deal with some particular broker or agent. It is true that this custom is contrary to law and to the rules of the various boards of underwriters, but it may be stated with perfect positiveness that it is very prevalent, as the writer knows from personal experience. If further evidence were needed on the point, it would be sufficient to point to several brokers' advertisements.

It will be understood that the labors of a fire insurance broker are entirely different from those of any other kind of a broker. The life insurance agent has first to induce a man to insure his life, but the fire insurance broker has no similar labor, for every one wants fire insurance. Having induced a man to have his life insured, there is next the question of what company is the best, and on this point every company is struggling to present evidence that it is the strongest, the most liberal, and the most economical. After the life insurance agent has finally convinced his client on all these points, he is in danger of having all his labor go for naught on account of the applicant failing to pass a physical examination. The real estate broker, the agent or broker for any class of merchandise, has all these difficulties of competition and

of demand and supply to overcome. None of these labors are required of the fire insurance broker.

The question remains why new capital does not go into the insurance business and adopt new and more rational methods whereby rates may be reduced, the commission of brokers and agents be abolished, and a profit realized on the money put into the enterprise. The answer to this question is difficult, and cannot perhaps be fully given. In the first place, the experience of those who have money now invested in insurance companies, leads them to be timid about putting new money into similar enterprises. There is also the fact to be borne in mind that any company that enters the field to-day, in opposition to present methods, must be prepared to enter a bitter warfare. All "insurance men"—*i. e.*, brokers and agents—will be against the company. The use of underwriters' ratings and inspections would be denied to the new company, for no one is allowed to examine these rating unless he first agrees to adopt them.

On the other hand, in certain branches of insurance, as for instance in mill insurance, a break has been made from the regular system, and the result, largely due to the abolition of commissions, has been a remarkable reduction in rates.

It is possible for any company to-day to bring about a total overthrow of the present system provided that it has a capital large enough to meet the first onslaught of the upholders of the present insurance machinery, and the backing of such members of the community as would give it a credit and respectability above question. Suppose such a company make a reduction of rate of only 10 per cent, would it not receive the patronage of the public? If the company could save for itself another 5 per cent of its premiums it would gain thereby enough to make an extremely handsome dividend on its capital stock.

This above-mentioned saving is only 15 per cent in all, and is a low estimate of the average amount paid to brokers.

If this gain to the assured and to the companies could be made, simply by allowing the public to deal directly with the companies, instead of through brokers, would it not be a great step taken towards lightening the weight of the immense machinery for the distribution of fire loss?

GEORGE URIEL CROCKER.

THE OUTLOOK FOR PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

In these days of doubt and uncertainty, when the whole social fabric is menaced by the growth of new political theories which strike at the roots of existing institutions, a natural anxiety prompts the thoughtful to inquire whether or no the prevailing system of parliamentary government will be able to ride out the storm which is everywhere rising around it. Despite its marvellous extension during the present century, and the existence of the general belief that it is destined to enjoy an indefinite duration, political critics of the highest order are not wanting who venture to treat it as a mere experiment which may at any time end in failure and disappointment. Sir Henry Maine, after reviewing the short history of popular government in the form in which it now exists, has lent the weight of his great name to the conclusion that so far as the facts of that history go "they do little to support the assumption that popular government has an indefinitely long future before it. Experience rather tends to show that it is characterized by great fragility, and that, since its appearance, all forms of government have become more insecure than they were before." In an article from Prof. Goldwin Smith, entitled "Party Government on its Trial," which appeared in this Review in May, 1892, that eminent writer concluded with the following statement:

"Party government, many of the people who are not politicians are beginning to admit, is on its trial. But we must ask whether elective government is not on its trial also; or, rather, whether elective government, properly so-called, has ever in the case of nations or large constituencies really existed, or can be made really to exist?"

According to those who take a pessimistic view of the future of parliamentary government the two greatest dangers which menace its perpetuity arise, certainly so far as continental Europe is concerned, out of the growth of vast standing armies, which national defence renders necessary, and out of the presence of that ever widening and aggressive element generally designated as Irreconcilables, who declare war upon all existing forms of government, no matter how broad may be the basis of popular suffrage upon which they rest. The history of popular governments shows that their two great adversaries have ever been the army and the mob, which have so often driven them out either singly or in combination. To these older dangers, which have long menaced the parliamentary system from without, must be added that which now arises from within out of the designs of that socialistic element which aspires to win majorities in national assemblies, as now constituted, by the use of the suffrage, and then by means of the supreme power thus legitimately won to inaugurate a revolution which will ignore both the sacredness of contract and the stability of private property.

This dark forecast of the future of popular government can only be met by the assertion that while it may be said to be still in an experimental stage, it is steadily and firmly advancing in the path of historic development along which it is being impelled by the silent and irresistible force of a natural political evolution. The new science of comparative politics has long ago demonstrated the fact that the political institutions of the Aryan peoples, springing from the village community as the germ of organization, have grown and expanded by virtue of law which has made the evolutions of politics scarcely less orderly and progressive than those of the physical world. Political growth seems everywhere to be natural; there is no progress by leaps and bounds; everything matures and ripens through the silent force of custom. Nothing seems to be more certain than the fact that the great dominant forms of government, which at different epochs of the world's history have become universal, or nearly so, have neither appeared nor disappeared through conscious human agency. Each age seems to be dominated and overshadowed by some prevailing form of polity which the irresistible law of growth forces upon the nations whose free agency seems only sufficient to enable

them to modify and adapt it to their own peculiar wants and conditions. In that way, and only in that way, has conscious human agency been able to mould and modify the world-wide processes of political development. Only during marked transitions from one stage of growth to another, generally called revolutions, do opportunities arise for such new combinations of old elements as are generally mistaken for inventions. The student of the science of politics, as now understood, can therefore only regard the existing parliamentary system as a stage in that process of political evolution which has been slowly unfolding itself for centuries; while the practical statesman can hope to do no more than devote himself to the study of the political system which he finds growing upon his native soil with a view to its cultivation and improvement. No speculation can be more barren than that which addresses itself to the impossible inquiry as to the length of time the prevailing form of parliamentary government will probably exist. Those who are really interested in its perpetuity and well-being need only devote themselves to the history of its origin and growth in order to draw from its antecedents a knowledge which will indicate the means necessary to improve its operations.

The fact must be borne steadily in mind that the representative principle was utterly unknown to the ancient world, which never employed representative assemblies. The ancient conception of the state was embodied in the city commonwealth, whose democracy acted through the narrow primary body which met within its own walls, and in which all citizens were expected to be actually present and vote. The citizen who could not be present in person could not vote by proxy; and hence the idea of Aristotle that no free state could exist whose territory was so wide or whose population was so scattered that all citizens could not habitually attend the state assembly. Rome never advanced beyond this primitive system, which was utterly incapable, of course, of concentrating her widely scattered dependencies for political action in one central body. The means for the accomplishment of that great end was first supplied by the Teutonic nations who settled down upon the wreck of Rome, bringing with them, as a part of their political organization, the principle of representation, which has enabled the nations of the modern world to organize representative assemblies which can speak and act for

large bodies of men scattered over vast areas of territory. The political systems of all the Teutonic nations, as they appear to us when written history begins, contain the germs of the representative principle imbedded in the organizations of their local self-governing communities; and in all the settlements made by them on Roman soil a serious attempt was at some time made in the direction of representative government. But the remarkable fact is that in every continental state in which such an attempt was made it ended at last in failure and disappointment. By the sixteenth century every effort made to establish representative government upon the continent of Europe had come to an end. Then it was that the free constitutions of Castile and Aragon were overthrown by Charles V. and Philip II.; then it was that the States-General of France met for the last time prior to their final meeting upon the eve of the French Revolution.

During the epoch which extends from the sixteenth century to that great event pure monarchy became the dominant and overshadowing form of government which impressed itself upon the continental nations. Only in the province of Britain has the system of representative government there established by the Teutonic conquerors had a continuous and progressive existence. Hence, out of the English parliamentary system, planted by Teutonic settlers upon what had been Roman soil, have grown all the representative assemblies of the modern world either through an unconscious process of natural reproduction, or through that of conscious imitation. By virtue of the first process have grown up all the representative assemblies of the United States whose success has done so much to hand on the torch which the mother country has kept burning. From the United States republican and representative principles have passed to all the Spanish-American communities from the borders of Mexico to the Straits of Magellan. No attempt, however, can be made within narrow limits even to summarize the troubled history of those republics which speak a language more widely diffused through the civilized world than any other save English alone. The influence of the United States has also impressed itself to a marked extent upon the politics of Europe. Not until after the English political model had been popularized by the founders of the federal Republic of the United States did its reproduction upon the Continent really begin.

Guizot has said that every great idea which has entered into modern civilization has first passed through France before it has received general acceptance. Certain it is that the English representative system, strengthened by its American experience, never began to make headway among the Continental nations until it was first commended by that school of French thinkers who at the end of the last century began to advocate its adoption. Since then representative assemblies after the English model have been set up in France, in Spain and Portugal, in Holland and Belgium, in Germany, Italy and Austria—in all the European nations, in fact, except Russia and Turkey. With the exception of Greece, Servia and Bulgaria, all the Continental states have adopted the English bicameral or two-chamber system; and they have also copied in some form the English idea of ministerial responsibility to a national assembly. Passing to the Eastern world, a parliamentary *régime* has also been set up in Japan, a circumstance which accounts to a great extent no doubt for its recent advancement. In the light of this vast and rapid expansion of the representative system both in the old world and the new during the present century, it must certainly be regarded as the one dominant and overshadowing form of polity which the irresistible law of political growth has imposed upon the age in which we live. In order to estimate its ability to deal with the mighty problems now forced upon it, and to resist the forces which menace its perpetuity, it is but just to examine it in the light of its most perfect developments as they exist in England, France and the United States.

During the thirteenth century was completed throughout Europe that phase of its political growth generally known as the estate system, which consisted of the division of a nation into definite classes or orders of men, a condition of things out of which arose that type of a national assembly in which each class or order appeared in person or by representatives. While in each country the system has its special or local history, as a general rule, three estates everywhere appear arranged upon substantially the same principle. In France the States-General were composed of the clergy, the nobles, and the rest of the nation as the *tiers état.* In Spain there were three orders, and also in England, where they appear as the clergy, the baronage and commons, and not as often erroneously stated as king, lords and commons. The

English Parliament soon came to consist, however, of two houses instead of three, by reason of special and local causes, which brought the separate representation of the clergy to an early end. The representative chamber was then greatly strengthened in England by reason of the fact that the knights of the shire, representing a class of landed proprietors considered on the continent as lesser nobles, took their places, not in the House of Lords, but in the Commons, with the representatives of the towns. Thus reinforced by a most influential element, the English representative chamber has during a period of more than six centuries been growing in power and influence until it has at last become the dominant force of the constitutional system. Through the growth of its exclusive right to initiate financial legislation, it has finally won the power to control the entire executive administration, a control which it now exercises through that inner circle of the privy council known as the cabinet, which is no more nor less than a committee of the House of Commons authorized by it to carry on the Government so long as it can command a majority of its votes.

This representative chamber which claims the right to speak and act for the English nation has been very slow in extending the right to participate in the election of its members to the main body of the people. The county franchise which was limited in 1430 (8 Henry VI.) to such freeholders as "have free land or tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year at least, above all charges," was never enlarged until the enactment of the great Reform Bill of 1832. This mediæval limitation of the suffrage in the shires was so extended in another form to the municipal electoral system as to bring about a still more sweeping restriction in the cities and towns. Through the results of this disfranchising process the county constituencies were finally overshadowed by the paramount influence of the greater landowners, while the borough constituencies became in the main the property of the crown and the aristocracy. It is said that in 1793, when the members of the Commons numbered 558, a majority of 354 was nominally returned by less than 15,000 electors, but in reality on the nomination or recommendation of the Government and 197 private patrons. To remedy this wretched condition of things was passed the Reform Bill of 1832 under whose operation the electors of the United Kingdom rose to the number of

1,370,793, a total which had swelled in May, 1879, by reason of the Reform Act of 1867, to 2,999,229. The results of the Revolution of 1688 finally established the political supremacy of the House of Commons; the Reform Bill of 1832 transferred the actual control of that house from the titled and untitled landed aristocracy to the English middle classes; the Reform Act of 1867 enfranchising the working classes enabled them to take their places by the side of the middle classes in the control of the governing assembly of the State.

The great change thus brought about in the constitution of the Commons told at once upon the political weight of the hereditary chamber. "Since the Reform Act the House of Lords has become a revising and suspending house," in which great national measures passed by the Commons may be for a time delayed until the nation becomes thoroughly in earnest. Then, when the hereditary chamber definitely refuses to bow to the will of the Commons, it is threatened with annihilation. This abnormal condition of things has brought the English people face to face with one of the most serious constitutional questions with which they have ever been confronted. Despite the fact that they have taught all the world to believe that a parliamentary system, in order to be well-balanced, must consist of two chambers, a great English party is now contending that Sieyès was right when he said that "if a second chamber dissents from the first, it is mischievous; if it agrees, it is superfluous." If this proposition to abolish absolutely the upper house should be accepted, conservative England, the mother of Parliaments with two chambers, would pass at a bound to a radical position which would commit her destinies to a single assembly, armed with full power over the constitution, which it may wield at pleasure. At no previous stage of their history have the English people ever reformed their constitution in that way. Their rule has ever been to so modify and reconstruct old institutions as to bring them into harmony with existing conditions without any violent break with the past. While there is at present no good reason to believe that England will give up the two-chamber system, it is manifest that the House of Lords must be so reconstructed at an early day as to bring it into harmony with modern ideas without an entire annihilation of the hereditary class which still exercises so great an influence upon English public opinion. The only practical

question now is as to the means best calculated to bring about that result.

As constitutional reform is an experiment which should always be made, if possible, in the light of experience, the English can hardly do better than employ the expedient by which the question of a second chamber was happily solved under like circumstances by the Spanish statesmen who drafted the present constitution promulgated in July, 1876. the Spanish Senate as now constituted consists of three elements: the first embracing the greater nobles (the grandees of Spain), who are distinguished from the lesser by the possession of a certain annual income from land, the heads of the church, the army, and the navy, together with the heads of certain supreme tribunals, all of whom sit by virtue of their status or office ; the second embracing the life senators, appointed by the Crown ; the third embracing the senators, elected by the people. By express provision of the constitution the first and second classes when added together shall not exceed 180, the number fixed for the elective senators, a half of whom are chosen every five years or whenever the crown sees fit to dissolve the elective element of the senate as a whole. Twenty years of experience has shown that a senate thus constituted easily adapts itself to all the necessities of a parliamentary system guided by a ministry responsible to a popular chamber. The life senators nominated by the party which happens to be in power when vacancies occur are generally about equally divided. Under such conditions the senate can always be made to respond to the national will through the 180 elective senators who may be thrown upon their constituencies whenever they fail to agree with the majority of the lower house. If the English people resolve to reform the House of Lords upon conservative lines they can scarcely hope to improve upon the Spanish experiment* which has produced a senate of real power and dignity, a body in which the church and the nobles are well represented, and yet a body which through its appointed and elective elements can be made when occasion requires to quickly respond to the touch of public opinion.

The growth of monarchy in France gradually crushed the life out of all the older forms of popular government, both central

* Second Chambers embracing hereditary peers, life and elective senators, also exist in Prussia, Bavaria, Cis-Leithan Austria, and Portugal, as well as in many of the smaller German States.

and local, which had sprung from the institutions of earlier times. The States-General, after being kept alive for three centuries (1302-1614) ceased to be called together when they were no longer needed to give sanction to the measures of a ministerial system which so far centralized the provincial administration as to exhaust the vitality of all the older forms of local self-government. What the French Revolution did not destroy was the system of centralized administration which the monarchy had developed; the legislators of the revolution attempted to do no more than reorganize and simplify that system. The Constituent Assembly simply gave order and symmetry to local administration, when in December, 1789, it carved out of the old provinces of France the eighty-six existing departments now divided into arrondissements, each arrondissement being subdivided into cantons, and each canton into communes. As a general rule, the central government is directly represented through appointed officers in every grade of local government under a scheme which renders the entire local machinery responsive to the guiding hand of the ministry at Paris.

Upon this artificial and bureaucratic substructure, with no historical connection with the traditions of the older freedom, have been superimposed the several systems of popular government that have followed each other since the great upheaval at the end of the last century, which substituted the absolute sovereignty of the people for the indefensible sovereignty of the king.

The most hopeful and the most permanent of these experiments is embodied in the existing third republic proclaimed by Gambetta in 1870, when the war was still in progress. As all the world knows, a national assembly chosen by universal suffrage in 1871 to settle the terms of peace with Germany, after performing that function, continued to govern the country provisionally down to February, 1875, when, assuming to act as a constituent assembly, it adopted the present constitution, which, a year later, went into operation. So far as central political organization is concerned, the present French constitution was made strictly after the British model. As in the English system, the supreme powers of the state are vested in two chambers, which have the right to change the constitution without limit when acting jointly as a national assembly. There is no tribunal like the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the validity

of national laws; the only body competent to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation is the Legislature itself. The weakest feature, however, of the system has grown out of the impossible attempt to put a Republican President in the shoes of an English sovereign by making him a mere figurehead entirely dependent upon the ministry, which in France, far more than in England, is subject to the dictation and control of the popular chamber. This decline of ministerial leadership in France seems to have resulted of late years from the assumptions of the Budget Committee of the Deputies which claims the right to dominate and direct the financial policy of the Government. As an eminent American critic has lately expressed it:

"The extraordinary functions which have been arbitrarily assumed by the Budget Committee simply mirror the whole political situation in France. The chamber has undertaken to govern, with or without the leadership of ministers. So capricious, so willful, has it been in its rejection of every minister who would not at once willingly serve its moods, so impatient, indeed, with all ministerial leadership, that almost every public man of experience and ability in France has now been in one way or another discredited by its action; and France is staggering under that most burdensome, that most intolerable, of all forms of government, *government by mass meeting*, by an inorganic popular assembly."*

The instability which results from this unfortunate condition of things in which real and stable leadership is denied both to the president and the ministry can be easily illustrated by a recapitulation recently made by the *Figaro* of all the ministries that have existed in France since February, 1871. From that it appears that there have been *thirty-four* within that time, with an average life of only eight months; and, including those persons who have gone out of office when partial changes have been made, there have been 201 different ministers. MacMahon governed with eight cabinets, Grévy with twelve, Carnot with ten. This lack of responsible leadership, which is depriving France of that kind of firm and continuous policy which is so necessary for her welfare, is sure to increase with the persistent growth of factions. French republicans will therefore soon be forced to look the fact in the face, that, in constructing the executive power, the framers of their present constitution fell into a fatal error, from which the framers of the constitution of the United States were saved by a circumstance to be explained hereafter. It has been well said

* Woodrow Wilson, *The State*, p. 211.

that the old kings of France reigned and governed; that a constitutional king of England reigns but does not govern; that the President of the United States governs but does not reign, while the President of the present French republic neither reigns nor governs. As a protest against this condition of things impossible in a republic, Casimir-Perier sent in his resignation. The inevitable remedy is plain and simple. The President of the French republic must be made like his legitimate brother, the President of the United States, an independent factor in the constitution clothed with real powers and responsibilities.

The ancient illusion that the constitution of the United States sprang from the brains of its framers through a kind of inspiration has long ago been dispelled by the fact that "constitutions are not made, they grow." Transplanted from the narrow confines of an island world into a practically limitless expanse of territory, the old plant has naturally taken on several new forms as the result of its new environment. In that way the political experience of the United States has given to the world two and only two new principles which are of vital importance to the future of popular government. The first is the principle of constitutional limitations upon the legislative power whereby rights become so "vested" that they cannot be overturned in a moment by ordinary representative assemblies,—a barrier against revolutionary and socialistic designs against private property and the sacredness of contract which Europe does not possess. The power of the American Courts, State and Federal, to declare void all legislation passed in violation of such limitations, is nothing but the corollary or necessary consequence of this principle. The second is embodied in the new path-breaking idea, unknown in all previous federal systems, whereby the framers of the Constitution of the United States were able to apply federal law directly to individuals as such instead of to the corporate bodies or States of which they were members. The application of this new principle made necessary the division of the sum of federal power into the three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial. Upon this subject there is also an ancient illusion, still often indulged in by writers of the first class, which should give way to plain historical facts. Somebody who had never read the *Federalist* a long time ago, put in circulation the statement that the framers of our Federal Constitution really believed that

in the English system, which they so closely followed and so perfectly understood, the three powers were actually separate and distinct from each other. Even Prof. Goldwin Smith, in the article already referred to, restates this most improbable assumption as follows:

"The framers of the American Constitution erred plainly enough in taking the legal and Blackstonian version of their British model as practically true, assuming that the King was the real executive, and that the House of Lords was a branch of the legislature coördinate with the House of Commons. They erred in fancying, with Montesquieu, that the executive, legislative, and judicial powers under the British constitution were really independent of each other. Their imitation is impressed with these misconceptions."

The plain answer to this bit of groundless criticism is that it rests upon three serious "misconceptions" of fact. In the first place, Montesquieu perfectly understood and accurately expounded the maxim as to the division of powers in the qualified sense in which it was understood in the English system (See Spirit of Laws, bk. XI., ch. 6). In the second place it is certain that "the framers" were under no possible misconception because Mr. Madison, who more than any other man was the father of the constitution, after assuring us that Montesquieu "did not mean that these departments ought to have no *partial agency* in, or no *control* over, the acts of each other," goes on to say that "on the slightest view of the British constitution we must perceive that the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments are by no means totally separate and distinct from each other," a fact which he drove home by an analysis of the state constitutions in which he failed to find "a single instance in which the several departments of power have been kept absolutely separate and distinct," "notwithstanding the emphatical, and, in some instances, the unqualified terms in which the axiom has been laid down."* In the third place "the framers" did not err in "assuming that the king was the real executive." The fact is, that at the moment they were doing their work he was the real executive; for the moment cabinet government did not exist in England; under the domination of George III. it had passed into eclipse.† As Sir Henry Maine has well expressed it:

"the figure they had before them was not a generalized English king nor an abstract constitutional monarch; it was no anticipation of Queen

* *Federalist*, No. xlvi., Dawson ed., pp. 334-342.

† This fact has been fully developed by Mr. Bryce in *The American Commonwealth*, and by Sir T. Erskine May, Const. Hist., vol. i., pp. 15-164.

Victoria, but George III. himself whom they took for their model. Fifty years earlier, or a hundred years later, the English king would have struck them in quite a different light."

Thus it was that the framers of the constitution of the United States were saved from the fatal error committed by our French brethren a century later when they attempted to put a Republican president in the shoes of a modern constitutional king. The presidential office in the United States was patterned after that of an executive who actually governed, and the experiment has worked successfully for a hundred years. The only practical inconvenience which the legislative business of the country, now swelled to immense proportions, suffers under the existing system grows out of the want of power upon the part of the American cabinet to appear in the houses upon grave occasions in order to introduce and discuss legislation upon a few vital subjects, in reference to which the President should have the initiative. In an article upon that subject which appeared in this REVIEW in August, 1894, I attempted to point out how that difficulty can be removed by a simple act of Congress, with a corresponding change in the rules, without any organic change whatever in the constitution itself. Under the Swiss federal system, singularly like our own, the ministers who hold for a fixed term possess the right to propose and discuss legislation in the chambers, and if their proposals are defeated they simply go on with their work as if nothing had occurred. The fact has therefore been demonstrated by experience that the advantages of a limited ministerial initiative may be enjoyed without the consequent inconvenience and turmoil which results from too frequent changes of ministries. Not until the American cabinet is permitted to appear at the bar of the houses in order to propose, discuss, and press to a vote certain vital subjects of legislation upon which the interests of the country must always depend, will we come into possession of that all-important business principle which enables every parliamentary government in Europe to concentrate the energy of the legislature at the critical moment upon such pressing matters as should be disposed of, to the exclusion of all other business,—a faculty which our headless and leaderless committee system very poorly supplies.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

IV.—THE EMPEROR'S MARRIAGE.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

AMONG the notes written by my elder granduncle within the twelvemonth preceding his death, I find the following: "We went to see the arrival of Alexander II. at the Northern Railway, and while waiting on the platform caught a glimpse of the Emperor. At that distance he looked ill and careworn—more careworn than ill. I feel convinced that among that chosen gathering within, and that vast crowd without, the station, there were not two men feeling more wretched than the Czar of all the Russias and the Emperor of the French, whom to honor those crowds had assembled. But I fancy that the Emperor feels even more wretched than the Czar, for although they both know that they may at any moment become the victims of assassins, the latter is borne up by the knowledge of being hemmed in by a serried phalanx of blindly devoted friends, while the former is painfully aware of being surrounded by envy and intrigue. 'I can count the friends who would sacrifice their lives for me on the fingers of one hand, and still have two fingers left to snap at my enemies,' the Emperor said the other day in a tone of bravado which, however, did not deceive me or himself as to its underlying bitterness. I think the Emperor is mistaken in the number of those who would fight for him till they had not a drop of blood left. Conneau and Rouher, and another half dozen I could name, would stand by him, like Fleury, Persigny, and Princesse Mathilde, no matter what happened. At the same time, there is no doubt that since Mocquard's death* he feels more acutely than before the

* François Mocquard was Louis Napoleon's private secretary from the moment the latter became a candidate for the Presidency until Mocquard's death. My

envy and constant antagonism of which he is the object on the part of Jérôme. Mocquard was the only one who could manage that cur (*ce chien hargneux*), for he is his equal in knowledge, and does not mind flinging his knowledge overboard to come to close quarters with him physically. If Mocquard had had his way, he would have made an end of him seventeen years ago, and Louis Napoleon would have been rid of the most cowardly and at the same time most unscrupulous enemy he had had in his life."

The last sentence of this note must be taken literally, for it is a literal fact that on the morning of December 7, 1851, hence on the Sunday after the *coup d'état*, Mocquard would have shot down Plon-Plon like a mad dog if the Prince-President had not placed himself in front of his cousin at the risk of his own life. The incident is absolutely unknown, but I have chapter and verse for what I state. The Prince-President was very indignant, and ordered Mocquard to apologize. Mocquard not only refused to do so, but turned on his heel and left the room. When Plon-Plon was gone, the Prince went to Mocquard and repeated his order—"unless," he added, "you can give me a valid reason for this utterly unprovoked attack." "I will neither apologize nor give you a reason, Monseigneur," replied Mocquard firmly; "sooner than do either, I would leave you and the Elysée forever. But mark this, the time will come when you will be sorry for my miscarried attempt." The Prince did not insist, and up to the day of his death he never knew what had goaded Mocquard into that apparently unprovoked assault. Mocquard himself kept the secret for many years; but at the time of Plon-Plon's marriage with Victor Emmanuel's daughter, he told my granduncle, and after recounting the above particulars, he gave him the reason also, pledging him to secrecy only with regard to the attack, not with regard to the cause. "I meant to kill him," said Mocquard, "and have been sorry ever since that I did not succeed. From the Tuesday till the Friday morning (December

granduncle's estimate of his mental attainments was somewhat exaggerated; for though a very talented lawyer and a clever literary man, he was *not*, intellectually, Prince Jérômes's equal. My uncle's partiality was due to their sincere friendship for Mocquard, who was a constant guest at our home, and whom I liked almost as well as did my uncles. The origin of these three men's attachment to one another was their common and fervent admiration for Queen Hortense, and their unbounded sympathy with her third son. I am under the impression that the substance of a great many of my uncle's notes relating to things absolutely unknown even to the Emperor's immediate *entourage*, were communicated by Mocquard, though I have no absolute evidence to that effect. I shall avail myself frequently of them, especially in this chapter.

2–5, 1851) he was seen everywhere, except at the Elysée, by the side of that cousin to whom he already owed so much. When I say everywhere, I mean among the adversaries of the Prince. And when, on that Friday morning, all further resistance seemed obviously hopeless even to the most determined of the Prince's adversaries, Plon-Plon girded his loins for another effort. He actually went to the offices of the *Presse*, and in conjunction with Emile de Girardin drew up a kind of manifesto inciting people to further revolt. While the matter was being put in type Plon-Plon waited in an adjoining room. He was correcting the proof when two members of Girardin's staff came in and told him that the army was master of the situation. Thereupon Girardin informed them of what was being done in the next room, and before he had ceased speaking Plon-Plon came in, proof in hand. 'Then you mean to say,' he exclaimed angrily, 'that you accept the whole affair as an accomplished fact—that you decline to sign this protest?' 'And you,' was the counter-question of one of the newcomers, 'and you, will you sign the protest?' 'That's different; my position forbids me doing so.' 'In that case,' remarked Girardin, quietly, taking the proofs from Plon-Plon's hands, 'in that csse there is no need for these proofs, for I was under the impression that you were going to sign at the head of us all.' Saying which, he tore up the proofs and flung the pieces into the waste-paper basket. I have got them in my possession, with the corrections and two additional sentences in Plon-Plon's handwriting. I have had them since the evening of that day. It does not matter how I got them. I pasted the pieces together, and keep them under lock and key."

The suppression of that one fact could have made but little difference to Louis Napoleon's estimate of Plon-Plon's character, nor did it. He knew that he and his father would stop at nothing to gain their ends—namely, the imperial crown for the son—and the knowledge embittered his life from the moment he set foot in the Tuileries. Up till then his life was perfectly safe from their attacks, for they had nothing to gain by his death and everything to lose. It is generally supposed that the new Emperor endeavored to surround himself with the *noblesse* of the old *régime* from a feeling of vanity, and for the purpose of conciliating that *noblesse*. Nothing is farther from the truth; at any rate, while the Emperor was a bachelor. To begin with,

Napoleon III. was the least vain of all men in that respect; if anything, his vanity lay the other way; he prided himself upon being a parvenu among the crowned heads of Europe, and somewhat ostentatiously applied the epithet to himself. Secondly, he felt convinced that no amount of favor and good-will shown to a fraction of the Faubourg St. Germain would insure him either the dynastic or social countenance of the rest, but he thoroughly agreed with the axiom of Napoleon I., "*Qu'il n'y a que la noblesse qui sache servir,*" and he wished to take his Mamelukes, his Roustans, from among them. "I believe in my star, but I am afraid of the satellites," he said one day to my uncle, shortly after he had taken up his residence at the Tuileries. My uncle endeavored to talk him out of it, albeit that he himself believed that fear to be justified, and then the Emperor told him a story, which, if invented by a Palais-Royal farce writer, would stamp that writer as one of the greatest masters of his craft, though at the same time the public might object that their credulity had been put to too severe a test.

"You remember," said the Emperor, "that on the 2d December [1852], I removed to the Tuileries for good, and that on the evening there was a State dinner. Nor need I remind you of the debt of gratitude I owe to my cousin, the Princesse Mathilde. Well, I considered it my duty to acknowledge that debt semi-publicly, and took the opportunity of doing so that night. Through an oversight of the reporters, the papers reproduced the spirit, perhaps, though not the substance of my words. I took her into dinner, and before we sat down I said, loud enough to be heard by everybody, 'My dear Mathilde, for the present your place is on my right hand; when you vacate it, it will be to take the one still nearer to my heart.' The papers had it, 'My dear Mathilde, you will take the first position, here on my right hand, until there is an empress.' In reality there was not a pin to choose between the significance of the two sentences. The moment I had spoken the words I noticed a scowl on my uncle's face, and during the whole of the dinner he scarcely addressed himself to me, and answered me gruffly when I spoke to him. Next morning Fleury came in at the usual hour, which, as you know, is before I see anybody, unless Mocquard has something special to communicate to me. I have always considered a few minutes' chat with Fleury as a stimulant to help me through with

the business of the day. Fleury has got a tell-tale face, and the moment I looked at him I knew that something comic had happened. 'Comic, indeed, sire,' he said, in answer to my remark; 'I doubt, though, whether your Majesty will think it as comic as I do. Your Majesty's uncle has been simply foaming at the mouth since last night, and goes about yelling that you had no business to marry, that such a marriage would interfere with his son's rights. Just before he left he held forth to me for about ten minutes. I was under the impression at first that he was joking, but I assure your Majesty that he is terribly in earnest.

In 1831 Louis Napoleon, in spite of his preoccupations about the French throne, was virtually an idler—a *flâneur*—though evidently not the kind of *flâneur* so tersely described by Balzac, the *flâneur* whose apparently idle lounging is a science, viz., the gastronomy of the eyes. For it is very doubtful whether the *flâneur* proper, as distinct from the literary man and painter, would have attempted to cultivate that science in the Quartier Mouffetard and round about the Place Maubert sixty-four years ago, when that neighbourhood was even less savoury than it is now. And yet it was to that unsavoury neighbourhood that the twenty-three-year-old Prince repaired nightly for more than a month before the disturbance on the Place Vendôme (May 5th 1831); it was in a thieves' den that he spent most of his time while Louis Philippe, who had given him and his mother permission to stay for a short period in Paris, was under the impression that he was ill in bed, although Casimir-Perier (the grandfather of the late President of the Republic) knew better; for he had given orders to the Prefect of Police not to lose sight of Hortense's son. Young Louis Napoleon was arrested on the 7th or 8th of May, and conveyed to Sainte-Pélagie. That much is certain, for Raspail, the eminent savant, saw him there and gave a description of his mode of life. But the particulars of that arrest never fully transpired; beyond the fact that the Prince was *not* arrested at home, the outer world knows nothing up to the present day, and but for the following note, I should have been as ignorant. Whether I have read the note aright or not is a question I dare scarcely decide for myself.

"The news of Eugène Sue's death reached here a couple of days ago, and, of course, the papers are full of biographical arti-

cles and reminiscences. In spite of all these, I question whether more than a dozen people are personally affected by his disappearance. But Véron, whom I met yesterday, was decidedly upset, albeit that the cause of his emotion is, to say the least, curious. 'To think,' he said in a subdued tone, 'that not one person in a thousand will give Sue a second thought after he, the individual, has read the articles about him. And yet it seems but yesterday that the whole of France was ringing with his name, that people were absolutely frantic to know what he ate and drank, how he dressed and spent his time. If such is the case with a man of his talents, what will it be with men of less talent, but who, nevertheless, have also tried to benefit their fellow-creatures?' And he pulled a very doleful face, at which I burst out laughing, for I could plainly see that he was thinking of his own posthumous reputation. He evidently read my thoughts, for he smiled. 'Ah, well,' he remarked, 'we all have our little weaknesses.' Then he suddenly added, 'I wonder what the Emperor thinks?' 'The Emperor?' I repeated in surprise; 'the Emperor has no need to regret or to mourn over Eugène Sue, for Sue certainly did not behave in a friendly way to him. Even if Sue's republican convictions were as strong as he represented them to be, which I doubt, he ought to have remained silent at the *coup d'état.*'* 'I was not thinking about that,' replied Véron; 'I was wondering how he takes the death of the novelist who immortalized him as Prince Rodolphe of *Les Mystères de Paris.*' I stood staring at him. 'I see, you do not understand,' he said. 'Come along, and I will tell you.' We sat down at Tortoni's, and then he told me that when Louis Napoleon

* My uncle was right. Eugène Sue was the godson of Louis Napoleon's mother and of her brother, Eugène de Beauharnais, whose Christian name he subsequently took, although it was not given to him at his baptism. The fact of his being the godson of some of Louis Napoleon's relations ought to have imposed a certain reserve with regard to the Prince, even if his, Sue's, socialistic tendencies, Republican opinions, and sympathy with the poor had been less suspected, and justly suspected, than they were. (See *An Englishman in Paris*, vol. I., ch. 2.) Even the people in whose interest he professed to act made fun of him when he became a candidate for a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. But on the strength of his two great novels, Sue determined to pose as a benefactor to suffering humanity, although he himself had not the least intention of assuming such a *rôle* when he began *Les Mystères de Paris.* Accordingly, when on the 2nd December, 1851, Morny placed his name on the list of Deputies to be arrested, and when the President put his pen through the name, Sue, still determined to enact the victim, voluntarily constituted himself a prisoner at the Fort de Vanves. When the "Bill of Exile" was promulgated, he was again disappointed, for the President had effaced his name a second time. Sue professed himself offended at that clemency, and went into exile of his own accord. As may be seen from all this, Louis Napoleon remembered that Sue was his mother's godson, Sue did not. Louis Napoleon's behaviour in this instance bears out the words of Persigny, quoted in a previous chapter, namely, that Louis Napoleon gave his affection to people irrespective of its being returned or not.

was arrested in May, 1831, he was not only *not* arrested at home, but that he wore a blouse and a cloth cap at the time. 'To the best of my belief,' Véron went on, 'it was on the outskirts of the Quartier Mouffetard, but of that I will not be certain, for Sue, who told me, was not certain himself.' 'Then it was Sue who told you?' I asked. 'How did he know?' 'That I cannot tell you, I do not know; but I am under the impression that he got the story at the time from ex-Queen Hortense herself.' I remembered that in spite of Sue's tuft-hunting in the Faubourg St. Germain in the early thirties, he went to see his godmother once or twice; it was not quite so clear to me why Queen Hortense should have told him the particulars of her son's arrest, and I pointed this out to Véron. 'The same thought struck me, and I can only account for it in one way,' replied Véron. 'Part of the story was sure to leak out—those things always do; for when Louis Napoleon was transferred from the Palais de Justice to Sainte-Pélagie, he still wore the clothes in which he was taken. The officials of the prison must have seen the Prince in them, and they had no incentive to hold their tongues. Queen Hortense, I need scarcely tell you, was too clever not to have anticipated this; so in order to explain her son's disguise, and to find at the same time a colorable excuse for his constant excursions to the Quartier Mouffetard, she invented the story of his having gone there to get materials for his contemplated studies on pauperism. I feel certain that at the time Sue himself was taken in by the story, and when, ten years later, *i. e.* after the publication of the opening chapters of *Les Mystères* in the *Débats*, M Considérant, the editor of *La Démocratie Pacifique*, gave him, as it were, the cue as to the aim of his novel, he took the hint, and made Rodolphe a philanthropist, a redresser of wrongs, and so forth. Honestly speaking, I do not believe for one moment that Sue started his novel with such an idea. He no doubt recollected the incident of the Prince's arrest and from the very outset had the Prince in his mind's eye when sketching Rodolphe, but that was all. Nor do I believe that the Prince went to the Quartier Mouffetard for philanthropic purposes."

In at least one respect Louis Napoleon was like François I., and the fascination the latter exercised over women. To the full as ill-favored by nature as Mirabeau, Louis Napoleon had been just as successful with women, and in many instances

with women of standing in society. At the very moment when Mdlle. de Montijo appeared on the scene, a woman was to a certain extent supplying the first sinews for that war the guerdon of which was to be the imperial crown of France. And, in spite of all that has been said, Miss Howard was neither born in a garret nor bred in a kitchen. She may not have been a gentlewoman by birth and breeding in the best acceptation of the word; but she was by no means the utterly vulgar, ignorant and debased creature people have tried to make her out. She was not highly educated, perhaps, but she had a natural charm and tact that made up for the lack of education. Great statesmen did not hesitate to solicit her help when Louis Napoleon, even as President, became inaccessible to them; great statesmen's emissaries did not consider it superfluous to sound her with regard to the new Emperor's opinions on very weighty measures. If my statements on these points are challenged, I will give proofs which it will be difficult indeed to controvert. She had hosts of wealthy admirers, and was possessed of considerable means. The sum she lent Louis Napoleon was far short of the legendary eight millions of francs, but it amounted to more than £40,000. And, let it be remembered that, by Miss Howard's own admission, not one cent of that money was borrowed or lent under a promise of marriage, although the contrary has been so often asserted as to make one tired of contradicting it. Miss Howard was too sensible a woman to have ever fostered such a hope. In her bitterest denunciations of Louis Napoleonsh e never taxed him with having deceived her in that way.

Louis Napoleon, though not a vain man, was well aware of the passion he had inspired. His previous as well as actual love affairs—the use of the plural is necessary—must, moreover, have convinced him that his powers of fascination were not on the wane. What more natural, in his case, than that he should wish to test them on the young Spanish girl whom accident had thrown across his path, and who was unquestionably one of the most beautiful women of her time.

Says La Fontaine:

> *Filles de sang royal ne se déclarent guères*
> *Tout se passe dans leur cœur, ce qui les fasche bien,*
> *Car elles sont de chair ainsi que les bergères.*

If ever a man knew these three lines by heart, and felt inclined

to act upon the strong hint conveyed in them, it was assuredly Louis Napoleon. Besides, he was, above all, a thorough worldling, and as such may have entertained a strong suspicion that it was not altogether accident that had thrown Mlle. de Montijo across his path. The fame of her beauty had spread through many lands; she rarely appeared anywhere without a throng of admirers, but she might have said, with Esther Eccles in *Caste:* "There is not a husband among them"; for though many aspired to the pleasure of her society, none aspired to the honor of her hand.

Louis Napoleon had not the faintest intention of making the handsome Spanish girl his wife either in the near or remote future. If proof of this were wanted, it would be found in the fact of his having as good as solicited the hands of several royal princesses during the period—the twelve months immediately preceding his marriage—when he was supposed, and not unjustly, to be simply frantically in love with Mdlle. de Montijo. Cælebs in search of a wife was nothing to it. The Dowager Duchess of Baden (Stéphanie de Beauharnais), the Duke of Leuchtenberg (another relation on his mother's side), and Don Francis d'Assisi (the husband of Isabella of Spain) were successively but fruitlessly appealed to by him to provide him with a spouse. Finally, just a month before the public announcement of the Emperor's betrothal to Mdlle. Eugénie de Montijo, he applied to Prince Hohenlohe for the hand of Princess Adelaide, and a week later the Queen and Prince Albert were still discussing a letter from Prince Hohenlohe on the subject. The new Emperor's offer was kept a profound secret at the time, at the urgent request of Prince Hohenlohe himself, who feared that the prospect of being Empress of the French might prove too dazzling for his daughter, while he, her father, was in no way fascinated by it. From his point of view the proposed union was not desirable; he had misgivings about the settlement, and objected, moreover, on the grounds of religion and morals. The Queen herself did not oppose the alliance, although, with a kind of prophetic instinct, she alluded feelingly to the fate of Marie Antoinette and her successors on the throne of France. Prince Albert tried hard not to let his personal dislike of Louis Napoleon influence his counsel—a dislike, by the by, he shared with nearly all the Coburgs.*

*Want of space prevents my giving all the particulars of this affair, which for many, many years afterwards, were only known to half a dozen persons at the out-

I repeat, up till the beginning of January, 1853, the Emperor had not the least intention of making Mdlle. de Montijo his wife. Had his request for Princess Adelaide's hand, or for that matter, for any princess's hand, been accepted, he would have simply broken his pledge, and substantial compensation would have been forthcoming.

As it was, the announcement caused a panic, though not an unforeseen one, for the Emperor's *entourage* had been, if not consulted on, at least apprised of his intention. That *entourage* was, as we shall see in the next chapter, heterogeneous to a degree; yet, dissimilar as were all these men in taste, birth, breeding, and disposition, all but one disapproved of his matrimonial choice. To all of which objections the Emperor, *faisant bonne mine à mauvais jeu*, and with commendable chivalry to his betrothed, replied: "*Quand on a sous la main ce que l'on aime, ce n'est pas la peine d'aller chercher ce que l'on n'aime pas.*" "The Emperor is right," said Dupin—the only one who approved, though qualifiedly, the choice—"the Emperor acts more sensibly in marrying the woman he likes than in eating humble pie to some German princelet for his daughter with feet probably as large as mine. At any rate, when the Emperor kisses his wife, it will be from choice and not by compulsion."

The Faubourg St. Germain—*i.e.*, the old *noblesse*—made common cause with the Orleanists' salons in their scathing comments. They conveniently overlooked the fact that they were the descendants of the most corrupt society the world had seen since the Roman Empire, so corrupt, that before the Revolution the fact of having a Frenchwoman among his ancestors disqualified a man for investiture with the knighthood of one of the Teutonic orders. There was no attempt at investigation; the fact itself was deemed a conclusive proof that plebeian blood had been introduced. Prince Puckler-Muskau, who had a French mother, was debarred from entering the Knights-Templars on that account. The Faubourg St. Honoré—the *noblesse* of the First Empire—also forgot their own origin. The *bourgeoisie* of the Chaussée d'Antin was more disgusted still, and in its comments hit the Faubourg St. Honoré

side, namely, the Queen, Prince Albert, Napoleon III., Prince Hohenlohe, Lord Palmerston, and Walewski, who had sounded Palmerston on the subject. It was Palmerston who suggested the Emperor's letter to Prince Hohenlohe. Walewski, who was a friend of Dr. Véron, at whose house he once lost 96,000 francs at a single game of lansquenet, told his host, and the latter told my uncle.

smartly on the head, though perhaps unwittingly. They in reality considered it a slight that the Emperor had not chosen one of their daughters. "Eugénie de Montijo is, after all, the granddaughter of a trader like ourselves. One of our girls would have done as well. The First Empire was built up with the blood of stable lads, coopers' 'prentices, and what not. The Second Empire might have done worse than take a little of the blood a cut above that of the stable lads, &c." The Faubourg St. Antoine would have applauded such a step; though they would, in spite of their democratic prejudices, have preferred a daughter of the old *noblesse*. In default of a foreign princess, they would have preferred a Frenchwoman of no matter what class, and they jeered at that part of the Emperor's manifesto which described Mdlle. de Montijo "as being French at heart." The *bourgeois Voltairien* jeered at another allusion in that proclamation—viz., "the virtues of Josephine." "It is a strange present to put into a girl's *trousseau*," he said, but perhaps they can only afford one shift, and they have given her a Nessus one, which will not come off.

When it came to selecting the Empress's future household, the difficulties were still greater; the Faubourg St. Germain as well as the Faubourg St. Honoré declined the honor of a position at Court for their womankind.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(To be Continued.)

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

HYPNOTISM AND JUSTICE.

"Another phase of hypnotism in its relation to crime has just been developed out in Minnesota. The accused murderer is to be put into the hypnotic state by a number of experts, and every word uttered by him in that condition will be taken down in shorthand and used as evidence at the trial. It is claimed by the defence that the accused committed the murder under hypnotic influence. So, if his story told to the physicians while under their influence agrees with the one told in his waking hours, it will be held that his original story is true."

To the great majority of newspaper readers the logic and justice in the foregoing quotation will appeal strongly as wise and sensible. Will it so appeal to the thinking man, as well as the experimenter in hypnotism and psychology? It is to be doubted that it will, and for the better attainment of justice, in so far as hypnotism is concerned, I offer this plea.

As is now generally acknowledged, suggestion plays the most important rôle in hypnotism, and as the phenomenon of suggestion forms the basis for the following argument in this particular case, it may be well to review briefly what the word may exactly mean, by a short description of the mental attitude of the hypnotized immediately before and after the suggestion is given him by the hypnotizer. Ignoring for the present the particular case in point, the Minnesota murder, and omitting also the various common manipulations for inducing the hypnotic sleep, we will begin by a consideration of the subject as he sits before us in the state generally described as the somnambulistic. Picture him, then, as immobile, deaf, dumb and blind to all except the words and acts of the operator. No voluntary act or word is ever manifest, and until suggestion is supplied by the operator he remains perfectly passive and seemingly incapable of any movement or activity whatsoever. He is absolutely without volition, being in a state ready for the fulfillment of any suggestion, and upon the nature of this suggestion will depend his subsequent act and speech. For illustration, let us imagine his brain extirpated while the cut ends of both sensory and motor nerve fibres are in connection with the nerve cells in the brain of the operator. Thus we may explain his utter lack of volition and increased power of receiving suggestion.

Suggestion consists in giving thought to the subject for action or speech, and will power for its accomplishment. It may be communicated by word, or by gesture capable of interpretation by the subject into manifold activities. As the verbal suggestion alone concerns us, it only will be described. The subject is commanded by the operator to perform certain acts—to sing, to dance, etc.,—all of which he readily obeys. He is told he is an animal, and immediately he drops on all-fours; he is handed a hot iron with the assur-

ance it will not burn him, he grasps it without sensation; he is misinformed as to the name of his most intimate friend, and so tenaciously does he cling to the new name that his friend cannot undeceive him. And so on, through the long list familiar to all who have witnessed the hypnotic *séance*. But let us dwell a moment upon the spirit in which the subject performs these various acts. By the most superficial observer the intentness with which the subject responds to suggestion is noticeable. And well it may be, for nowhere out of hypnotism or disease is such concentration obvious. It is a concentration so absolute and entire that it almost passes the boundaries of our conception. While acting under hypnotic suggestion, it seems as though every atom of mental energy is used in the fulfilling of that suggestion, whether it be sensory or motor. For how else may we explain the common phenomenon of insensibility to pain, etc.? It would seem scarcely possible that the integral parts of the nerve fibres are disturbed, or that it is a material alteration in them which causes their inhibition, for upon subsequent waking their normal functions are immediately restored. Every explanation based upon physiological ground is insufficient or erroneous. We have in the subject a simple, entire concentration of mental power, either for act or sensation, or for the cessation of one or both. So strong and undivided is this concentration that, beyond the carrying out of the suggestion itself, there is absolutely nothing else—no sensory nor motor impulses, no thought nor will, no question as to the fitness of the suggestion nor attempt to do other than obey it. Moreover, in a good subject, the obedience is complete and perfect.

Let me now recall briefly the entire lack of volition before suggestion, while the subject is in the somnambulistic state; also be it understood, no matter how often the subject may be hypnotized, upon each succeeding sleep just so soon as the somnambulistic state appears, all volition will certainly disappear. Without suggestion the subject will remain absolutely passive, for, in short, he is robbed of his will and incapable of any sign whatsoever of either physical or psychical power. His subsequent acts depend entirely upon suggestion and particular acts upon the nature of the particular suggestion.

With this brief *rêsumé* I think we may turn to the case in point, the Minnesota experiment. At the very outset, however, we are confronted by a phenomenon so utterly unprecedented that I think it wise to notice it, although it does not enter into the argument of this paper, for the reason that it is ignored by the experts in Minnesota. We learn from the article in the newspaper that the accused tells a *waking story* of the murder committed while under hypnotic influence. In my own experience, and that of an associate, I have never met with a subject who, upon waking, could remember or relate any of the numerous actions performed while under hypnotic influence, nor can I find record of such a case in a tolerably wide reading in the literature of hypnotism. But as the above fact is seemingly unnoticed by the experts in Minnesota, we will, for the sake of my argument, consider the waking story of the murderer true: That he has committed the murder under hypnotic influence and remembers the deed with its detail.

The question now rises, If his story told under the second hypnosis agrees with his waking story, will that circumstance prove his waking story to be true? I do not think it will. Another conclusion might seem very reasonable, I admit; but in this second hypnosis are we to forget the immense power of suggestion?

Let us remember upon the culmination of the second somnambulistic state we have a *new* subject in so far as volition goes. He is immobile, deaf, dumb and blind as the type quoted above. From the hypnotizer he must receive the impulse to talk, to tell his story, as would any new subject. He will *volunteer* nothing in word or act. Consequently we recognize he will not repeat the desired story, his waking story. Indeed, he will but sit passive, waiting the impulse his own mind cannot supply. Suggestion must now be given him by the experts to draw out his story, which may convict or acquit him. His whole mind will respond to that suggestion with the utter concentration I have above attempted to describe. This suggestion will govern and rule his thought, his speech, his story. If the suggestion from the experts bid him repeat the story of the crime, he will obey; if it bid him deny the deed, he will do so vehemently; if, in the progress of his denial, a new and contradictory suggestion is given, he will accept it and heartily accuse himself.

H. MERRIMAN STEELE.

THE CONDITIONS OF GOLD PRODUCTION.

In the January number of the REVIEW the Director of the Mint indulges in a characteristic commentary upon the statistics of gold production. Mr. Preston does not seem to possess an accurate knowledge of the conditions under which the figures, of which he writes, are created.

The matter is an important one, and though the writer may not be competent to take part in the public discussion of economic theories, yet as a mining engineer he asks to be permitted to correct certain ill-founded conceptions concerning one of the main factors determining the solution of the great monetary problem of our day.

The Director of the Mint takes pains to controvert Prof. Edouard Suess, and goes so far as to state that not one of the eminent Austrian's conclusions has been fulfilled. He denies that the increased production of gold goes hand in hand with geographical discovery. All the chequered history of gold mining proves Mr. Preston to be wrong. Is not the output of South Africa to-day the consequence of the geographical discoveries of yesterday? Did not the development of the mineral resources of the Dark Continent come as the result of its exploration by the bands of travellers who followed in the footsteps of Livingstone and Stanley? Has not the penetration of the deserts of Western Australia given us Coolgardie and Cue? And, coming nearer home, is not the largest production of Colorado's increasing annual yield derived from the youngest of its many gold mining districts? In direct opposition to Mr. Preston I would corroborate Professor Suess, and maintain that the newness of a gold mining district is usually synonymous with productiveness and that exhaustion accompanies age. Remember that Europe was once the great gold-producing region of the world; that Iberia was a golden storehouse to the Roman, and that at an earlier period Hannibal got the sinews of war out of the gold mines of Spain. Where are they now? The former contributes a driblet, the latter are a tale in history.

The Director of the Mint, in contradiction to Professor Suess, submits that in South Africa it has been demonstrated that the gold contents of the ore increase with depth. To a mining engineer, experienced in gold mining and conversant with its vicissitudes, this is a surprising statement. The theory that lodes become richer in depth is a vain imagination of the visionary com-

pany promoter, which has long ago been discredited by geological science and mining experience. If it were so, why would people waste their energies in surface workings, why would they not sink shafts at least 4,000 feet deep and work upward? Such a proceeding would indicate both a logical sense and a proper knowledge of the best mining methods. The yield per ton of the ores* of the Witwatersrandt, the chief gold producing area of South Africa, has been as follows during the past seven years: In 1888, 22.65 dwts. per ton; in 1889, 19.60 dwts.; in 1890, 13.36 dwts.; in 1891, 11.23 dwts.; in 1892, 10.20 dwts.; in 1893, 10.09 dwts.; in 1894, 9.86 dwts.

The steady decrease in the yield is due to the gradual exhaustion of the bodies of higher-grade free milling ores occurring near the surface.

The Director's quotation of estimates of the millions of ounces of gold supposed to exist in the "banket" deposits of the Witwatersrandt reminds one of similar estimates made in the 'fifties when every Californian river bed was fondly imagined to be paved with gold and every Australian stream was a probable Pactolus. We have read this sort of thing long ago. It may be magnificent, but it is not statistics.

As a general rule in gold mining the free milling ores near the surface, which readily yield their values through simple processes of extraction, are succeeded by material of greater chemical complexity necessitating more elaborate and more costly methods of reduction. Mr. Preston appears to be aware that the ore of the deeper workings of the Witwatersrandt is pyrites-bearing, and must therefore be subjected to chlorination or some other leaching process, but he overlooks or fails to realize that to get the gold out of pyritic ore by chlorination or cyanidation is many times more expensive than to extract it out of free milling ores by amalgamation. That "only five per cent. of the gold is lost," that "it has become possible to obtain almost the last traces of the gold in the tailings," are statements of marked inaccuracy. The "tailings" are the residues of the ore after it has undergone amalgamation. On the Randt the acknowledged loss in the treatment of the tailings by the cyanide process is from twenty-five to thirty per cent. of the gold. Taking the ore as it goes to the mill it is fair to estimate that the total extraction (by amalgamation in the first place, by chlorination of the concentrates, and by the subsequent cyanidation of the tailings) reaches about eighty to eighty-five per cent. in the best establishments and is less in others.

In his estimate of the addition to be made to the world's gold production by the resumption of hydraulic mining in California under the terms of the Caminetti Act, the Director of the Mint echoes the optimism of the daily press of the Sierra Nevada. It is two years since the Act went into effect. What has been the result so far?

My experience of Californian mining permits me to venture to disagree with Mr. Preston, as my familiarity with the goldfields of Victoria enables me to contradict his statement that the "deep leads," or subterranean channels of golden alluvium, are far from being exhausted, and have as yet only been operated to a limited extent. The principal mines of this class at Creswick and Ballarat are some of them exhausted, and others approaching exhaustion. No new ones of equal productiveness are being found.

The Director then proceeds to state that numerous mines in Australia have been abandoned as soon as the unoxidized, pyritic ores were reached by

* From the mill and from concentrates, not including the yield from old heaps of tailings.

downward development. This is imaginary. The causes of such abandonment are to be found elsewhere. The colonial metallurgists are as well acquainted as their American brethren with the use of processes rendering available the gold in the pyrite, if the gold be present in workable quantity. It is, indeed, a fact that the bulk of the gold product of Australia comes from free milling ores of marked simplicity, but where the pyrite does contain such value as to make it worth the saving, it is collected and sent to chlorination or other reduction works.

This touches on a common fallacy floating in the public mind. There is an idea prevalent that technical science is rapidly bringing processes of gold extraction to such perfection that almost the ultimate portion of value can be obtained by methods as rapid as they are ingenious. The suggestion is frequently made by writers in the press that a mining district, a chamber of commerce, a state or even a national government, should offer a large reward for the discovery of a new process suitable to the simple treatment of complex ores. It is hoped that some heaven-sent revelation will be vouchsafed to some dreaming metallurgist which shall revolutionize all preexisting methods and get 100 per cent. of the value contained in the poorest and most perverse of gold-bearing material. Such ideas, such dreams, such hopes, are all opposed to experience and contradictory to the teaching of the pages which tell the progress of metallurgical art. Evolution, and not revolution, is the keynote of technical science as it is the clue to physiological development. Processes are born every day, but their mortality is depressing. The examination of the history of the standard methods of ore reduction indicates very clearly that it is in the gradual improvement and extension of established processes and in their adaptation to varying conditions that there will be found the readiest and safest road to excellence of metallurgical treatment. The cyanide process, for instance, has been the subject of chemical investigation and practical application for six years, and it is yet an imperfectly understood and only a partially successful method. Chlorination was introduced into California in 1856, it has undergone gradual improvement during forty years, but it is still spoken of as a young method of ore reduction.

"The fact is that the production of gold was never so rapid as it is to-day," the Director says. But this does not accord with statistics. In 1851 California produced gold of the value of $81,000,000 and in 1853 the colony of Victoria yielded over $62,000,000. To-day California and Victoria produce an approximately equal amount, viz.: about $13,000,000. What modern goldfield can the Director mention which can compare with those of the early 'fifties in the amount of their yield or in the ease with which that yield was obtained? South Africa certainly cannot. It is too little realized that the shallow alluvium which represents the easily skimmed cream of gold mining is being rapidly exhausted, and that the yield of the years that are coming will be won with much greater difficulty out of the hard rock by vein mining. Thus, for instance, the Witwatersrandt region in South Africa last year produced about $34,000,000 after seven years of the most vigorous and intelligent development, California yielded $81,000,000 three years after the first discovery in 1848 and Victoria contributed $62,000,000 after barely two years of work. It cost much less to obtain those combined 81 and 62, or 143 millions, in gold than it did to win the 'Randt's thirty-four millions.

In the golden age of Australian and Californian productiveness, 87 per cent. of the entire yield of the world's mining regions came from shallow

gravel easily and rapidly mined, with the investment of very little more than muscle and energy; to-day 67 per cent. comes from the deep workings of vein mining, torn with difficulty from the heart of the rocks, with the investment of enormous sums of money in plant and machinery.

When the statistics of gold production are interpreted as a refutation of the idea that gold for monetary purposes may become scarce, then the mining engineer, saturated with the brutal facts of gold mining and familiar with the conditions under which those statistics are created, may venture to warn the community against the conclusion that a few figures are all that is necessary to an appreciation of the future of gold.

T. A. RICKARD.

A WORD ABOUT THE "NEW PULPIT."

THE recent article of the Rev. H. R. Haweis, on what he calls the "New Pulpit," is bright and entertaining, and contains many suggestive and helpful thoughts. But it is chiefly remarkable for the odd idea the writer has of the work and office of the Christian preacher.

In the March number of the REVIEW, the Rev. Bishop Foss, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, furnishes a paper "in the nature of a commentary" on the article by Mr. Haweis. But he, singularly enough, fails to note the remarkable standpoint of the writer of "The New Pulpit."

According to Mr. Haweis, the preacher should be a sort of Solomon in the encyclopedic character of his utterances. In this respect Solomon certainly was the prince of preachers. "He spake," we are told, "three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes."

Solomon is not named, it is true. We are, in fact, pointed to Christ, who is proclaimed *par excellence* The Preacher. But He is so on the lines of the preaching of Solomon. His themes, we are told, were:

> "The relations between a clever swindler and his employer, a woman plying her broom diligently, a clamorous widow worrying a police magistrate, the children in the street playing their vulgar little games and singing their vulgar little songs, the processes of digestion, the weather (that inexhaustible and invariably interesting topic), the occupations of Hodge, the secrets of fishing, the art of making bread or bottling wine—these were the topics of the Divine Preacher."

This is all a mistake. These were not the topics of His sermons at all. These were but the illustrations He used. He had not three thousand subjects, but one subject; not a thousand and five sermons, but one sermon. He preached the Kingdom and the Kingdom only.

It is fortunate for the clergy—it is perhaps even more fortunate for their hearers—that Christ, and not Solomon, is their exemplar here. The man does not live who can talk profitably on all the widely differing interests of men. The attempt to do so would only end in dismal failure. But the preacher who would reach men, having, like his Master, but one subject and that the Kingdom of God, must also, like his Master, widely gather his illustrations for that one subject and use them unsparingly. As the sky above is ever one and yet ever varying, changing from day to day, so must the message from the Christian pulpit be. Its one subject, first and last and all the time, is

the Kingdom of God. Let that be preached in all its fulness. Let its principles be unhesitatingly proclaimed. And then let the preacher bid each individual present, be his trade, calling, or profession what it may, go home and apply to himself in his own special needs the preaching of the Gospel he has just been listening to.

Such, at least, was Christ's method. The mistake of the essay, so fascinating and interesting as it is in style and matter, seems to have arisen through a wrong view of the preacher's work. The sermon is not, to begin with, the weekly pabulum of the modern Athenians who gather together week by week to hear some new thing; it is not the culminating effort of a week's laborious toil to produce something original, something startling; it is not a sort of ecclesiastical fireworks intended to be discharged at the close of divine service. What, then, is it? It is simply that which declares, reveals, and makes better known the Kingdom of God. Its chief element is instruction. It is the teacher's voice delivering the faith as the Church of which he is a minister has received the same. There may be, there must be, variety. The more luminous, too, the teaching, the more successful the teacher. But his powers are to be concentrated on one subject, not frittered away over the vast fields of human work and enterprize.

See this in Christ's own case. In St. Matt., xiii., we have many parables. They vary greatly in form, but there is the one truth running through all. They all deal with the one truth that in the Kingdom of God good men and bad men grow together until the harvest.

Take again St. Luke, xv. What, in the midst of variety of treatment, is the truth here? Only this, that in that kingdom the Father's love is such that it ever follows the sinner, even when in open rebellion.

Thus, not Solomon, but Christ, rightly understood, was the best exponent of the New Pulpit.

C. ERNEST SMITH.

EVOLUTION OF THE IRISH FARMER.

The Cork International Exhibition of 1883 marked an epoch in the history of dairy farming in Ireland. After over 800 years the Danes began to be troublesome again. In the old days the Danish freebooters carried off butter from the Irish dairies. In modern times the Danish farmers fought for the place in the English markets which Irish butter had held so long. Mainly through the instrumentality of the late Canon Bagot and his friends, a movement was set on foot which resulted in keeping the Danes at bay.

It is conceded by experts that the pastures of the south and middle of Ireland are among the best in the world. The soil is evenly rich and the rainfall so constant during the summer that there is nearly always an abundance of grass. Before the days of creameries and butter factories the Irish farmers were able to hold their own in competition with the dairy farmers of other parts of Europe. The introduction of butter-making machinery effected changes that brought into bold relief many flaws in their methods. Canon Bagot did his utmost to induce the farmers to lose no time in conforming to the new order of things, but so radical a change was not to be effected very speedily. Before substantial progress was achieved, failures occurred that were promptly used by interlocking interests to block the wheels of progress. Owners of market rights, brokers, coopers, hotel

and lodging-house keepers, merchants and traders, all thought they could see in the new-fangled ideas a lurking enemy. The coopers, who felt the pinch more directly, made the greatest splutter. In face of the inevitable decrease in the number of butter-casks and the increase of butter-boxes, they had recourse to the modern Irish style of vigorous resistance—the brass band and the public platform. The various elements of discontent formed into a compact, sympathetic force behind the coopers, but the creameries and milk factories continued to increase in number.

Many persons have had to find new occupations as a result of the change in methods. Many have been ruined; but, on the whole, it may be said that the good accomplished has largely outbalanced the injury inflicted on individuals. The money realized by the sale of milk has remained in the country, and the profits of the creameries and milk factories have been divided among the stockowners, nearly all of whom are Irish. The farmers do not put up at the hotels and lodging-houses as often as they used to do, but they are not prevented by the circumstances from trading at the recognized market centres.

From another point of view this alteration in methods has done some service. Irish farmers are socially inclined when attending fairs and markets, so that the restriction of such opportunities makes a gain on the side of morality. Although their visits to town are less frequent, their purchases are larger in proportion than they used to be. Several factories, taking extensive supplies of milk and giving large employment, have been established since 1883. Contracts for the milk supply are made at the beginning of each season. As a rule, the farmers accept the terms of the creamery companies, but do not pretend to be entirely satisfied. Some of the companies are exclusively composed of farmers, and there are farmer stockowners in nearly all of them. This fact has a tendency to allay suspicion and prevent the friction which otherwise would be likely to occur.

Districts that cling to the old butter-making methods have been put to their mettle by the creameries. As a consequence there has been a decided change for the better all around. A considerable extension of the butter factory system has been caused by the general striving in Ireland to reach a higher level of excellence. Considering that there are so many small dairies in which the processes of cream-gathering are inexact, the butter factory serves a very important purpose. It re-works butter and makes a feature of packing, so that shipments to the English markets are uniform in grade, style, and attractiveness. Before the day of the factory much of the low grade butter was sent out of the country. In the present state of things the tendency is to secure for Irish butter a reputation as high as that achieved for Irish bacon.

It is evident to the disinterested person that in creamery districts the owners of dairy cattle and their wives and daughters have more leisure than they formerly had. The milk is sent direct from the pasture to the creamery and payment made by check. This state of things is not regarded with satisfaction by certain Irish gentlemen who think they know what is best for the farming classes.

They believe that the farmers' wives and daughters ought not to be relieved from the drudgery of dairy work lest it may unfit the farmers' daughters to become helpful farmers' wives. The remedy suggested is to have the owners of the largest dairies provide themselves with cream separators, so that the old system of individual interests may again preponderate.

This view of the question is particularly pleasing to those who would be shocked at the notion of having their own wives and daughters slavishly occupied from morning till night. Farmers who keep a large number of cows to supply creameries can afford to have their daughters as well educated as the daughters of city merchants, and there is no reason why they should not be at liberty to do it. It does not follow that because the farmers supply creameries that they should have no reserve of milk for their houses. I found at least one case in which a portion was retained for the farmers' family. Butter was made from this by the wife and daughter. The daughter walked three miles every day, a mile and a half each way, to attend the district school. Her mother assured me that she could not afford to give her so good an education but for the sending of the milk to the creamery. It is obvious that the creamery, conducted in perfect conditions as to cleanliness and evenness, can do more than the farmers to maintain the reputation of Irish butter.

There is no more sense in wishing to return to the old system of dairying than there would be in forming a league to force the farmers to become bacon-curers. This work is admirably done at present by great factories in Ireland. Bacon-curing, although an extensive industry ten years ago, is still expanding. In 1894 there was an increase in the number of pigs over the previous year of 236,893.

The improved position of the Irish farmer should presently bring him to the door of the British Government on an errand hitherto undreamed of. During the period of struggle and hardship, depressed times and uncertainty of tenure, he had enough to do to live. Now that he is "rooted in the soil," it will not take him long to discover that he has a claim on the Education Fund.

Considering what is done by the United States Government to add to facilities for the study of agricultural science, it will appear almost incredible that the English Government does nothing in Ireland in a like direction. From 1849 down to the seventies the Queen's Colleges at Cork, Galway and Belfast had land attached for practical demonstration in agriculture. It was given up in each case, I presume, owing to lack of appreciation on the part of the farming classes.

The movement toward the public treasury for the purpose indicated would be made sooner if the Ashbourne Land Purchase Act had money enough behind it to cover the whole of Ireland. In those districts where its provisions were taken advantage of there has been a wonderful change in the sentiments of the people. Farmers who have acquired ownership of their holdings show no further interest in the work of the agitators. They have enough to do to provide for payments according to the terms agreed upon. It was the opinion of many astute politicians that ownership of the land would be the quickest remedy for Irish discontent. The Right Hon. Edward Gibson, M. P. for Dublin University, must have shared in it before his elevation to the peerage as Lord Ashbourne. But hardly any one thought that the verification would be so prompt; least of all, the Conservatives, who, it will be remembered, could see nothing good in the purchase clause of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill.

Considering the result of the experiment, it is extremely probable that the remainder of the Irish landlords will also go by purchase. When the money is in sight they will be willing enough to go.

The changed condition of the farmer is not more remarkable than the

decline of political influence. The split in the National party has blunted the weapons of the agitators. There is no man now in Irish politics who can draw the people as Parnell drew them. Mr. Redmond has some conjuring power as the exponent of Parnellite principles, but not enough to induce the farmers to take any more risks in connection with their holdings. It is remembered that the combination against the landlords which were made under Parnell brought ruin to hundreds of farmers. The well-to-do survived the shock, but the poor men were driven to the wall and had to emigrate.

No benefit has been derived from the Ashbourne Purchase Act in the south of Ireland. The agitators prevented the farmer from sharing in its benefits by assurances that better terms would be made. Many of the wealthy farmers, still paying rent, have an unpleasant recollection of the advice. It is quite plain that the farmer has shaken himself clear of the politician for the time being, and appears to be enjoying the freedom.

The increased acreage under crops shows that the Irish tillage farmers have also become more prosperous. They certainly have been spurred into greater activity. In 1894 the total extent under crops was 4,937,179 acres, being a net increase over the previous year of 59,138 acres. Still other evidences of greater activity and prosperity are afforded by the increase of 6,073 dairy cows, 9,638 horses and mules, and 82,436 poultry, and a decrease of 4,336 goats.

The earnings of the banking companies in Ireland are not wholly influenced by the prosperity of the farming classes. It is noteworthy, however, that, with one or two exceptions, they paid dividends in 1894 ranging from ten to nineteen per cent.

GEORGE HENRY BASSETT.

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THE PREACHER AND HIS PROVINCE.

BY HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL GIBBONS.

After the Bible, the study of mankind is the most important and the most instructive pursuit for the ambassador of Christ. The aim of his ministry is to enlighten and convince, to persuade and convert his fellow being, to elevate him to a higher plane of moral rectitude.

The first step toward the accomplishment of this noble aim is to obtain a thorough knowledge of man, his springs of action, his yearnings and desires, his passions and emotions, his vices and temptations, as also the arguments, the motives, and the means best calculated to promote his spiritual progress.

Now, the knowledge of the mysterious kingdom of the heart is more accurately acquired by studying the original than by seeing it described in a book. An artist makes a better portrait from a living subject than from his photograph. We view objects in the abstract in books, but in the concrete in living men.

Books describe human beings as existing in times and countries, or under circumstances different from our own. But in studying the race that surrounds us, we contemplate man just as he is to-day.

We see him not as reflected through the mind of another, but as viewed by ourselves. Human nature, it is true, is everywhere

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radically the same, but it receives a coloring and an impression from its environments. Man is influenced and modified in temperament and habits of thought by his social and domestic surroundings, and by the political institutions under which he lives.

By a knowledge of his own times and people, the speaker can accommodate his remarks to the special needs of his hearers.

An exhortation that would be admirably suited to a French or a Spanish congregation, might not be adapted to an American audience. A discourse against the evils of divorce, which is so vital a subject with us, would scarcely find any application in Ireland, or the Tyrol, where divorces are almost unknown. A sermon that would be most appropriate to a fourth or fifth century congregation, might be out of place in our time and country, as the prevailing errors and vices of those times are not the predominant errors and vices of to-day. St. John Chrysostom's arraignment of the voluptuous Court of Constantinople in the beginning of the fifth century would be a libel if applied to-day to the White House at Washington. His denunciations of the theatre in that city could not be justly repeated from an American pulpit without some important reservations.

They who have long experience in the ministry, cannot fail to observe the faults into which young clergymen, whose knowledge is chiefly confined to books, and who have had, as yet, little opportunity to commune with their fellow-men, are sometimes liable to fall. They are apt to attach undue weight to matters of minor importance, and to treat lightly subjects of grave moment; they may be strained, fanciful, and unreal, and talk over the heads of the people; or they may denounce in unmeasured, exaggerated terms, a social plague scarcely known by the congregation.

I once listened to a clergyman condemning in vehement language, low-necked dresses where their use was utterly unknown, and where the censure had as little application as it would have had among the inhabitants of the arctic regions. I heard of a young minister of the Gospel who delivered a homily on the ravages of intemperance before an audience composed exclusively of pious, unmarried ladies, who hardly knew the taste of wine.

Some of our separated clerical brethren are not unfrequently betrayed into similar errors by ascribing to their Catholic fellow-citizens religious doctrines and practices which the latter repudiate. A caricature, instead of a true picture, is held up to the

public gaze, because the information is drawn from books, hearsay, or tradition, and not from contact with living men.

Another advantage which we derive from a discreet study of men, is the habit of moderation in our judgment of them. We will find that few men are altogether perfect, and few also totally depraved. Blemishes will be discovered in the most exemplary character, and traits of genuine goodness in the most abandoned and perverse. This two-fold experience will teach us to use sobriety of speech in praising virtuous men and women, including even canonized saints, and to avoid excessive harshness in reproving sinners. For if we paint righteous men without a single fault, we tempt the objects of our eulogy to vanity, and we discourage those that are earnestly aspiring to virtue; but if we paint the vicious as absolutely bad, we drive them to despair.

This subject is forcibly illustrated by the different methods pursued in writing the lives of men conspicuous for Christian or civic virtues. Some authors portrayed the saint, leaving out the man. They gave us the light without the shadow. There was no background to their picture. They exhibited an ideal character entirely free from human foibles. Many readers regard these biographies as one-sided and unreal, and take no pleasure in studying them. Others, accepting them as true, derive little consolation or encouragement from their perusal, since the model is beyond their reach.

Of late years, I am happy to say, we are treated to memoirs that aim at being true to life, that represent to us men of flesh and blood as well as of spirit,—men of strong faith, virility of soul, genuine charity, magnanimity of character, and self-denial, but not exempt from some of the imperfections incident to humanity. The merit of these biographies is that the author has either studied his subjects from life, or he represents them to us in their true light, as portrayed in their own actions and writings. The public man, whether churchman or layman, who never committed an error of judgment, or who was never betrayed into any moral delinquency, will hardly ever be credited with any great words or with deeds worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

The best models of biography are the inspired Penmen. They give us a faithful and accurate portrait of their most sacred subjects without any effort to hide their moral deformities or defects. David's sin, Peter's denial, Paul's persecution of the early

Church, the worldly ambition of the sons of Zebedee, the incredulity of Thomas, are fearlessly recorded without any attempt at extenuation or palliation. The transgressions of these men arouse our compassion without diminishing our reverence for them, and serve by contrast to lend additional lustre to the halo of their subsequent lives.

Who thinks less of Augustin and Jerome, because he sees them engaged in earnest theological controversy which almost snapped asunder the bonds of charity? Who finds his veneration and love for Basil and Gregory cooled, because of the melancholy estrangement that followed a long and tender friendship? Whoever would omit these episodes on the plea of edification, would mutilate these glorious lives? "Hath God any need of your lie," says the Prophet, "that you should speak deceitfully for Him?"*

Neither have God's saints any need of having their faults suppressed. They are not whited sepulchres, and they fear not the light.

The alienation between Burke and Fox at the close of their career, though much to be deplored, does not diminish our admiration for those two statesmen. It brings out in stronger relief, the inflexible character of Burke, who sacrificed friendship on the altar of truth. It shows us that upright men may sometimes differ in conclusions without violating conscience, or incurring the unfavorable judgment of posterity.

Modern biographers, while dwelling with pride on the civic and military virtues of Washington, avoid the language of hyperbole in which some of his contemporary eulogists indulged toward the Father of His Country. They seemed to be so dazzled by the lustre of that great luminary before he descended below the horizon, that they could detect no shadow in the object of their adulation.

Webster, too, shortly after his death, was lauded with extravagant encomiums as a man above reproach. The dispassionate testimony of Mr. Bryce,† who says that his splendid intellect was mated to a character open to censure, will be acquiesced in by the judgment of impartial readers. Yet, the American people admire and cherish, none the less, these two illustrious per-

* Job XIII. 7.
† "The American Commonwealth," Vol. II.

sonages, notwithstanding the more discriminating verdict and less fulsome praise of modern critics. The spots discovered in these effulgent suns, serve only to disclose in bolder light the splendor of their achievements. "Paint me as I am, warts and all," said Cromwell to Cooper, the artist.

The first living book that a student should read is his own heart, which is a little world in itself, a miniature of the great heart of humanity. "Know thyself," is a primary maxim of Christian, as well as of pagan, philosophy. Massillon was once asked how he could delineate so faithfully the emotions and rebellions of the human heart, and especially the intrigues, the ambition and jealousies of the Court, which he so rarely frequented. He replied that he drew his knowledge from the study of his own heart.

He will also find an open and instructive book full of object lessons in the mass of human beings that he may encounter in the daily walks of life. He can pick up useful bits of information from his companions during his college course, and afterward from the persons he may meet on the street, on the farm, in the workshop, in the counting-room, in the social circle, on the steamboat and on the railway.

Sir Walter Scott says that a man of active mind cannot talk to the boy who holds his horse without obtaining some new thought.

But it is especially while making his daily rounds through the parish that the clergyman acquires profitable instruction and subject matter for his sermons. He is made acquainted with their virtues and vices, and with the sources of their temptations. He observes their patience and fortitude in poverty and sickness, and their Christian resignation in the presence of death. He will often contemplate, in the cottages of the lowly, domestic peace and content which compensate them for their temporal privations. I have found evidences of genuine piety and gratitude even among the inmates of our penitentiary.

All this personal experience will enable the minister of God to speak in a manner intelligible and attractive to his audience, and to embellish his discourse by allusions to the incidents of daily life, like our Lord, who habitually instructed in parables, and who drew his illustrations from the surrounding landscape, and from the habits and occupations of the people.

This intercourse with living men not only enlightens the mind,

but it also quickens the sympathies, and fires the heart of the speaker in the pulpit far more powerfully than abstract learning; for what is seen affects us more sensibly than what is read, and the earnestness of our words is proportioned to the strength of our impressions.

The more the man of God studies the inner life of the people, their hopes and fears, their joys and sorrows, the more persuasive and moving will be his exhortations. He will come down to the level of his flock, he will be in touch with them, and they will recognize that his heart is in his work. He will retain his hold on the masses without neglecting the classes.

But, if the preacher has not the sympathy that is born of a knowledge of the people; if he cannot say with his Master, "I know mine, and mine know Me," he may enlighten without warming them. His words may be like oil poured on water; they will not mingle with their hearts' blood.

These remarks apply to statesmen and lawyers, as well as to ministers of the Gospel. O'Connell's influence over the people of Ireland was such as no other man in his generation ever exerted on any nation. He could sway the multitude, move them to tears or laughter, playing on every chord of their heart. The secret of his empire over his countrymen was that he had sprung from the peasantry, and had lived among them. He knew their grievances and aspirations, and sympathized with them in their wrongs and sufferings.

Gladstone would never have attained his acknowledged eminence as a public speaker without his vast experience in the House of Commons. It was in that great university of politics that he learned the art of a consummate debater.

Daniel Webster was not more indebted to his book-learning for his success at the bar, than to his keen discernment of human character, and to his power to conciliate and control it. The following anecdote of him was related in my presence.

He and Rufus Choate were once pitted against each other as opposing counsel in a lawsuit concerning an alleged infringement of a patent right on locomotive wheels. The wheels were before the jury. Rufus Choate, as counsel for the defendant, expended his legal acumen in a learned and labored mathematical essay, going to prove that there was an essential difference between the wheels in evidence, and, therefore, no infringement on the patent

right. Then Webster spoke for the plaintiff: "Gentlemen of the jury," said he, "you have heard an elaborate scientific disquisition upon those wheels. I have nothing of the kind to give you. There are the wheels. Look at them." The jury looked at them, and gave him the verdict. A judge, who attended the dinner, confirmed the truth of the anecdote, remarking that he happened to be engaged in that suit as junior counsel.

The difference between these two great lawyers was, that Choate bewildered the jury by the intricacies of a vocabulary above their comprehension, while Webster gained his case by appealing to their common sense.

Napoleon, though a poor shot, was the greatest general of his age. He said with truth of himself: "I know man." He owed his success to his insight into human character, which enabled him to make a judicious selection of his military officers and State officials.

I have heard of distinguished lawyers, when they have had an important case in hand, studying the habits, dispositions, and mental calibre of every member of the jury, and addressing to each in succession a few pertinent remarks calculated to convince his judgment, conciliate his good will, and gain his confidence.

Clergymen at the time of their ordination are, I think, as a rule, more thoroughly grounded in sacred science than graduating lawyers are in the abstract knowledge of their profession, because the curriculum of the former covers a longer period of time than that of the latter. But what the jurist may lack in book-lore, is compensated by his greater readiness of speech and felicity of expression. His faculties are sharpened by the contact of mind with mind in the courts, and by his habitual intercourse with the members of the bar, the jury and spectators. The earnest pleadings of his distinguished and experienced seniors are the strongest incentives to his intellectual activity and honorable emulation.

The soldier of Christ, on the other hand, on emerging from the seminary, is sometimes unwieldly, and is oppressed by the weight of his theological armor till he has acquired practice in the arena of Christian warfare.

This disadvantage on the part of clerical students would be overcome, at least partially, by the more general establishment and cultivation of debating societies for the senior classes

in our colleges and seminaries. In them they would learn to acquire ease and fluency of expression, and to wield with dexterity the sword of the word of God.

They should, besides, profit by every opportunity to hear and observe practised speakers; for, as a person may read the most elaborate manual on politeness and etiquette, and yet be awkward and embarrassed in company, if he does not occasionally appear in refined society; so the student may peruse the most approved treatises on elocution without much profit, unless he is brought face to face with recognized orators, and feels the magnetic and inspiring influence of the living voice.

The learned men of ancient Greece and Rome did not consider their education complete till they had travelled abroad, and acquainted themselves with the habits and manners of other people and climes; and I am informed that, in our own day, a few of the leading universities of England and America have already a limited number of travelling scholarships.

Herodotus, the Father of History, derived most of the information embodied in his work from travel and converse with men.

Plato, after being eight years a disciple of Socrates, spent twelve years in the pursuit of knowledge in foreign parts before he returned to his native Athens.

Edmund Burke says of Homer and Shakspeare: "Their practical superiority over all other men, arose from their practical knowledge of other men"—a knowledge which Homer acquired by frequent journeys abroad; and Shakspeare, by studying mankind at home.

Cicero improved his sojourn in Greece and Asia by studying oratory under the best masters in those countries.

St. Jerome, the most eminent Hebrew scholar of his age, visited various cities of Gaul and Greece, Antioch and other places in Asia-Minor, Palestine, Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria and other centres of learning in Egypt, where he consulted the men most conspicuous in those times for erudition and piety. When his own fame for learning was spread abroad, scholars from all parts of the civilized world flocked to him as to an oracle.

Sir Walter Scott's charming novels are remarkable for their accuracy in the portraiture of Scotch character, and the scenes he describes. He obtained his information by traversing Scotland, living and conversing with the people, treasuring up their

bits of local traditions, and afterward interweaving them with his historic romances. "I have read books enough," he says, "and conversed with splendidly educated men in my time; but, I assure you, I have heard higher sentiments from the lips of poor, uneducated men and women, than I have ever met with out of the pages of the Bible."

It is well known that, while Milton is read by the few, Dickens is read by the million. He made personal visits to the prisons, insane asylums, reformatories, and boarding schools of England. He frequented the haunts of poverty, suffering, and wretchedness in London. His sense of indignation is aroused against official insolence, cruelty, and injustice; and his warmest sympathy is quickened in behalf of the victims of legalized oppression and tyranny. He draws his scenes from actual life; he deals with the men and women of his own time, and he gains the popular heart.

I was never more impressed with the impulse given to knowledge by contact with learned men, than during the Vatican Council, when Prelates of world-wide experience and close observation were assembled in Rome. Each bishop brought with him an intimate acquaintance with the history of his country, and with the religious, social, and political condition of the people among whom he lived. One could learn more from a few hours' interview with those living encyclopædias than from a week's study of books. An earnest conversation with those keen-sighted churchmen on the social and moral progress of their respective countries, yielded as much more instruction and delight, as compared with a printed account, as a personal inspection of an international exposition would, in comparison with a description of it in the pages of an illustrated periodical. The living words left an indelible impress on the heart and memory.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the student who aspires to improve his knowledge by travel, should already possess maturity of years and judgment, and should have laid the foundation of the science which he desires to cultivate and develop. Above all, he must be a man who has acquired the habit of close observation. You will find two companions returning from a journey made together; the mind of the one is stored with useful facts gleaned on the way, while the other has scarcely a single practical incident to relate.

It may be objected to literary tourists, that the knowledge they gather is sometimes purchased at the expense of piety; for Kempis says: "They who travel much abroad, are rarely sanctified." This axiom is true, indeed, of those that make excursions solely for pleasure's sake, but not of the diligent pilgrim who starts on his journey, bent on plucking fruits of wisdom by the road-side. David gave proofs of self-denial during his warlike expeditions;* but he sinned in his own home. Jerome's pilgrimages were blessed with an increase of sanctity and knowledge.

As the minister of Christ is pre-eminently the friend and father of the people, he cannot be indifferent to any of the social, political and economic questions affecting the interests and happiness of the nation. The relations of Church and State, the duties and prerogatives of the citizen, the evils of political corruption and usurpation, the purification of the ballot-box, the relative privileges and obligations of labor and capital, the ethics of trade and commerce, the public desecration of the Lord's day, popular amusements, temperance, the problem of the colored and Indian races, female suffrage, divorce, socialism, and anarchy—such are vital, and often burning, questions, on which hinge the peace and security of the Commonwealth.

Politics has a moral as well as a civil aspect. The clergyman is a social as well as a religious reformer, a patriot as well as a preacher, and he knows that the permanence of our civic institutions rests on the intelligence and the virtue of the people. He has at heart the temporal as well as the spiritual prosperity of those committed to his care. They naturally look up to him as to a guide and teacher. His education, experience, and sacred character give weight to his words and example.

There is scarcely a social or economic movement of reform on foot, no matter how extravagant or Utopian, that has not some element of justice to recommend it to popular favor. If the scheme is abandoned to the control of fanatics, demagogues, or extremists, it will deceive the masses and involve them in greater misery. Such living topics need discriminating judges to separate the wheat from the chaff.

And who is more fitted to handle these questions than God's ambassador, whose conservative spirit frowns upon all intem-

* II. Kings, or I. Samuel XXIII.

perate innovations, and whose Christian sympathies prompt him to advocate for his suffering brethren every just measure for the redress of grievances and the mitigation of needless misery?

The timely interposition of the minister of peace might have helped to check many a disastrous popular inundation by watching its course, and diverting it into a safe channel before it overspread the country.

Nor can it be affirmed that the temperate and seasonable discussion of these problems, or at least of those phases of them that present a moral or religious aspect, involves any departure from evangelical and apostolic precedent. There is hardly a subject of public interest that has not been alluded to, if not discussed, by Christ or his Apostles. I may cite a few examples.

Our Saviour speaks of the relations of Church and State in His memorable declaration: "Render, therefore, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and to God the things that are God's."*

When the ancients asked our Lord to confer a favor on the centurion, they appealed to His patriotism, as well as to his zeal for religion. The centurion, they said, merits Thy bounty, "for he loveth our nation: and he hath built us a synagogue."†

John the Baptist gave this excellent advice to certain officers of the law who had consulted him: "Do violence to no man: neither calumniate any man: and be content with your pay"‡—a counsel that all public officials would do well to take to heart.

St. Paul eloquently treats of the duties and privileges of citizens: "Let every soul," he says, "be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God. . . . Render therefore to all their dues; tribute, to whom tribute is due; custom, to whom custom; fear, to whom fear; honor, to whom honor."§

When the commander ordered him to be scourged, Paul protested against the outrage, and asserted his dignity as a Roman citizen, saying: "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?"‖ The same Apostle treats with admirable tact and apostolic charity the delicate race question, both from a religious and social standpoint.¶

St. James devotes a portion of his Epistle to Labor and Capital. He denounces the injustice and oppression of the employer

* Matthew XXII., 21. † Luke VII., 5. ‡ Ibid. III., 14. § Rom. XIII., 17. ‖ Acts XXII., 25. ¶ Gal. III.; Philemon.

in language which, if uttered in our time from a Christian pulpit, might be censured as a direct assault on the rich and an incentive to sedition.*

The reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII., in a series of Encyclicals, has enlarged, in his usual masterly manner and luminous style, on the great social and economic questions of the day.

In his Encyclical of January, 1895, addressed to the Hierarchy of the United States, his Holiness says: "As regards civil affairs, experience has shown how important it is that the citizens should be upright and virtuous. In a free State, unless Justice be generally cultivated, unless the people be repeatedly and diligently urged to observe the precepts and laws of the Gospel, liberty itself may be pernicious. Let those of the clergy, therefore, who are occupied with the instruction of the people, treat plainly this topic of the duties of citizens, so that all may understand and feel the necessity in political life, of conscientiousness, self-restraint and integrity; for 'that cannot be lawful in public, which is unlawful in private affairs.'"†

Of course, the kingdom of God and the salvation of souls, form the habitual theme of the minister of religion, and the burden of his life-long solicitude. The subjects to which I have referred are, in the nature of things, exceptional and incidental. They should be handled, moreover, with great prudence and discretion, with a mind free from prejudice and partisan spirit, and in the sole interests of Christian charity, social order, and public tranquillity.

Words, inspired by motives so elevated, will strengthen the hands of the civil authorities. They will be "like apples of gold on beds of silver."‡ They will be the oil of religion poured on the troubled waters of popular commotion; and the apostle of Christ, raising his voice in season, will merit the benediction of Heaven and the approval of all good men. "In the time of wrath," he will be a minister of peace and "reconciliation."§

J. CARD. GIBBONS.

* James V. † Longinqua Oceani Spatia. ‡ Prov. XXV., 11. § Ecclus. XLIV.

GLIMPSES OF CHARLES DICKENS.

BY CHARLES DICKENS THE YOUNGER.

I.

My first recollections of my father date from a time when we were living in Devonshire Terrace, and just after his return from his first visit to America. One of the clearest of them is in connection with a certain American rocking-chair, which I presume he had brought back with him from the States, and in which he often used to sit of an evening singing comic songs to a wondering and delighted audience consisting of myself and my two sisters. "The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman," in the composition of which my father, and Thackeray, and George Cruikshank were all supposed to have had some sort of hand, was one of these ditties, and used to be sung with a prodigious dramatic effect; and although it was considered to be in some way George Cruikshank's patent, I never could see so much in his version as my father made of it—although, in the days before the great George took to teetotalism and to flinging an infinite quantity of cold water over everything, there was, no doubt, a good deal of humorous extravagance about his declamation of the story of this noble lord of high degree.

Another favorite song of ours—and I think my father enjoyed them all even more than we did—was one that was concerned with the history of Guy Fawkes; "Guy Fawkes, that prince of sinisters, who once blew up the House of Lords, the King, and all his ministers." The beginning of each verse contained some startling statement of this kind, which was afterwards modified and explained away in what we considered a most artful and humorous manner. I forget exactly what happened to interfere with the final stage of Guy Fawkes's nefarious project, but in an-

other verse it was stated that Guy "crossing over Vauxhall Bridge, that way came into London. That is, he would have come that way to perpetrate his guilt, sir. But a little thing prevented him—the bridge it wasn't built, sir," and also that when they wanted to arrest him "they straightway sent to Bow Street for that brave old runner Townshend. That is they would have sent for him, for fear he was no starter at, but Townsend wasn't living then, he wasn't born till arter that." To each verse there was a chorus of the good old-fashioned sort, with an "oh, ah, oh, ri fol de riddy oddy, bow wow wow" refrain, and a great part of the point of the joke lay in the delivery of the introductory monosyllables; the first "oh" being given, as it were, with incredulity, or a tone of inquiry; the second "ah" strongly affirmatively, and the last "oh" with an air as of one who has found conviction not without difficulty. Some of Tom Moore's melodies also formed part of the repertoire, and there were no doubt others, which I have forgotten, but the impression of the singer, as he sat in that rocking-chair with us three children about or on his knees, has never in the least faded from my mind, though of his appearance at some other and later times the picture may be less vivid.

My first experience, I think, of my father's extraordinary energy and of the thoroughness—the even alarming thoroughness—with which he always threw himself into everything he had occasion to take up, was in connection with a toy theatre of which I was the proud possessor somewhere about the middle of the forties. Toy theatres with scenery and sheets of the characters only requiring painting and cutting out—one Skelt was the principal artist for such things—were very popular indeed in my very early youth, and it was the aim of every self-respecting boy to be the manager of one or more of them. Greater even than the pleasures of the ultimate performances and the accompanying delights of setting out the evil-smelling little footlights which lavished their oil over everything with which it was most desirable they should not come in contact, were the preparations—the painting the scenery, the painting and cutting out the characters, the pasting, the gumming, the thousand and one messes and snippings, and general causes of litter and untidiness, which were so dear to the boys of my time. Skelt, I am afraid, has long since vanished, and toy theatres are so seldom to be seen that I suppose

the taste for them has gone out too. Perhaps the boys of to-day know too much about the real theatre to care very much about the toy one, and are not so ready to make-believe as we were. But in my time a toy theatre was about the most popular present you could give a boy, and when some philanthropist presented me with an unusually fine specimen, a perfect Drury Lane among its brethren, I anticipated an endless round of delights. But the size of my theatre fascinated my father, and, in conjunction with Clarkson Stanfield, who had been distinguished as a scene painter before he became a member of the Royal Academy, he set to work to produce the first piece. This, I remember, was a spectacle called the "Elephant of Siam," and its production on a proper scale of splendor necessitated the designing and painting of several new scenes, which resulted in such a competition between my father and Stanfield that you would have thought their very existences depended on the mounting of this same elephant. And even after Stanfield had had enough of it my father was still hard at work, and pegged away at the landscapes and architecture of Siam with an amount of energy which in any other man would have been extraordinary, but which I soon learned to look upon as quite natural in him. This particular form of dramatic fever wore itself out after the piece was produced, I remember, and the theatre—much to my delight, for I had hitherto had but little to do with it—found its way to the nursery, where in process of time a too realistic performance of the miller and his men, comprising an injudicious expenditure of gunpowder and red-fire, brought about the catastrophe which finishes the career of most theatres, and very nearly set fire to the house as well.

This extraordinary, eager, restless energy, which first showed itself to me in this small matter, was never absent from my father all through his life. Whatever he did he put his whole heart into, and did as well as ever he could. Whether it was for work or for play, he was always in earnest. Painting the scenes for a toy theatre, dancing Sir Roger de Coverley at a children's party, gravely learning the polka from his little daughters for a similar entertainment, walking, riding, picnicking, amateur acting, public reading, or the every-day hard work of his literary life—it was all one to him. Whatever lay nearest to his hand at the moment had to be done thoroughly. Mr. Forster says of him, as early as the summer of 1839, speaking of

the recreations which were indulged in in the garden of the house at Petersham in which he was then living:

"Bar-leaping, bowling, and quoits were among the games carried on with the greatest ardor; and in sustained energy, or what is called keeping it up, Dickens certainly distanced every competitor. Even the lighter recreations of battledore and bagatelle were pursued with relentless activity; and at such amusements as the Petersham races, in those days rather celebrated, and which he visited daily while they lasted, he worked much harder himself than the running horses did."

Speaking through the mouth of David Copperfield, my father described his own way of life with perfect accuracy when he said:

"I never could have done what I have done without the habits of punctuality, order, and diligence, without the determination to concentrate myself on one object at a time, no matter how quickly its successor should come upon its heels. Heaven knows I write this in no spirit of self-laudation. My meaning simply is that whatever I have tried to do in life I have tried with all my heart to do well; that whatever I have devoted myself to, I have devoted myself to completely; that in great aims and in small I have always been thoroughly in earnest. Never to put one hand to anything on which I could throw my whole self, and never to effect depreciation of my work, whatever it was, I find now to have been my golden rules."

In a more homely way the same truth is insisted upon by Mr. and Mrs. Bayham Badger in *Bleak House*. "It was a maxim of Captain Swosser's, speaking in his figurative, naval manner," said Mrs. Badger, "that when you make pitch hot you cannot make it too hot; and that, if you only have to swab a plank, you should swab it as if Davy Jones were after you. It appears to me that this maxim is applicable to the medical as well as to the nautical profession." "To all professions," observed Mr. Badger. "It was admirably said by Captain Swosser, beautifully said."

And so it was. But, unfortunately, there comes a time at last when these maxims can be carried out too thoroughly; when never ceasing activity and energy of that kind really deserve Mr. Forster's epithet "relentless"; and when it becomes of the last importance, for physical as well as mental reasons, to remember that even a virtue carried to an unreasonable excess may become something very like a vice. In my father's case, as you have no doubt all heard, and as I shall presently show you, it would have been better if he had been content—or, perhaps, I should say if he had been able—to relax the constant strain, the incessant tension, when the physical and nervous strength were no longer so fit to bear them

as they once had been. But he never could be persuaded that that time had come for him, and never would admit in his later days that things were no longer with him as they had been of old.

At the time of which I am now speaking the first of my father's numerous sojourns on the continent began, and we all started off one morning from Paris on our way south in that wonderful travelling carriage which is so graphically described in the *Pictures from Italy;* and I can remember many walks with my father up apparently interminable hills in the lonely French country districts, many queer dirty little towns the shabby sights of which had to be explored as if they were really quite well worth seeing, many cheery meals and snacks produced as by the conjurer's art from the innumerable pockets of the carriage, many wild roadside inns where in some mysterious way peculiar to himself my father, aided and abetted by the excellent courier who was in charge of the caravan, evolved order out of chaos, comfort out of squalor, and cheery, kindly attention out of the original sulky apathy. Of my father at Albaro and afterwards at Genoa in 1844 and 1845 I have, strange to say, but a dim recollection, though I have many vivid reminiscences of the vineyards of the "Pink Jail," as he called the house at Albaro, and of the fine terraced gardens of the Palazzo Peschiere in the beautiful city itself. But as he was, when free from pressure of work, frequently away travelling about the country, rushing over to London to read *The Chimes* to a party of friends in Mr. Forster's rooms, or what not, perhaps the circumstance is not so surprising after all. And of our journey homeward over the St. Gothard pass, all I distinctly remember is an extremely rocky and icy walk, from one point of the steep winding road to another, by way of a short cut. Indeed, I can see the pair of us now, he stalking away in the distance, I quite a small boy, struggling in vain to keep up, very tired, but extremely proud of being with him; bound to go on whether I liked it or not, not only from the point of honor, but because there was nowhere else to go to, and finally very nearly collapsing when the phantom path we had been following was found to disappear over a half-frozen little torrent which had to be crossed by the insecurest possible arrangement of stepping stones before the road and the carriage could be regained. Why, of all the beautiful mountain pictures which that journey must have presented to me,

I should only remember this particular one, is one of those strange freaks of memory which we all know so well.

Shortly after our return home I had my first experience of my father as an actor, and, although I have little or no recollection of the play itself—it was Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*—except that I have a strong impression that I found it on the whole extremely dull, the humorous swagger and noble exaggeration of his Captain Bobadil are still quite fresh in my memory, and it does not require the aid of Mr. Leslie's portrait of him in the part, to bring the Captain very distinctly before my mind's eye. I shall have to recur several times before I conclude to my father as an actor—both on the boards and on the platform—but I may say now that if ever a man seemed to have been born for one particular pursuit it was my father in connection with the stage. He was, indeed, a born actor, and no line of character that I ever saw him essay came amiss to him. From Captain Bobadil to Justice Shallow, from old-fashioned farce, such as *Two o'clock in the Morning* and *Animal Magnetism*, to the liveliest Charles Mathewsisms, and thence again to the intensest Frederic Lemaitre melodrama, from the tremendous power of the Sikes and Nancy Reading to the absurdities of Serjeant Buzfuz, from the pathos of Little Dombey to the broad humors of Mrs. Gamp, everything seemed to come natural to him. That he brought to his acting the same earnestness and energy that he gave to everything else is of course true, but no amount of work could have produced the same result if the power had not been there, strongly, unusually strongly, developed. There was a quaint professional touch and yet one easy to understand about the remark which a stage carpenter once made to him during the progress of some amateur performances at the Haymarket Theatre: "Ah, Mr. Dickens, it was a sad loss to the public when you took to writing."

And, besides his powers as an actor, he had a positive genius for stage management. "Greatly as his acting contributed to the success of the night, this was nothing to the service he had rendered as manager," says Mr. Forster, speaking of the *Every Man in His Humour* performance, and we were all to have more practical experience of it by and by when we came to those famous Tavistock House theatricals.

The celebrated amateur dramatic performances at Tavi-

stock House, which, in their full development with the *Frozen Deep*, were, I have no hesitation in saying, the most extraordinarily artistic and successful things of their kind ever known, had very modest and unassuming beginnings. We always had a large children's party on or about the 6th of January, and in the years 1852 and 1853 I and a schoolfellow of mine, since widely known as an accomplished man of letters, a brilliant lecturer, and an eloquent preacher—the Rev. Canon Ainger—got up two little plays, the one a burlesque of *Guy Fawkes*, by Albert Smith, and the other a burlesque on *William Tell*, by one of the Broughs, and disported ourselves therein to our heart's content, albeit in a scratch sort of manner, and with no special assistance from the authorities. In the following year, however, my father took the matter in hand and got up a revised and expurgated version of Fielding's *Tom Thumb*, in which parts were found for almost all his children and a number of their young friends besides, and which was presented with all needful accessories in the way of costumes, theatrical hairdressing, properties, and all the rest of it. This performance was so successful that a still more ambitious flight was essayed in the shape of Planché's *Fortunio* next year, with equally satisfactory results.

In both these performances my father took part on the stage, besides, as it seems to me, doing everybody's work, and more, in the course of preparation and rehearsal. He revised and adapted the plays, selected and arranged the music, chose and altered the costumes, wrote the new incidental songs, invented all the stage business, taught everybody his or her part, and was, in fact, everywhere and everything at once. The parts that he himself played were but small ones—the Ghost of Gaffer Thumb (with a song) in the first piece, and Baron Dunover, the impecunious father of the three heroines, in *Fortunio;* but in the latter piece he also appeared as the Expectant Cousin of the Nobility in General and, with a fixed and propitiatory smile on his face which I shall never forget—the very type of the smile of the sycophant and toady—constantly pervaded the stage, whence he was better able, than from the wing, to direct the performance.

In the *Tom Thumb* playbill he described himself as the modern Garrick, while Mark Lemon—affectionately known to all of us children as Uncle Mark—played Glumdalca, the beauti-

ful Queen of the Giants, and figured in the bill as the Infant Phenomenon in humorous allusion to his somewhat Fallstaffian proportions. The *Tom Thumb* playbill was, after all, a simple affair enough, but in drawing up the bill of fare for *Fortunio* my father gave himself up to the joke of the thing altogether, and produced a wild document indeed. A number of startling headlines announced the reëngagement of "that Irresistible comedian Mr. Ainger"; the reappearance of Mr. H., "who created so Powerful an Impression last year"—Mr. H. was my brother, Henry Fielding, now Queen's Counsel, who was then six years old; the return of Mr. Charles Dickens, Jr., from his German engagements; the engagement of Miss Kate, my sister, now Mrs. Kate Perugini, the artist, "who declined the munificent offers of the management last season"; the engagements of Mr. Passé, Mr. Mudperiod, Mr. Measley Servile, and Mr. Wilkini Collini. Mr. Passé was my father, as Baron Dunover, and under the name of Measley Servile he played the expectant cousin; Mr. Mudperiod was Mark Lemon as the Dragon, and you will have no difficulty in recognizing in the gentlemen with the Italian name Mr. Wilkie Collins, who played one of Fortunio's seven gifted servants. Finally came the "first appearance on any stage of Mr. Plornishmaroontigoonter, who has been kept out of bed at a vast expense." This performer, whose name—one of the absurd nicknames which my father invented for all of us in turn—was almost as long as himself, was my youngest brother, aged about two. The plays were capital fun—it is something to be able to look back to a time when one enjoyed anything so much—and equally good were the dances and suppers afterwards.

Sir Roger de Coverley—does anybody ever dance Sir Roger de Coverley now? I wonder—was always a great institution in our house; we knew all about Scotch Reels and Country Dances—"hands half round and back again the other way, down the middle and up again, round and round in various stages of affectionate grouping, old top couple always turning up in the wrong place, new top couple starting off as soon as they got there, all top couples at last and not a bottom one to help them" as Mr. Fezziwig very well knew—and with my father to lead the revels and to dance, himself, as if the world contained no other duty or pleasure, those Twelfth Night parties were, indeed, things to be remembered.

Of course it was clear that something more important must come of all this, and that something came very soon, only six months afterwards, in fact, in the shape of Wilkie Collins's powerful and ingenious drama, *The Lighthouse*, in which my father, for the first time, I think, displayed that extraordinary melodramatic intensity and force with which his readings were afterwards to make the public so familiar. The earlier plays had had practically no assistance in the way of scenery, but now the services of no less an accomplished painter than Clarkson Stanfield were requisitioned, and, besides devising a very ingenious arrangement of the interior of the Eddystone Lighthouse, in which the action of the play took place, he painted a most striking seascape of the lighthouse itself in heavy weather to serve as an act-drop. The principal parts were played by my father, this time under the name of Mr. Crummles—the theatre was described in the bills, by the by, as the smallest theatre in the world, as, no doubt, it was—Wilkie Collins, Mark Lemon, my eldest sister, and my aunt, Miss Hogarth, while minor characters brought in Augustus Egg, myself, Ainger, and some others.

There was a prologue, written and spoken by my father, which ran as follows:

"A story of those rocks where doomed ships come
To cast their wrecks upon the steps of home,
Where solitary men the long year through—
The wind their music and the brine their view—
Warn mariners to shun the beacon light;
A story of those rocks is here to-night.
Eddystone Lighthouse, in its ancient form,
Ere he who built it wished for the great storm
That shivered it to nothing, once again
Behold out-gleaming on the angry main!
Within it are three men; to these repair
In our frail bark of fancy, swift as air!
They are but shadows, as the rower grim
Took none but shadows in his boat with him.
So be *ye* shades, and, for a little space,
The real world a dream without a trace.
Return is easy. It will have ye back
Too soon to the old dusty beaten track;
For but one hour forget it. Billows rise,
Blow winds, fall rain, be black ye midnight skies!
And you who watch the light, Arise! Arise!"

At the cue, "Eddystone Lighthouse," the green curtain was raised, and displayed, to the unbounded astonishment of the au-

dience, Stanfield's picture; and the words, "billows rise," were my signal—I was in charge of the storm—to let loose the elements. We had all the correct theatrical weather out in the hall: the sort of silk grindstone for the wind—Marcus Stone, now R. A., turned the wind, if I remember rightly—the long box of rain, the flash for the lightning, the sheet of iron for the rattle of the thunder, besides half a dozen cannon balls to roll about on the floor to simulate the shaking of the lighthouse as it was struck by the waves. It was nervous work, this riding on the whirlwind and directing the storm. It had to be done all through the first act, exactly at the word, of course, and only for a rigidly defined time, and I could always tell by the very look of my father's shoulders at rehearsal, as he sat on the stage with his back to me, that he was ready for the smallest mistake, and that if I didn't wave that flag at exactly the right moment, or if the component parts of my storm were at all backward in attending to their business, there would promptly come that fatal cry of "stop!" which pulled everything up short and heralded a wigging for somebody. The window of the lighthouse room had to be opened, with great difficulty in the teeth of the gale, two or three times in the course of the act, and then my storm and I all went raving mad together, while Stanfield—I can see now his jolly red sailor face beaming with excitement and delight—crouching against the scene near the aperture, threw salt on the stage to represent (I am afraid rather indifferently, though *he* thought it all right) the flying spray. Three times we played *The Lighthouse*, and each time with quite astounding success.

It is curious to note, as showing how carefully the piece had been written and arranged for the peculiar circumstances under which it had to be played, that when it was tried at the Olympic Theatre, even with so great an actor as Frederick Robson in my father's part, it produced little or no effect.

The following Christmas was passed in Paris, and, as far as amateur theatricals were concerned, was necessarily blank, but on the sixth of January, 1857, the Tavistock House theatricals reached their climax in the production of Wilkie Collins's *Frozen Deep*. This was a very ambitious effort indeed, as far beyond *The Lighthouse* as *The Lighthouse* was in advance of *Guy Fawkes* and *William Tell;* and looking back upon it all, and recalling the little stage on which it all had to be done, the extraordinary

perfection to which infinite ingenuity and endless pains brought it is a marvel to me to this day.

The schoolroom at Tavistock House was a good sized room—nothing more—with a fairly large bay window, which did not, however, occupy the whole of one side. *The Lighthouse* being only in one scene, was played opposite this bay in which the audience were seated, but for the *Frozen Deep,* which was arranged in three acts, the bay had to be used for the stage, and had, furthermore, to be supplemented by a great wooden construction erected outside the windows. This arrangement—the windows, of course, being taken out—was utilized in the most artful manner by the scene-painters, as well as by the author, who in the construction of his play kept the necessities and disqualifications of the peculiarly shaped little stage carefully in view, and quite surprising scenic and dramatic effects were the result. The cast of characters being comparatively large, and a number of supernumeraries having to be on the stage in the scene of the hut in the Arctic regions in the second act, with a good deal of stage business to get through too, a prodigious amount of rehearsal was imperatively necessary. I think we pegged away at the *Frozen Deep* for quite three months, three and sometimes four times a week; indeed, for those who were engaged in the farces as well as the play, life, when it came to December, seemed to be one long rehearsal. But if we had to work hard we had plenty of fun, and the enjoyment of the rehearsal-night suppers would have made amends for even harder work than we had. You will form some idea of the number of people who were continually in the house—company, carpenters, scene-painters' assistants, and the rest—and of the unceasing hospitality of the manager, when I tell you that the butcher called in person on my mother one day, to point out that he was supplying such an abnormal quantity of joints that he thought it his duty to mention it to her in order to be sure that there was no mistake. As to what sort of condition the house was for living in, all this time, some extracts from my father's letters, describing the state of things, will give you a pretty good notion. He wrote to Mr. Forster:

"You will be surprised by the look of the place. It is no more like the schoolroom than it is like the sign of the Salutation Inn at Ambleside, in Westmoreland. The sounds in the house remind me, as to the present time, of Chatham dockyard—as to a remote epoch, of the building of Noah's Ark. Joiners are never out of the house, and the carpenters appear to be

unsettled (or settled) for life. . . . All day long a laborer heats size over the fire in a great crucible. We eat it, drink it, breathe it, and smell it. Seventy paint-pots (which came in a van) adorn the stage; and thereon may be beheld Stanny and three Dansons, all painting at once. Meanwhile Telbin, in a secluded bower in Brewer Street, Golden Square, plies *his* part of the little undertaking."

Of his own particular occupation at this time he wrote to Macready:

"You may faintly imagine, my venerable friend, the occupation of these also gray hairs, between *Golden Marys*, *Little Dorrits*, and *Household Wordses*, four stage carpenters entirely boarding on the premises, a carpenter's shop erected in the back garden, size always boiling over on all the lower fires, Stanfield perpetually elevated on planks and splashing himself from head to foot; Telbin requiring impossibilities of smart gasmen, and a legion of prowling nondescripts forever slinking in and out. Calm amidst the wreck, your aged friend glides away on the *Dorrit* stream, forgetting the uproar for a stretch of hours, refreshes himself with a ten or twelve miles walk, pitches head foremost into foaming rehearsals, placidly emerges for editorial purposes, smokes over buckets of distemper with Mr. Stanfield aforesaid, again calmly floats upon the *Dorrit* waters."

It *was* a good deal of work for one man to get through.

The outcome of the seventy paint-pots, the size, and the distemper was that Mr. Telbin, with the assistance of Messrs. Danson, painted a charming drawing-room scene with a beautiful sunset effect for the first act; while Stanfield, "Stanny" for short, arranged for the second act the hut in the Arctic regions, with a fine view of the icefield on a back cloth out on the scaffolding in the garden, and for the third a cave on the coast of Newfoundland, where all the characters met by a rather remarkable series of coincidences, with another admirable back cloth showing the sea and a man-of-war at anchor. The prologue was again written by my father, and delivered by Mr. Forster, who used to prowl about the stage with baleful looks when the time for beginning drew near, and mouthed his "hollow aes and oes" quite in the most approved Macready fashion.

In some respects my father's performance in this piece even surpassed that in *The Lighthouse*; and in one particular scene I remember his realism was positively alarming—not to say painful. In his demented condition in the last act he had to rush off the stage, and I and three or four others had to try and stop him. He gave us fair notice early in the rehearsals that he meant fighting in earnest in that particular scene, and we very soon found out that the warning was not an idle one. He went at it after a

while with such a will that we really did have to fight, like prize-fighters, and as for me, being the leader of the attacking party and bearing the first brunt of the fray, I was tossed in all directions and had been black-and-blue two or three times before the first night of the performance arrived.

The 6th of January, 1857, as I have said, saw the production of the play, and it was at the subsequent supper of the performers and some of the guests that Lord Campbell declared that he would rather have written *Pickwick* than be Lord Chief Justice of England and a Peer of Parliament.

Two or three times more we played the *Frozen Deep* at home to audiences of ninety or so, who were got into the theatre somehow, and then the stage was dismantled, never to be restored. Afterwards we played the piece for the Jerrold fund—now at the Gallery of Illustration, now at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, where our little fit-up looked not much bigger than a Punch and Judy show, but where the play went quite as well as it had ever done in the Tavistock House schoolroom. Also we had the honor of giving a private performance at the Gallery of Illustration before Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince Consort, and I can well recall the excitement which was caused among the younger members of the company by the presence of the Princess Royal and the Crown Prince of Prussia, then just engaged to be married. Of the difficulty that stood in the way of my father's paying his respects to Her Majesty that night in response to her expressed desire, he wrote:

"My gracious sovereign was so pleased that she sent round begging me to go and see her, and accept her thanks. I replied that I was in my farce dress, and must beg to be excused. Whereupon she sent again, saying that the dress 'could not be so ridiculous as that,' and repeating the request. I sent my duty in reply, but again hoped Her Majesty would have the kindness to excuse my presenting myself in a costume and appearance that were not my own."

This excuse commended itself to Her Majesty's invariable tact and consideration, and my father carried his point, and it was thirteen years before the Queen had an opportunity of thanking him personally for the evening's entertainment.

CHAS. DICKENS.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM T. HARRIS, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

AT the Saratoga meeting in 1892 the National Educational Association appointed a committee of ten persons to consider and report upon the subjects of study and the methods of instruction in secondary schools, including public high schools, private academies, and schools preparing students for college. President Eliot, of Harvard was appointed chairman, with nine associates, four of whom were presidents of colleges, one a professor in a college, two principals of public high schools, and one head master of a preparatory school. This "Committee of Ten," as it is generally called, had authority to select the members of special conferences and to arrange meetings for the discussion of the principal subjects taught in schools preparatory to college. Accordingly, nine such conferences were appointed, each consisting of ten members, representing, as fairly as possible, the colleges on the one hand and the secondary schools on the other. The subjects represented were Latin, Greek, English, other modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy (including physics, astronomy, and chemistry), natural history (and biology, including botany, zoology, and physiology), history (including also civil government and political economy), geography (including physical geography, geology, and meteorology). The National Educational Association appropriated the sum of $2,500 towards defraying the expenses of the conferences.

The report was completed and published in the spring of 1894. Thirty thousand copies were distributed by the National Bureau of Education, and since then edition after edition has been printed and sold by the National Educational Association through an agent.

No educational document before published in this country has been more widely read or has excited more helpful discussion. The secondary instruction of the country has been considered to be the weakest part of the entire system, although it is conceded on all hands that the teachers in secondary schools are, on the average, much superior in professional and general culture to the teachers in elementary schools, if not to those in colleges. The reason for this defect in secondary schools has been found in the course of study. A majority of the public high schools and a larger majority of the private academies dilute their secondary course of study by continuing elementary studies beyond their proper limit. Arithmetic, descriptive geography, grammar, history of one's native country, literature written in the colloquial vocabulary, are each and all very nourishing to the mind when first begun, but their educative value is soon exhausted. The mind needs for its continuous development more advanced branches, such as algebra and geometry, physical geography, a foreign language, general history. But for these the secondary school often substitutes other branches that involve no new methods nor more complex ideas, and the pupil stops in the elementary stage of growth.

The influence of the report of the Committee of Ten has been to impel secondary schools towards the choice of well-balanced courses of study containing subjects which belong essentially to secondary education, like algebra, Latin or physics ; and at the same time either to discontinue elementary branches, or to apply to the study of these a superior method, by which their principles are traced into higher branches and explained.

The success of the report of the Committee of Ten has been such as to arouse eager interest in a similar inquiry into the work of the elementary schools. Already, in February, 1893, a committee had been appointed by the Department of Superintendence in the National Educational Association. It was made to consist of fifteen members instead of ten and has been known as the Committee of Fifteen.*

* This committee, with Mr. W. H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools, Brooklyn, N. Y., as chairman, was organized by him into three sub-committees. (1) On the training of teachers: H. S. Tarbell, Edward Brooks, F. M. Balliet, N. C. Dougherty and O. H. Cooper, respectively the superintendents of public schools in the cities of Providence, R. I., Philadelphia, Pa., Springfield, Mass., Peoria, Ill., and Galveston, Texas.

(2) On the correlation of studies in elementary education: W. T. Harris, J. M. Greenwood, C. B. Gilbert, L. H. Jones, W. H. Maxwell—Messrs. Greenwood, Gil-

The report of this "Committee of Fifteen" was submitted to the Department of Superintendents at its recent meeting (February, 1895) in Cleveland and is now before the public.*

It is the object of this paper to indicate briefly the points that give it importance.

If one were to summarize concisely the history of educational progress in the United States for the present century as regards the elementary schools, he would say that there has been a change from the ungraded school in the sparsely settled district to the graded school of the city and large village. The ungraded school held a short session of three or four months, was taught by a makeshift teacher, had mostly individual instruction, with thirty or forty recitations to be heard and five minutes or less of the teacher's time per day for each.

The graded school has classified its pupils according to degree of advancement and assigns two classes to a teacher. Instead of five minutes for a recitation, there are twenty or thirty minutes, and the teacher has an opportunity to go behind the words of the book and by discussion and questioning probe the lesson, find what the pupil really understands and can explain in his own words. Each member of the class learns more from the answers of his fellow-pupils and from the cross-questioning of the teacher than he could learn from a lesson of equal length with a tutor entirely devoted to himself.

The graded school continues for ten months instead of three, and employs or may employ a professionally educated teacher. This is the most important item of progress to be mentioned in the history of our education. Normal schools, two hundred in number, have been created in the various States, and it is estimated that the cities, large and small, have an average of fifty per cent. of professionally trained teachers, while the ungraded schools in the rural districts are taught by persons who leave their regular vocations and resort to teaching for a small portion of the year.

The urban and suburban population, counting in the large

bert and Jones being respectively city superintendents in Kansas City, St. Paul and Cleveland.

(3) On the organization of city school systems: A. S. Draper, E. P. Seaver, A. G. Lane, A. B. Poland and W. B. Powell; Mr. Draper being president of the University of Illinois, and the other members respectively the city superintendents of Boston, Chicago, the state superintendent of New Jersey, the city superintendent of Washington, D. C.

* See the *Educational Review* for March.

villages, is at present about fifty per cent. of the population of the whole country.

One improvement leads to another, and where the graded school has been established with its professionally trained teachers it has been followed by the appointment of experts as superintendents, until over 800 cities and towns in the nation have such supervision. The fifty States have each a State superintendent, who, in most cases, controls the licensing of teachers in rural districts.

With the advent of the professional teacher and the expert supervisor, there has arrived an era of experiment and agitation for reforms.

The general trend of school reforms may be characterized as in the direction of securing the interest of the pupil. All the new devices have in view the awakening of the pupil's inner spring of action. He is to be interested and made to act along lines of rational culture through his own impulse. The older methods looked less to interesting the pupil than to disciplining the will in rational forms. "Make the pupil familiar with self-sacrifice, make it a second nature to follow the behests of duty and heroically stifle selfish desires"—this was their motto, expressed or implied. It was an education addressed primarily to the will. The new education is addressed to the feelings and desires. Its motto is: "Develop the pupil through his desires and interests." Goethe preached this doctrine in his *Wilhelm Meister*. Froebel founded the kindergarten system on it. Colonel Parker's Quincy school experiment was, and his Cook County Normal School is, a centre for the promulgation of this idea. Those who advocate an extension of the system of elective studies in the colleges and its introduction even into secondary and elementary schools justify it by the principle of interest.

It is noteworthy that this word "interest" is the watchword of the disciples of the Herbartian system of pedagogy. Herbart, in his psychology, substituted desire for will. He recognizes intellect and feeling and desire (*Begierde*). Desire is, of course, a species of feeling—for feeling includes sensations and desires, the former allied to the intellect and the latter to the will. But sensation is not yet intellect, nor is desire will; both are only feeling.

I have described and illustrated this general trend of school

reform in order to show its strength and its weakness, and to indicate the province marked out for a report that should treat of the branches of study and the methods of instruction in the elementary school and suggest improvement.

While the old education in its exclusive devotion to will training has slighted the intellect and the heart (or feelings), the new education moves likewise towards an extreme as bad, or worse. It slights direct will-culture and tends to exaggerate impulse and inclination or interest. An educational psychology that degrades will to desire must perforce construct an elaborate system for the purpose of developing moral interests and desires. This, however, does not quite succeed until the old doctrine of self-sacrifice for the sake of the good is reached.

"Our wills are ours, to make them thine."

The philosophy of the *Bhagavad Gita* holds that the goal of culture is to annihilate all interest and attain absolute indifference—this is adopted by Buddhism in the doctrine of Nirvana. Indian renunciation reaches the denial of selfhood, while the Christian doctrine of renunciation reaches only to the denial of selfishness and the adoption of altruistic interests.

However this may be, the pedagogic impulse to create devices for awakening the interest of the pupil becomes sometimes a craze for novelty. Change at any price and change of any kind is clamored for. It is a trite saying that change is not progress. It is more apt to be movement in a circle or even retrogression. An amusing example was lately furnished in educational circles. A superintendent of rural schools defended their want of classification as an advantage. It was "individual instruction," and, as such, an improvement over that of the graded school of the cities. His reactionary movement received the support of some of the advocates of educational reform on the ground that it was a new departure. This happened at a time when one-half of the school children in the United States are still taught, or rather allowed to memorize their text books, by this method!

The sub-committees on training of teachers and on the organization of city school systems have brought forward, in their respective reports, the latest devised measures for the perfection of normal schools and the procurement of expert supervisors for city school systems. The importance of the recommendations regarding schools for the training of teachers is seen when one

recalls to mind the fact that the entire upward movement of the elementary schools has been initiated and sustained by the employment of professionally trained teachers and that the increase of urban population has made it possible. In the normal school the candidate is taught the history of education, the approved methods of instruction, and the grounds of each branch of study as they are to be found in the sciences that it presupposes.

The method of eliminating politics from the control of a city school system is discussed in Judge Draper's frank and persuasive style, and a plan in essential particulars similar to that adopted in the city of Cleveland is recommended for trial in all large cities. A small school-board of five or ten members is appointed by the Mayor, which in turn elects a school director (but this officer may also be appointed by the Mayor), who takes charge of the business side of the management of schools. For the professional side of the work a superintendent is appointed by the school director, with the approval of two-thirds or three-fourths of the school board. The terms of office suggested are, respectively, for the members of the school board appointed by the Mayor, five years; for the school director, five years; for the superintendent, five to ten years. The superintendent appoints all teachers from an eligible list of candidates whose qualifications are defined by the school board.

This plan of government is based on the idea of the importance of personal responsibility at all points in the administration. Only an actual trial can determine its strength or weakness. All plans, as Judge Draper well says, presuppose a public spirit and a moral sense on the part of the people; they presuppose a sincere desire for good schools and a fair knowledge of what good schools are and of the best means of creating them. Where the whole people possesses political power, the intelligent and virtuous citizens must exert a continual influence or else the demagogues will come into office. For the natural representative of the weakling classes is the demagogue. Whether the citizen is weak in intellect, or thrift, or morals, it is all the same; he will vote for the demagogue as ruler.

The report on the correlation of studies is an attempt to reconcile the old and the new in education by discovering what in the course of study is or should be permanent and what in the nature of things is transient. It admits the claims of the new

education, as to making the appeal to the child's interest paramount, so far as this relates to the methods of instruction, but it finds a limit to this in the matters to be taught. It discusses the educational value of the five principal factors of the course of study in order to determine clearly where the proposed new branches of study belong and what they add to the old curriculum. These five components of a course of study are: (1) Grammar, as a study of the structure of language; (2) Literature, as a study of the art form of language—literature as furnishing a revelation of human nature in all its types; (3) Mathematics, as furnishing the laws of matter in movement and rest—the laws grounded in the nature of space and time; (4) Geography, as a compend of natural and social science—unfolding later, in secondary and higher education, into geology, botany, zoölogy, meteorology on the one hand, and into anthropology and sociology, economics and politics on the other; (5) History, as showing the origin and growth of institutions, especially of the State. It appears that these five branches cover the two worlds of man and nature, and that all theoretical studies fall within these lines. This is the correlation of study. Each essential branch has some educational value that another does not possess. Each branch also serves the function of correlating the child to his environment, namely, to the two worlds of nature and human society.

Hitherto, we are told in this report, the course of study has been justified on psychological grounds—"literature cultivates the memory and the imagination"; "arithmetic the reason," etc. But each branch has in some measure a claim on all the faculties. Arithmetic cultivates the memory of quantity, the imagination of successions, and the reason in a peculiar figure of the syllogism different from the three figures used in qualitative reasoning.

The report, however, makes frequent appeal to experimental psychology in dealing with the question of the time devoted to the several branches. For example, it often discusses the danger of too much thoroughness of drill in teaching and the use of processes that become mechanical after some time. The rapid addition of numbers, the study of the geometrical solids, the identification of the colors of the spectrum, the reading of insipid pieces written in the colloquial vocabulary, the memorizing of localities and dates; all these things may be continued so long under the

plea of "thoroughness" as to paralyze the mind, or fix it in some stage of arrested growth.

The committee have been at much pains to point out the importance of leaving a branch of study when it has been studied long enough to exhaust its educational value. It is shown in the case of arithmetic that it ought to be replaced by algebra two years earlier than is the custom in the public schools at present. The arithmetical method should not be used to solve the class of problems that are more easily solved by algebra. So, too, it is contended that English grammar should be discontinued at the close of the seventh year, and French, German or Latin—preferably the last—substituted for it. The educative value of a study on its psychological side is greatest at the beginning. The first six months in the study of algebra or Latin—it is claimed that even the first four weeks—are more valuable than the same length of time later on. For the first lessons make one acquainted with a new method of viewing things.

In recommending the introduction of Latin and algebra into the seventh and eighth years of the elementary school course, the committee are in accord with the Committee of Ten, who urged the earlier commencement of the secondary course of study.

The committee urge strongly the subordination of elocution and grammar in the reading exercises to the study of the contents of the literary work of art, holding that the best lesson learned at school is the mastery of a poetic gem or a selection from a great prose writer. It is contended that the selections found in the school readers often possess more literary unity than the whole works from which they were taken, as in the case of Byron's "Battle of Waterloo" from "*Childe Harold.*" The importance of studying the unity of a work of art is dwelt upon in different parts of the report and the old method of parsing works of art censured.

An example of the Herbartian correlation is found in the method recommended for teaching geography, namely, that the industrial and commercial idea should be the centre from which the pupil moves out in two directions—from the supply of his needs for food, clothing, shelter, and culture, he moves out on the side of nature to the "elements of difference," that is to say, to the differences of climate, soil, productions, and races of men, explaining finally by geology, astronomy and meteorology how

these differences arose. On the other hand, he moves towards the study of man, in his sociology, history, and economics, discovering what means the race has invented to overcome those "elements of difference" and supply the manifold wants of man wherever he lives by making him participant in the productions of all climes through the world commerce.

Likewise in the study of general history the committee suggest that the old method of beginning with the earliest ages be discontinued and that a regressive method be adopted, proceeding from United States history back to English history, and thence to Rome, Greece and Judea, and the other sources of our civilization.

In contrast to this genuine correlation the report describes an example of what it calls "artificial correlation"—where Robinson Crusoe or some literary work of art is made the centre of study for a considerable period of time, and geography, arithmetic and other branches taught incidentally in connection with it.

Perhaps the most important portion of this report is its attempt to draw a line between secondary and elementary studies. The recommendation to shorten the time devoted to the strictly elementary work, and to take up the two chief secondary studies in the seventh and eighth years will, when generally adopted, largely increase the number of pupils who continue their school life into secondary and higher education. This, with the subordination of grammar to literary art and the shortening of the course in arithmetic, leaving what General Walker calls the "conundrums" for algebraic treatment, makes a series of radical departures which ought to please the warm advocates of progressive measures, notwithstanding the fact that a strongly conservative position is taken regarding the educational value of the staple branches hitherto taught.

W. T. Harris.

OUR SITUATION VIEWED FROM WITHOUT.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D.

An Englishman visiting the United States at this time, finds his American friends peering with more than usual anxiety into the mist which shrouds the immediate future. He, of course, does not see so much as a native sees; but he looks from a different point of view, and he has the advantage of comparison with another country to aid him in taking the measure of the American situation. Foreigners visiting the United States, even those who come for the special purpose of observation, commonly confine their inspection to the great cities, which are the chief seats of the political evil and the storm centres of danger. One who has seen the country also, will have ever present to his mind the reserve of good sense and patriotism of which the rural districts are the seat. To trust that reserve in due measure and without assuming that it is either unlimited or sure to come up in time, is rational. To trust the luck of the Republic, is not rational. When was confidence blinder than at the time at which the rapids were drawing irresistibly towards the gulf of civil war?

There is no denying the ominous character of the last session of Congress, or the sinister significance of the general sense of relief evidently felt at the departure of the assembly which has the destinies of the nation in its trust. The session threw a strong light on the weak points of the American, or Presidential and Congressional system, in contrast with the Parliamentary system of Great Britain. With a responsible Ministry, such as initiates and controls legislation in the British Parliament, Congress could not have become a chaos. The Ministry would have appealed to the allegiance of its supporters, and if, with their votes, it could not control legislation, it would have given way to a government

which could. We have often occasion to remark that the framers of the American Constitution did not understand the British system of Parliamentary government. The British did not understand it themselves. They were mystified by the forms of a monarchy, and fancied that the government was still in the crown. Nor have they yet got clear of the illusion; they recklessly extend the franchise in the belief that they have a stable government in the crown.

The largeness of the Democratic majority in Congress also contributed to its unruliness. The Republican majority in the next Congress will be liable to the same danger from the same cause. If party government is to work well, the two teams will have to be kept, as in a foot-ball match, pretty equal, or with only a working majority on one side.

On another weak point in the American system a strong light has been thrown by the continuance in session of a House of Representatives after the defeat of its party at the polls. The framers of the Constitution, when they adopted this dovetailing arrangement did not contemplate party, or provide for its action on the legislature. Washington took it for a transient disease, which might be cured by putting Hamilton and Jefferson together into the cabinet. The disadvantages of the arrangement seem now to be acknowledged by all,—yet nobody speaks of a constitutional amendment. The constitution, with its sacred stability, is an inestimable bulwark, especially in stormy times, but its amendment, even when plainly required, is certainly difficult in the extreme. No pressure seems sufficient for the purpose except that which was generated by the Civil War. Even a change of the inauguration day, such as would save the President from riding through snow and sleet, appears to be regarded as practically impossible, because it would involve a constitutional amendment.

Liability to deadlock from the division of the legislative power between two bodies which may at the time be in the hands of opposite parties, is not peculiar to the American polity. It is the general infirmity of the bicameral system when combined with that of party, and must be taken with the advantages of the system in which it inheres.

It must be owned that the American system has, of late, been severely tried. In the midst of a great financial crisis Congress

was called upon to revolutionize the fiscal and commercial policy of the nation. This, it was said, was necessary as the fulfilment of election pledges. When a surgeon who has set out to perform a dangerous operation, finds the patient in a high fever, though he may have brought his instruments with him, does he not stay his hand? An attack on the whole fiscal system was sure to combine all the protected interests in a desperate defense, and to bring on a conflict by which the financial crisis could hardly fail to be aggravated and prolonged.

The worst part of the matter is the catastrophe of the Senate, to which Englishmen, who feel the necessity of a second chamber as a security for rational conservatism, have of late been pointing as an example. But the fault lies largely in a peculiarity of the American Senate, which English reformers would not reproduce. I mean that provision, a relic of the original jealousy and necessity for a compromise among the independent colonies for the sake of union, which gives Colorado, Nevada, Nebraska, Montana and Wyoming, a representation in the Senate equal to that of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

At the same time we have had in the dire influence of the Silver Mine, especially in the Senate, an awful warning of the force which under the system of party government, and when parties are evenly balanced, special interests, disregarding every object but their own, may exert. This evil is growing everywhere, and calls for the earnest consideration of statesmen and of writers on political science.

Another element of critical change which begins to show itself is the disintegration of party. This is sure to ensue when great lines of division, such as that between slavery and free labor no longer exist and sectional or personal tendencies come into free play. In France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and even in England, disintegration and sectionalism have already set in. In France the formation of a stable government has become almost hopeless. The huge see-saw of the last two Congressional elections indicates the existence on a large scale of an unattached vote.

If the sugar trust did half what it is said to have done, the execution of its managers in front of the capitol would be a measure at once salutary and just. When the public conscience succumbs to corruption all is lost. But one who has been long in the United States will be cautious in giving ear to general reports

of corruption. That it prevails in some of the State legislatures and in the governments of great cities is too evident. But critics, usually severe, say that there are very few members of Congress who would take a bribe. The civil service of the nation is admitted, notwithstanding the dangerous smallness of the salaries, to be pure. Jurymen, in the rougher States, we are told, are sometimes bought, but of the integrity of the judges one hears no complaint. The day of Barnard and Cardozo is long past. On the honor of West Point there is as yet no stain. Presidents seem to have given effect to the Civil Service Act about as far as party necessities would permit. In the intervals between great issues, party organizations can be held together only by workers who must in some way be paid. The root and branch advocates of civil service reform are the Mugwumps, who are outside party, and on whom its necessities do not press. It must be owned, however, that the tendency of the popular government to corruption is a mournful fact. In England, hitherto, Parliament has been a house of gentlemen, fortified against corruption by their wealth. The flagrant corruption of the last century had special causes and ended with the victory of Pitt over the Coalition; though the patronage, which was rich and splendid, including bishoprics, governorships, judicial appointments and peerages, dispensed as a party fund, continued to be a main support of government. That United States Senatorships are bought is freely alleged.

Fraud in elections appears to be too common, and the practice of deciding contested elections by a party vote in Congress, discarded by England more than a century ago, shelters and fosters this great crime.

The Southerners were statesmen after their kind. They held their seats in Congress, so long as they were faithful to Slavery, by a secure tenure and were able, like the British aristocracy, to train themselves and devote their lives to public affairs. They and their party managed, after their fashion, to govern the country. Who, or what is to govern it now, is the question which one hears more often asked than answered. There is a general cry for leadership, but where are the leaders to be found or how are they to be made? In England, under the guise of popular election, we have hitherto had the rule of a wealthy and leisured class. We are now going to try what sort of rule universal suffrage and pay-

ment of members will give the nation, and not the nation alone, but the Empire.

On the other hand, there has surely been an improvement in the character of the political press, and in its influence on public life. What is behind the press, it is true, is a momentous question, one of the most momentous questions of the day. Among other influences, that of certain nationalities is evidently strong. But in knowledge, literary ability and instructiveness, at all events, the improvement can hardly be denied, and a journal, whether its own morality be sound or not, must always appeal to moral principles and thus confirm public allegiance to them. The multiplication of great journals precludes a monopoly of opinion, though, on the other hand, desperate expedients may be prompted by the increased struggle for circulation.

The beneficial action of the universities on politics by disseminating political knowledge and, still more, perhaps, by diffusing a scientific spirit in opposition to that of faction and passion, is another item on the right side of the account. Only let the universities take care that they do not overpeople themselves. There is a rush into them, owing to the ambitious taste for what are supposed to be the higher callings, such as may some day give birth to an academically educated body of unemployed which will be not only unhappy but dangerous to the State.

The Common Schools are the reputed sheet-anchor of the commonwealth. Does the anchor hold? A remarkable series of reports drawn up by Dr. J. M. Rice after a tour of inspection, and recently published, throws some doubt on the quality of the instruction. The statistics of truancy, also, would lead us to doubt whether the dangerous classes, whose education and civilization are the principal warrant for the assumption of a parental duty by the State, and for the school tax, are really in school. But the most anxious eyes, after all, must be turned to the moral basis of the system. Character is the great object in the training of the citizen as well as in that of the man, and for this the common school system has no visible instrument or motive power beyond the discipline of the school-house which, as frequent suits against the schoolmasters for punishing pupils show, it is sometimes difficult for the teacher unclothed with parental authority to enforce. The one doctrine of a moral or a social kind instilled by the system is the duty of rising in life. We cannot

all climb over each other's heads, but we can all be made to feel that it is a mistake to be contented with the station in which we are born. The original New England school was religious and, as the group of families was small and closely united, it was probably not unparental. The extensive employment of women as teachers also is said, not without probability, to be unfavorable to the formation of manly character in the boys. These are the roots of the national tree, and they must not be left out of sight in taking account of the political situation.

Complaints are heard of the failure of national spirit, and of the prevalence of local over national interests and aspirations. "We are no longer a nation, we are a set of cabbage grounds and potato plots," was the wail of a patriot, incensed either by the predominance of some local interest in the tariff question, or by the failure of the American Government, under local pressure, to take the part of its own railways against their Canadian enemy. Those who witnessed the intense display of national spirit at the time of the Civil War, must certainly be struck by its comparative languor now. The Canadian question, and the question of Newfoundland, which carries with it the mouth of the St. Lawrence, have come to a head, and been left to settle themselves with as little attention on the part of the American Government and people as though their scene had been the planet Mars. Hawaii has forced itself upon notice, and in that case there has been also the stimulating suspicion of British designs. But the tide of patriotism has its ebbs as well as its flows, and the party of national aspiration is at present out of power. The revival of interest in national objects abroad, when the hour for it arrives, will be salutary as a diversion from the narrowness and bitterness of the war of factions at home.

Municipal corruption is flagrant and apparently desperate enough. But its seat is in great cities. Of the rural municipalities little complaint is heard. The village fund is small; the rural taxpayer is close-fisted and watchful; the business is light, and such as there is no difficulty in finding respectable citizens to undertake; the people know each other and can combine for a good choice. In a great city these conditions are reversed. The fund is very large, and the temptation to stealing great, while there is nobody to keep close watch; the business is very heavy, and leading men will not leave their own avocations to undertake

it, nor will they willingly throw themselves into the muddy vortex of popular elections; the citizens know nothing of each other and are totally unable to combine for a good choice, so that the elections inevitably fall into the hands of ringsters, who find in municipal politics a regular and lucrative trade. Moreover, the incidence of city taxation is divorced from the control. The few pay the taxes, while the expenditure is at the will of the many, who get much of their small contributions as taxpayers back in the school fee; an arrangement which would soon be fatal to any joint stock corporation. Elective government for American cities is admitted to have failed, and the failure arises apparently from causes inherent in the system, and of which the operation is only suspended for a moment by a spasmodic effort of reform, or the fleeting ascendency of some heaven-sent Mayor. Washington, governed as the federal capital by three Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States, seems to be the only great city of which the administration is permanently and securely good. Yet there seems little chance of persuading the masses to relinquish their power. In this direction the outlook is not hopeful. The administration of English cities has been cited in favor of government by an elective council. Municipal elections in England have hitherto been treated as party questions; the parties have made the nominations, and have striven to bring out their strongest men. The governing class in England has not yet entirely ceased to govern, nor have the other classes yet entirely ceased to obey. In England municipal office is sought for its dignity, which ranks next below that of national office, no State office or legislature being interposed. Yet those who have watched the career of the new council of London, and noted the character of some of the "progressist" elections, will pause before citing British example as conclusive in favor of Aldermanic government.

Of the financial crisis let financiers speak. Partly it is the local incidence of a universal depression, caused, as some say, by overproduction, though it is difficult to see how mankind can be starved by superfluity of bread. But partly, as all admit, it is the reckoning day of mismanagement, extravagance and fraud. With the eager cupidity excited by a vast and rapid development of natural resources, has been combined the influence of an education of which the grand precept is to grow rich. Profuse expenditure, from Congress with its Pension Arrears Bill, down-

wards to the private citizen, must also have contributed to the crash. The day of boundless plenty and thoughtless profusion is past, that of frugality has come. I have seen after a large water party all the broken bread, of which there was a great quantity, flung into the water. Perhaps of the distress among the farmers while most is due to the fall in the price of wheat, some may also be due to the rise in the scale of living. Meantime the outward signs of wealth and prosperity to a visitor's eye have not fallen off. Luxury and all its appliances increase; the hotel menu is as prodigal as ever; the watering-places and theatres are full. Railway stock may fall, but the service of the railways maintains its excellence.

At the foundation of the State, as at present constituted, lies the family. The politician, therefore, as well as the domestic moralist, must read with dismay statistics of divorce which show that in one State there is divorce to every eleven marriages. Of all the thunder clouds none is darker or more charged with ruin than this. The responsibility, so far as it is legislative, rests not only on those legislatures which have perilously relaxed the divorce law, but upon jurists who, carried away by the generous desire of emancipating the wife from the domination of the husband, have broken up the legal and economical unity of the family. To preserve its integrity the family needs a headship. The necessity may be unwelcome, and to the nihilist or anarchist most odious, but it seems to be the fiat of nature.

Of the race problem in the South there is as yet no solution, nor apparently can there be any, since intermarriage, the indispensable guarantee for equality, social or political, is out of the question. Without a solution, however, there may be a compromise or *modus vivendi*, if the inferior race will accept personal and industrial right without political power, and if the white will renounce lynching and give the black man the full protection of the law. The lynching has been most horrible, most heart-rending, most dishonorable to American civilization.

On the other hand, the solid South is manifestly beginning to break up, and the political danger arising from Southern union and isolation is in a fair way to disappear. The introduction of manufactures, like all economical changes, has brought political change in its train, and the fiscal policy of the Republican party gains ground in the realm of Calhoun.

These are subjects of anxiety more or less peculiar to the United States. So is the danger from foreign immigration, the reality of which every labor conspiracy and every riot shows, the violence on these occasions being mainly foreign. The policy of restriction naturally prevails, and presents a curious contrast to the rapturous welcome which only a quarter of a century ago America was extending, as the asylum of nations, to the suffering and oppressed of all lands. Yet, while reasonable restrictions are imposed, it must be borne in mind that American civilization rests on manual labor, and that the native American will not carry the hod, shovel the earth for the railroad, or work in the mine. Canada will bring a strong reinforcement to the original element if she ever comes into the Union.

But steam and electricity have made the world one. America shares, with other industrial countries, the disturbances and dangers arising from the perennial and now intensified conflict between labor and capital. Yet she is on the whole less threatened than England. Her mechanics are, as a rule, better instructed than the English mechanics, and therefore less open to delusion. They have probably spent more of their wages in the improvement of their condition, especially in the matter of house-owning, and less in meat, drink and tobacco. Nor are they collected in inflammable masses to the same extent as the mechanics in the North of England. The social line between employer and employed being not so sharp in the democratic as in the aristocratic country, there is less of social bitterness in their antagonism. The American area, also, is too vast for all-embracing organizations, as the history of the Knights of Labor shows. Mr. Burns, a first-rate authority on the subject, after a visit to America, denounces it in the robust language of "Labor" as a far worse field for the industrial agitator than his own country. To this view I adhere even after the Chicago riot. The quarrel there seems to have been rather between the Pullman Company, as landlords, and their tenants, than between employer and employed. The disturbance loomed so large because, taking place at a great railway centre, it caused widespread inconvenience and loss. It was followed, after the first moment of bewilderment, by a national reaction which sustained the President in his vigorous course of repression. Its moral seems to be the need of a regular army strong enough to assure the ascendency of law over disorder,

everywhere and at any moment, in a country which is always receiving elements of turbulence and lawlessness from half-civilized provinces in Europe. A militia is a bad instrument of repression. It is a gun, which either goes off too soon or will not go off at all. Even for the purpose of external defense the United States can hardly afford to be unarmed. China and Japan may, in time, threaten the Pacific coast, and the people of the South American republics, however they may fail politically, keep up their military habits and force.

The socialistic movement against property, which is assuming formidable dimensions in Europe, has not failed to extend itself to the United States. But American socialism is mainly imported, though the faith has found a native prophet in Mr. Henry George, at the meetings of whose disciples, not only agrarian but general confiscation, and war against wealth of all kinds, fill the air. Property, or the hope of property, is as yet more widely diffused here than in old countries. The freehold farmer of the United States is not like the farm laborer in England craving for three acres and a cow, nor is he likely to listen with favor to schemes of agrarian plunder. Still, there is in America a party, and probably a growing party, of socialistic confiscation. The income tax is hailed by that party as the earnest of a more extensive application of political force to the spoliation of the few by the many, which is now the demagogue's grand lure. It is this use of political power for the purpose of confiscation—not more moral surely than if the spoilers' weapon were the revolver instead of the ballot—that is the thing really to be feared. Utopian speculations and visions, the offspring of impatient broodings over the defects of the social system and the cruel inequalities of the human lot, may be dismissed with a sympathetic smile. No serious plan for the reorganization of society on socialistic principles has yet been propounded. Until this is done, the reveries of fancy can alarm, if at all, only as the rainbow over the waterfall which marks the plunge of the torrent beneath.

Akin to the last mentioned question is that of the Unemployed, of men who are seeking for work and cannot find it. The number of these, it is to be feared, is increasing, apart from the accidents of the seasons, even on this continent, and in spite of all restrictions on immigration. The cause usually assigned

is the discharge of hands, owing to the increased use of machinery on the farm as well as in the factory, to which, perhaps, may be added the influx of women into employments hitherto assigned to men. But it is useless to deny that there is truth, though there may also be overstatement or disregard of necessary qualifications, in the Malthusian theory. Malthus persists in returning from "the moon," to which by philanthropists he has been complacently "banished." There is, after all, a tendency in man, in the absence of prudential restriction on marriage, or a check of some kind, such as tribal wars, on the growth of population, to multiply beyond the means of subsistence. In Hindoostan the peace of the British Empire has put an end to the wars which before decimated the people, and no other check having been imposed, the result is overgrowth of population, with a lowering of the condition of the ryot. Yet social demagogues are telling the people that they may fearlessly multiply, and even that the more there are of them on a given area the better they will be fed; as though the productive powers of nature were unlimited, and the fruits of the earth would increase in proportion to the number of hands employed.

To me, it has throughout seemed that, beneath all the social and political ferment, with which the age is rife, lies the disturbance, by the progress of religious scepticism, of the beliefs by which the social system and social morality have hitherto been upheld. Men are ceasing to believe that the existing state of things, with all its inequalities, is the ordinance of God, rebellion against which would be at once impious and fruitless, or to look forward to compensation in a future world for those whose lot is hard in this. They are beginning to say that the existing state of things and the uneven distribution of wealth, instead of being the ordinance of God, are the artifice of the rich, and that they mean no longer to be put off to a future life, but to grasp their share of good things in the present. For that purpose the masses are learning to use the political power which has newly come into their hands. Social morality itself, even the prohibition of stealing, rests not upon a very assignable basis when the religious sanction has been withdrawn. America partakes of this disintegration of fundamental belief with Europe, but not in the same degree. She is less heterodox, for the very reason that she has been less orthodox, and because, having no State Church, she has

nothing to chafe dissent and scepticism to violence. Nor has religion in her case been exposed to popular suspicion by reason of its connection with tithes. Orthodox Christianity here slides by a tranquil process into Christian theism. Reverence, though diminished, is not lost, nor would American opinion tolerate such publications as the comic Life of Christ, which I found in an anti-clerical bookstore at Paris. Still, Colonel Ingersoll lectures to large and sympathetic audiences. Religious doubt unquestionably gains ground. In church after church, clerical heresy is brought to the bar. There will be a serious danger to society if a body so numerous and powerful as the clergy should, through the advance of scepticism, find their ministrations discarded and their means of subsistence withdrawn. Some of them might be tempted, especially if they were unmarried, as the Catholic clergy are, to find a new basis in preaching the social revolution. We have had premonitions of something of that kind.

In the United States, as elsewhere, these are critical times for society. To say that they are dangerous times would, perhaps, be to betray a lack of faith in the goal towards which humanity is marching. They are, at all events, not times for the invidious ostentation of wealth, for Diamond Queens, for shoddy travesties of royal marriages, or for building gaudy palaces at extravagant cost. They are not times for squandering the riches, produced by American industry, in the pleasure cities of Europe. Wealth must henceforth learn to find its justification and guaranty not in any superhuman authority, but in its demonstrable usefulness to mankind. Nor is this necessity an evil to the possessors. What can be baser or more miserable than to live a mere burden on the community, in luxury, fed by the sweat of other men's brows? America has millionaires who nobly show that such is their feeling. She has others who do not.

In America, as in England, and in the other colonies of England—all of which seem to be attacked at once by a sort of disease which might be scientifically labelled gynæmania—the restlessness of the age has extended to the domain of sex. Some women are longing to break through the established limitations of womanhood, while they show an inclination to disparage what have hitherto been considered at once the natural duties and glories of woman. They are now seeking to grasp political power, which in their hands would be divorced from responsibility, since

the burden and duty of upholding and safeguarding the State must ever remain where Nature has put them—in the man. As yet, only two far Western states have adopted woman suffrage in its full political form. It has suffered some defeats in other quarters, and was rejected by the Constitutional Convention of New York. On that occasion the opposition to it included a large and distinguished body of women, who thought that they foresaw the ultimate consequences to their sex of an attempt to remove the landmarks of nature. But this is an age of feeble and precipitate abdication, when the holders of authority, instead of considering how it may be better used, surrender it upon the first challenge. There is no saying what the bosses of party may do as soon as they see, or fancy that they see, the shadow of a coming female vote, though the consequence might be the swamping of their organizations. The press also may fear, by opposing the demand of the suffragists, to risk the loss of female patronage. When the full tide of female emotion shall be added to the political vortex, when women shall have become political, when the female demagogue with her platform shall be fully developed, the final trial of popular government will be near. No guides can be less safe than the democracies of Australasia, which are made adventurous not only by the heyday of youth, but by the fancied securities of imperial tutelage, while, living in an ocean by themselves, they feel that they have nothing to fear from the emasculation of their councils, and the weakening of their capacity for self-defence. That they are altogether in a highly experimental stage of existence is shown by the financial crashes and industrial convulsions which, notwithstanding their vaunted system of State socialism, they have recently undergone.

The next issue, my friends say, is Silver, at which some of them quake; not without reason, if the change involves a disturbance of the standard. Just after the war I was one of a party at dinner in England when several men of mark were present, and I was the only man at the table who maintained that the American people would pay their debt in specie. Waiving the question of their morality, I relied on their regard for their credit. The Silver party seems to be made up of different sections not united in their object. There are the scientific bimetallists, sincerely convinced that it is possible for governments to fix the ratio of value between two commodities, and that the change would be

beneficial to all. There are the owners of silver mines, whose object needs not to be defined. But there is also Greenbackism, or something like it, coming to life again under another name. These sections will find it difficult to agree in a platform. The movement probably derives encouragement from the vacillation of the British government. That vacillation is purely political. There appears to be an embryo party in England, the offspring of distress among the farmers, corresponding in some measure to that of the Grangers here, which is disposed to seek relief in Bimetallism as well as in Protection ; and this party has votes. On the Conservative side Mr. Balfour dallies with Bimetallism, he also having, it may safely be said, a political object. The members of the Anglo-Indian service whose interest has played an important part in the question upon the British field are not Bimetallists. They only want a rectification of their own salaries which, being paid in silver, have been cruelly reduced by depreciation. The number of scientific bimetallists in England is small, though among them is Mr. Grenfell.

What will henceforth be the dividing line of American parties it is hard to say. President Cleveland is already almost out of party, and his Presidency rather "a condition" than "a theory." With the election of a Democratic President, and the abandonment of the Force Bill, the war issues died, and appeals to war sentiment ceased to tell. An attempt to return to the McKinley tariff would renew the conflict between protection and free trade, but it seems unlikely from the general indications of opinion that such an attempt will be made. Commerce, above all things, wants certainty and peace. The Republican party is, in the main, the party of national aspiration and extension, to which its rival shows itself indifferent, and it may draw a new life from that source. But, if the great social movements now on foot continue to advance, the time must come when there will be a profound division between the party of State socialism and that of property and freedom. In that event, the party of State socialism will probably be formed chiefly of the elements of which the Democratic party is now composed, Jeffersonian tradition notwithstanding, while the present elements of the Republican party will be found chiefly on the side of property and freedom.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

RUSSIA AND ENGLAND.

BY PROFESSOR ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY.

It is an ungrateful task I have taken upon myself in trying to prove that the present *rapprochement* between England and Russia in Asia is based upon a great fallacy, and that the ultimate result of such an agreement must prove detrimental to the vital interests of Great Britain in the East.

I am well aware of the fact that by enunciating such an opinion I shall incur the disapproval and the displeasure of many of my friends in England. I shall be called an incorrigible alarmist. I am exceedingly sorry to expose myself to such unpleasant criticism, but I cannot on that account alter my conclusion, for the more I reflect upon the facts on which my judgment is based, the more I am convinced of the plausibility of my views. Peace between England and Russia in Asia is certainly a prospect which may well excite the ecstacies of the friends of civilization in the East. But it may be asked : Does the history of nations furnish an instance of two ambitious and expansive powers, which have been strongly antagonistic to each other, suddenly arresting their activity on the pretext that they have reached the goal of their desire, and changing relations of suspicious rivalry into those of amity and friendship ? History does not belie itself, and what cannot be expected from single individuals, is scarcely feasible in the mutual relations of two large nations. As to England, there is no doubt that in certain portions of her outlying colonies and possessions she has already rounded off her frontiers and has become decidedly stationary. Such is the case, for instance, with northwestern India, where England follows a strictly defensive policy without the shadow of ulterior designs, whereas the situation is entirely different in the east and northeast of Hindustan, considering the ill-defined frontier in Nepaul, Burma, and in the

north of Cashmere. As to Russia, I do not see any point along her whole frontier line from the Pacific Ocean to the Black Sea where she has reached a definitive basis and met the solid resistance of another well-organized State. I certainly shall not come forward as an advocate of Russian aggression in Asia, but I cannot help saying that the southern frontier of her gigantic empire is, up to the present, far from being well defined, and that it can hardly be presumed that she will stop half way on the road to her long-cherished goal.

It follows, therefore, that Russia cannot and will not arrest her march southwards. She is compelled to continue it by historical and economical reasons. The growth and expansion of the former Duchy of Moscow into the present gigantic empire is the result of a similar process, namely, the gradual absorption of the neighboring districts of Kazan, Astrakhan, and encroachments upon the possessions of Turks, Mongols, Persians, Georgians, Uzbegs, etc.. One piece having been duly digested, hunger awoke afresh, and another one was devoured. It is possible that the latest morsel swallowed in Central Asia, being of a tough substance, will not be so easily digested, and that not being tormented for a time by her usual earth hunger, Russia will take a rest. But can such a state of things be reasonably called a definite renunciation of a policy of aggression, and can one expect that henceforward Russian encroachment will never be heard of more? I really envy those who can find delight in such a dream. I cannot. Wherever I examine the Russian frontier in the south of Asia, I find the northern giant constantly moving forward; in fact, ever ready for aggrandizement and increase of power.

To begin with the Ottoman empire. Optimistic politicians might well argue that the forbearance and self-restraint exhibited by Russia in her relations with Bulgaria may be taken as an infallible sign of repudiation of her ancient aggressive policy against Turkey. It does not require particular sagacity, however, to find out that the grapes are here too sour, and that the Russian bear, unwilling to set his teeth on edge, is simply waiting for a better opportunity to pluck the fruit of his former labors. Involuntarily brought to a standstill in European Turkey, Russia is all the more active in the Asiatic portion of the dominion of the Sultan, for only the intentionally blind will fail to see

the agitation carried on along the whole frontier from Batum to Bayazid by her secret and public agents; an agitation spreading all over Asia Minor and extending far into the Arabian desert. Of the Russian influence over the unruly and adventurous Kurds it is needless to speak, as it is an open secret that most of the leading chiefs entertain friendly relations with the frontier officials, and that it was upon the allurements of the Governor General at Tiflis that the grandson of the famous Bedr Khan Bey escaped to Erivan, after having failed in his seditious anti-Turkish movements. Luckily for the politicians at St. Petersburg, the most effective assistance they are favored with comes, in most cases, from England, where, as at the present time, ill-defined humanitarian purposes have raised an outcry against the so-called "Armenian Atrocities," helping, as usual, to bring Russian plans to maturity. Nobody can ignore Turkish misrule in the outlying districts of Asia Minor, nor would it be advisable to conceal the danger and constant trouble arising from the contact between semi-nomads, like the Kurds, and an industrious agricultural population, like the Armenians. In the present case we have before us a quiet and peaceful Christian community, instigated by heartless political adventurers to rebellion. Can it be wondered at that the Mohammedan authorities, well aware of the constant plots and machinations which undermine their rule in several provinces, have ultimately lost patience and that they have tried to uproot the evil by means adapted to the local circumstances, but revolting to our Western notions? Let us be just, and let us look at the measures taken by humanitarian Christian governments on similar occasions. In suppressing the Sepoy revolution in India, and in inflicting condign punishment on the rebels, England was, certainly against her own will, not always actuated by special feelings of humanity. No clemency was shown after 1849 in Hungary, where women were flogged, young children incarcerated and hundreds handed over to the executioner. In Russia we saw the late peace-loving Czar driving thousands of his fellow creatures into misery and destruction, not for rebelling against his rule, but simply for venturing to persevere in the religion of their fathers. As I say let us be just, and let us not pass a verdict before having heard the accused as well as the plaintiff.

Of course, as matters stand to-day, the politicians on the Neva

have but reluctantly joined England in the new crusade, and unwilling to spoil their good relations with the Porte they are so to say dragged into the controversy. Nor does the ecclesiastical party of Russian Armenians show particular zeal in the support of their brethren in Turkey, for they detect a Protestant spirit in the whole movement, and Protestantism is in their eyes more baneful than Islamism. But there is no misgiving about the fact that the excitement now prevailing in England will ripen the fruit for Russia. Whatever turn the new situation takes in Armenia, Russia will find a plain path across northern Anatolia into Mesopotamia, and the long projected progress towards the South will be greatly facilitated. Judging from recent utterances of the English press, one might think that such an eventuality is much desired by a certain class of politicians, for a paper published in the *Saturday Review*, Dec. 8, 1894, entitled, "Shall We Help Russia Southwards?" very clearly invites the Northern colossus to sweep down, to take Constantinople and to finish with the Turk; for, says the author, "if we give Russia room to expand southwards to the sea, we may relieve the pressure in Asia to an extent that would amply compensate for our concessions." Speculations of this kind are happily not shared by politicians of sound judgment, for if this keynote be struck England might as well hand over at once Persia and Afghanistan to Russia, and she might remove all the obstacles in the way of her rival, in order to secure the possession of India.

However weak and tottering, the existing Mohammedan states will always form a bulwark against Russian designs of aggression, for they must retard and render difficult the execution of her plans, which are not at all desirable for the welfare of Great Britain in Asia. If this is true of the Ottoman Empire, it is even more so of Persia. Russia is already paramount in the political, commercial and social relations of northern Persia, from Khoi to Sarakhs, without a corresponding English counterpoise in the southern half of the country. Can one be so naïve as to imagine that the politicians at St. Petersburg will put a stop to the policy pursued two centuries ago, and that they will invite the English to a brotherly division of the two spheres of action? As long as the present Shah lives the balance might be kept in tolerable order at the Court of Teheran. The ability of Sir Mortimer Durand may contrive to establish the much-desired equi-

librium, but even then it would be hard to frustrate all those minor concessions extorted from the Shah, which, insignificant though they may seem, confirm the constantly increasing superiority of Russia over England there. The older the Shah grows the more he inclines toward the north, as to the party of which he is most afraid ; and as it is to be feared that he will continue to do so in spite of his policy of strict neutrality, it is really difficult to discover the ways and means which will and can lead to an amicable understanding and a lasting agreement between the two rival powers in Persia.

As to Central Asia, I dare say that even the staunchest adherent to optimism and the most firm believer in Russian promises will have to acknowledge the sheer impossibility of a solid and reliable agreement between the two contending powers in Afghanistan. In the first instance we have to put the question : If the Russian schemes do not harbor any mischief against India, what need was there of tampering with the country beyond the Oxus ? And secondly : If Afghanistan is to remain outside the sphere of Russian influence, why did Russia annex Kerki and Kilif, what necessity was there for the strenuous efforts to get near Herat ? And last, but not least : What in the world might have induced the politicians on the Neva to undertake the expensive and troublesome *détour* on the Pamirs ? Only childish credulity will be deceived by the Russian pretext that all this was necessitated by England's erecting the so-called "scientific frontier," and that the whole Russian movement southward is consequently nothing but a defensive measure against an eventual attack of England. It is but the intentionally blind who will fail to see that even the most rabid Jingo had never the idea of aggression in Russian Turkestan, and that, on the contrary, every sober-minded politician, at home as well as in India, had no other desire but to strengthen the frontier toward Afghanistan and not to erect a stepping-stone for further conquests. As matters stand to-day, the same could hardly be said of the attitude of Russia along the whole frontier, extending from Zulfikar to Bosaga, and thence along the upper Oxus to the Little Pamir, where the tendency of a forward movement towards the south is too clear and unmistakable to escape the attention of the unbiased spectator. Of course, in Russian official circles it is constantly denied that this object is

kept in view. They say that the mainspring of Russian policy in that part of the world is merely and exclusively of an economic nature, and that they must fulfill the civilizing duty imposed upon every settled community which is brought in contact with uncivilized and nomadic elements. Unfortunately for Great Britain, it is mostly in England that these subterfuges find most believers, and from this point of view the long series of Russian aggressions has been looked upon as natural and justified by circumstances. But what explanation is to be found for the incessant ogling of Russian frontier officers with the malcontent subjects of the Amir of Afghanistan? What reason can be given for the dealings of Snombtcheffski with Huna-Najar? What means the hospitality accorded to Tshak Tshan and his followers, and to what purpose were the exploits of General Youoff?

Let us be frank, and let us state, once for all, that the present position of Russia in Central Asia entirely excludes the possibility of a peaceful arrangement with England, for it is openly directed against the vital interests of the last named country; and if a verbal or written agreement has been made, it will turn out, under the most favorable circumstances, to be only a truce, which Russia will utilize to complete her means of offense, to clear away certain obstacles, and to undermine quietly that very ground upon which her rival dreams of having acquired a firm footing and a safe standpoint against future complications.

"Lo, the incorrigible pessimist, the inveterate unbeliever in Russian sincerity!" most of my readers will say. Well, I must admit that I shall deserve this title as long as the truth of the Oriental saying, "Ten dervishes have room on one carpet, but not two kings in one country!" remains unrefuted; and as long as I see the Russian exchequer paying millions of hard roubles to cover the deficit incurred by the administration of the Turkestan provinces of the Czar. Our age is not naïve enough to believe in the disinterestedness of civilizing agencies.

It would be the greatest self-delusion to imagine that Russia will spend millions only for the sake of the welfare of Kenghises, Tajiks, Tarts and Uzbegs, and with no regard to the profit she may derive from her work among them. The wealth of the soil of Central Asia is certainly much greater than hitherto estimated, but taking into account even the speediest development, it can hardly be expected that it will ever meet the costs of the

civil and military administration of the country. We must not be deceived by statistics about the rapid rise of Russian trade in Turkestan, for Russian commercial enterprise consists chiefly of retail-trade, and cannot be compared with the commercial operations of Great Britain in her Asiatic possessions. Even the high-sounding reports about cotton, the staple material export into Russia, must be taken *cum grano salis*, for admitting that this produce has greatly assisted the Russian mills, we cannot believe that it will in future beat the American and Egyptian market, as has been generally reported. The same remark can be applied to other items of Central-Asian produce, and we must conclude that Central Asia is only an *étape* on the road to further conquests, or as a means to be used to produce pressure for the furtherance of schemes laid out somewhere else.

It is from the consideration of such an eventuality that the opinion is gaining ground amongst a certain class of politicians in England that it would be much wiser and more conducive to the welfare of the country if the *causa litis*, England's opposition to Russia on the Bosphorus, were removed at once, and if it could be agreed upon that Russia be allowed to have her own way in Turkey upon condition that she must not approach our Indian frontiers, and that she must renounce further schemes in Central Asia. But such a hope is a delusion. Russia will not swerve, even by a hair's breadth, from her long-conceived plans, and the greater the concessions which are made to her the more quickly and the more easily will she march towards the goal of her desire.

It is a sheer impossibility that Russia's policy in Asia should have taken such a turn. It is easy to understand how such a consummation is much desired in England, where a higher degree of civilization very justly abhors all complications leading to warfare, and where an appeal to arms is resorted to only in utmost necessity. It is this desire which has made the English statesmen shut their eyes to many facts which might have been judged differently by leaders less solicitous for peace. I do not know whether it has been duly considered that, during the reign of the late peace-loving Czar, the Russian outposts have advanced hundreds of miles towards the frontiers of India without causing serious apprehensions to the rulers on the Hooghli and on the Thames? It may well be asked whether this policy of the late peace-loving Czar will not be repeated and imitated by his

peace-loving successor, and whether despite all agreements between London and St. Petersburg English credulity and good faith will not again be deceived by the accomplished fact of fresh Russian conquests. Nobody will doubt that it would be the greatest boon to humanity in general if a good understanding could be established and cemented between England and Russia. It would be a worthy crown to the efforts of the nineteenth century, for the existing rivalry between the two mighty standard-bearers of our modern civilization in Asia constitutes the greatest hindrance to the progress of mankind. But we ought to see clearly the way leading to the realization of this sublime idea, and we ought not to rely on empty words and promises, the shallowness of which must unavoidably strike every student of the politics of Central Asia and every unbiased observer of Russian doings in the East. The ardent desire of Englishmen alone is neither sufficient nor strong enough to contradict the logic of history and to remove difficulties which are deeply rooted in the natural consequences of political exigencies. An agreement might have been possible between Rome and Carthage, but it is hardly feasible between England and Russia.

The recent rumor of an understanding between London and St. Petersburg, for positive news is still lacking, has not been particularly useful to the *prestige* of Great Britain abroad. There are, to begin with, very few serious politicians who believe in the feasibility of the scheme; whereas, many others are apt to judge this marked anxiety for peace in a light rather unfavorable to England. The constant readiness of England to avoid complications by yielding too frequently to her rivals and by trying agreements with most of her adversaries, must sooner or later create the suspicion of hidden weakness and of defective means of an energetic defense. More than three decades ago we find England giving in to her rivals in various parts of the world. England has yielded to Germany in Africa; to France in Siam and in Madagascar; to Russia on the Murghab, on the Heri-rud, on the Pamirs, and in many other places; nay, even to China, to this recently pricked bubble of imposture, on the frontiers of Tibet. Are we not justified in asking: Will it be taken as a sign of strength, if it is ascertained that England is anxious to divide peaceably the Asiatic spoil with her Russian adversary in spite of the sheer impossibility of the realization of such a desire?

Certainly not. I dare say people will argue: If England yields everywhere and to everybody, then she may be freely attacked, for she is wanting in backbone, and complications will certainly increase. And besides is there any palpable reason why the British nation, so rich in vitality, so famous for the patriotism, stability and perseverance of her sons, and so glorious for the noble work done hitherto in many parts of the world, should show pusillanimity and sue for peace at the door of a rival immensely inferior to her? I cannot remain indifferent on noticing the outburst of joy and satisfaction in the English press, whilst the Russian papers have shown the greatest reserve, nay coolness, in relation to the news of an established agreement with England.

Peace, heavenly peace, is undoubtedly the most sublime and the most blessed gift to Humanity, but it ought not to rest on the airy base of illusions, and still less on the sand-drift of Russian promises. It is particularly the British public, noted for their strong optimistic tendencies and for their unaccountable indifference and carelessness as to foreign politics, that must be earnestly warned against the idle hopes which the news of an agreement between England and Russia in Asia are sure to engender, and have already engendered, I am sorry to say, in many quarters.

A. VAMBÉRY.

DIPLOMACY AND THE NEWSPAPER.

BY E. L. GODKIN.

I AM asked by the editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to say what I think about the influence of the American press in the fomentation of international strife and ill feeling. This influence is exerted in two ways, on diplomacy and on popular thought.

I must at the outset, however, guard myself against the supposition that my remarks will apply to the press as a whole. Luckily, there is a considerable number of newspapers edited by serious men who have a sense of responsibility for their utterances, and who address themselves to the more intelligent portion of the community. It is they who in times of excitement generally have the last word, and express the sober second thought of the public. But most of what I say will apply to the papers with largest circulation, to which large circulation is the chief end of existence, and which are ready to take any line on topics of the day that seems likely to increase it. No proper estimate of the strength of their influence on the settlement of international questions can be made without taking into account the difference between our machinery of intercourse with foreign nations and that of Europe. We have no diplomatic service properly so-called, for much the same reason that we have no standing army or large navy. That is, our situation differs from that of the powers of the old world in having no formidable neighbors, in running no risk of conquest or humiliation, or of serious disputes about territory or influence. We are not, in short, in immediate contact with anybody who is likely to want to quarrel with us, or gainsay our wishes. This, in the early part of the century, was considered a piece of very good fortune, as it seemed likely to enable us to cultivate with

greater success the art of government, with the art of quarreling, which has absorbed so much of the talent and attention of the human race, left out. Considering the great absorption of human resources in this business of quarreling, from the earliest ages, and the frightful drag on human progress which it has created, the geographical isolation of the United States was very reasonably looked on at one time as a great blessing. It removed the element most likely to disturb the experiment of purely democratic government made on this continent for the first time. But to it, one cannot help thinking, we owe the popular indifference to the character and training of our representatives abroad, and the selection of them without any special reference to their fitness for their duties. Their functions being likely to prove unimportant, they have generally been appointed with regard solely to their rôle in home politics, and one is bound to acknowledge that from this no great mischief has resulted. It has brought considerable ridicule on us. It has given foreigners a low idea of our social culture, and of the national standards of efficiency, but it has not in any marked case involved us in international difficulties.

But a new school of thought on this matter has sprung up among us within a few years, composed largely of naval officers, and Republican politicians of greater or less standing, who are known by the general name of "Jingoes," and are profoundly dissatisfied with this isolation. They wish to bring the United States into contact with considerable foreign powers at as many points as possible, and failing the possibility of this on this continent, to advocate the annexation of islands, some of them at great distances from our coasts, like Hawaii, and Samoa, and Cuba, and the West Indies generally, and the acquisition of interests on foreign soil, like the Nicaragua Canal, the joint use of which other powers would probably claim. They admit the probability of frequent quarrels arising out of this contact, by asking at the same time for a very large increase of the navy to carry on the wars which it would probably cause, and to which they seem to look forward with a certain exultation. Moreover, they seem to treat even the extension of our commerce as a military operation. The mere sale of our goods to foreigners, is to incline them to fight us. These expectations, too, are accompanied with much growth of suspicion of foreign powers. These powers

are represented, especially Great Britain, as watching us with extreme jealousy, and as incessantly devising plans either for evading the Monroe doctrine, or for keeping us out of the Pacific Ocean, or for obtaining control of the Nicaragua Canal. Most of the expressions of this policy can only be met with ridicule. But ridicule can only be effective among those who have some knowledge of foreign nations and of foreign ideas. It is difficult, for instance, to ridicule it effectively to the population of the Mississippi Valley who know nothing of Europe or Europeans, except what they get from the newspapers, and to whom it seems most rational, human and likely, that the European monarchies should try to prevent the expansion of the United States, partly through jealousy and partly through greed. The advocates of it, too, very cleverly ignore all the arguments against it, and by repeating their assertions, give them finally the air of accepted facts.

Should this sect be successful in getting their ideas embodied in our foreign policy, we shall, of course, have to adapt ourselves to the situation, and provide ourselves with the instruments of intercourse suited to our new relations with foreign powers. We cannot any longer fill our legations and consulates, with the waifs and strays of our political contests, the invalids, the broken men, the reformed drunkards, the unknown colonels, and the Mississippi editors, who now represent us. If we are to become a fighting people we must have trained regulars, who understand the diplomatic art, as the other fighting peoples practise it.

Now, what is this art? Well, it is very simple. It may be said with at least a close approach to accuracy, that ever since the Middle Ages, the intercourse of the civilized powers of the world has been modelled on the duelling code, and the diplomatists play very much the part of the seconds. Since the French Revolution, the growth of democracy and, above all, of the habit of discussion, which is inseparable from democracy, have introduced into diplomatic intercourse, a considerable increase of debate, much of it intended for the popular ear. But in its main features the treatment of any question which may lead to a rupture or quarrel, is a copy of that of the seconds who are charged with the duty of obtaining "satisfaction" for a supposed insult or slight. There is the same studied politeness of form, the same assumption that if any wrong has been done it will be rectified without further trouble; the same care in ascer-

taining whether the offender or his servants really said, or did, the thing complained of, whether it meant what it appeared to mean, whether he stands by it, or can explain it away, and so on. All abuse, or invective, or threats or boasts, or suggestion of bad motives or bad character, all attempts to hurry the *denouement*, and all allusions to possible settlement by force, are carefully barred out. I do not mean to say, by any means, that all diplomatic correspondence is free from these things. What I mean is, that every skilled diplomatist endeavors to work on these lines, that this is the theory of the profession, and that the diplomatist who disregards it, is what is in athletics called a "duffer."

But not only are these methods modelled on those of the duelling code, but they are those which are prescribed by the growth of civilization. In truth, it may be said that the growth of civilization or of culture, among a people or a class, may be measured by its mode of settling disputes. In the lowest stages, among savages, or Calabrian peasants, or Arizona miners, the misunderstood jest, or the insulting word, is promptly punished by the knife or the pistol. There is no debate, no opportunity for explanation or retraction. In fact, the readiness to fight of the mass of mankind is one of the oddest and saddest facts in human history. A North Carolinian farmer the other day, hearing from a New York sportsman of the crowds who walked up and down Broadway, asked "how they were kept from fightin'?" "If as many people as that," said he, "were walkin' on the road here, they'd all fall to fightin'." Readiness to fight without discussion is, in fact, all over the world the most evident mark, except dirt, of a low civilization. As a community or a class rises in civilization, it tends more and more to discuss matters of difference, to improve its forms of discussion, and to make peaceful settlement easy, by the use of polite phrases and the absence of threats and abuse. In all this people follow human nature. The very object of a dispute with any one is to get from him what you want with the least possible trouble, and the less you wound his self-love the more likely he is to yield. This art of getting what you want without quarreling is, in fact, known as "diplomacy" in common parlance.

Now, the unorganized and untrained character of our diplomatists has not, as we have said, resulted in much mischief

hitherto, because of our geographical isolation from the other great Powers, and because, therefore, the great Powers have generally agreed to treat us as mere amateurs who were not to be held accountable for our language. The American Minister is nowhere abroad considered a real member of the diplomatic corps. His mistakes, therefore, do not count. His indiscretions excite amusement or sympathy. He is understood to be a politician, with home interests which are much more important to him than his diplomatic interests. He is not supposed, really, to wish to quarrel with anybody. If the blood of an English, a Russian, a French ex-Cabinet Minister, had "boiled" as Mr. W. C. Whitney's is said to have done at Naples the other day, over the Spanish shots fired at the *Allianga*, it would have sent a thrill over Europe. He would have been supposed to have weighed his words, and to have been acting under inspiration. In the case of an American, such a statement excites hilarity simply. But if our Jingoes have their way, this irresponsibility will pass away. The words of our public men will begin to be listened to as indicative of a policy of some kind, and when disputes arise, the fierce language will be taken, not as a means of winning votes for a party, but of a desire to fight. If we had a large navy such declarations as Mr. Frye's, for instance, that he would like to seize Cuba by conquest, simply because we wanted it, would probably lead to negotiations for a European combination against us. A power which openly avowed that might made right, and that it meant to seize whatever it desired, without regard to morality or international law, would certainly, if strong enough to make its threats seem serious, be met by the same sort of resistance which was offered to Charles V., Louis XIV., and Napoleon I. There is considerable looseness in what is called international law, and violation of its obligations by great States is not uncommon; but in no instance has the world put up with the pretensions of a Power which said openly that it would do as it pleased. Some sort of alliance for resistance to it, for its compulsory entrance into the family of nations, and for its subjection to the common rules of morality, is sure to arise. Civilized mankind has never submitted longer than it could help to an unmoral Power, that is, to a Power which made its own will its only law. It is in pushing us towards some such crisis that the newspaper press be-

comes dangerous. I do not believe it has much direct influence on the mind of any politician. He does not weigh its arguments, and, in fact, secretly despises it. What renders it formidable to him is what renders it formidable to most men, and especially timid men, that is the belief, that it influences other people.

Most men, for instance, who wince under newspaper attacks or ridicule, do not really care much about it as addressed to themselves. If addressed to a public man by the editor in person, or in a private letter, it would in the majority of cases, simply amuse him. It is the supposed effect on other people which gives them sting or makes them grateful. Politicians especially labor under this delusion. To them, the people, or a considerable portion of them, believe everything they see in the newspaper, or at all events agree with it, and when the statesman is bearding Great Britain, or proposing to wipe Spain out of existence, editorial approval is sweet and encouraging. The newspapers, too, have the strongest possible motive for approving hostile demonstrations. They are, as they often openly avow, enterprises for making money, and they find money very hard to make. They rely mostly on large sales for profits, and for large sales on sensational news. Now, nothing does so much to keep sensational news coming in over considerable periods of time, as war. Our war was, in fact, the halcyon period of newspaper literature as regarded pecuniary returns. Many previously struggling journals made fortunes for their proprietors between 1860 and 1866. The sales and the rush of advertising caused by the rise of prices and the inflation of the currency, gave newspaper publishers the happiest days they have ever known in America. Since then the decline has been steady and serious. In New York the number of newspapers which pay dividends is wretchedly small. The competition among the sensational kind is very great. Some barely exist, or they rely on some capitalist to fill up the yearly deficit. The watch which they all keep up for something startling in the way of news is painful in its eagerness. War would, therefore, be a godsend to them. It would renew the rage for "extras," which attended the varying fortunes of our civil conflict. It would raise hundreds of journals out of want and anxiety, and, next to war, they welcome "the promise of war," with which Byron's tambourgi gave "hope to

the valiant." Hence every incident which can by any possibility lead to an international conflict is greatly magnified. Every blunder of a subordinate is attributed to the direct orders of a superior, and is converted into a deliberate insult. All foreign statesmen are made to plot against the United States, and concoct schemes for depriving us of something, or in some manner humiliating us. Apologies are treated as lies meant to throw us off our guard. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that upon any private matter of business no sensible man would think of heeding talk like that to which some of our statesmen have lately treated us on our foreign relations. Most of it, like that about the Hawaiian cable, such as Mr. Morgan's suggestion, that a "military cable" would in some manner differ from a commercial cable, would discredit a smart boy or girl of twelve. But it suits the purpose of the militant press to call the jingo orators "well-informed men who have the courage of their convictions," or "students of the foreign policy" of some other nation. Along with this goes daily abuse of the Secretary of State, who is following the rules of civilized diplomatic intercourse and trying to keep the peace. Everything he does is a blunder. Common politeness in his despatches is base truckling to foreigners. His ignorance is unparalleled. Care for the honor of his country he has none. Foreign ministers write his despatches, and it is well if he is not receiving a salary from England or Germany.

Now for whom is this stuff intended? On whom is it supposed likely to have some effect? Well, on a very large body of persons, mostly farmers, but also veterans of the late war, and military and naval men, who think the time has come for something remarkable to happen in American history. The abounding, unparalleled prosperity of the country which set in very soon after the Revolution, was sure in the long run to affect the national temperament very seriously, and it did affect it, in the direction of greater hopefulness, greater indifference to consequences, and greater confidence in the national destiny. Along with this came the cultivation of enthusiasm, as a desirable national characteristic, and a certain corresponding depreciation of coldness, reflectiveness, and caution, as unsuited to the conditions of life on this continent. Indeed, excitability may almost be said to have become a cherished trait, which the American

boy learns from his earliest years to consider a necessary part of his equipment as a citizen. A more desirable surface than this for newspapers to play on, it would be hard to contrive. Given enthusiasm, and sensitiveness under the slights to which the less advanced state of our material civilization exposes us at the hands of our foreign critics, and we have almost complete materials for those peculiarly savage and truculent wars for which people who do not mean to share in their dangers or responsibilities, are always ready. No wars are so relentless, so difficult to end, or so exacting in their aims, as wars set on foot by persons who will suffer in neither mind nor body from defeat. Not only are the directors of newspaper wars, however, exempt from responsibility, but defeat is just as profitable to them as victory. The demand for newspapers is apt to be even greater after a disaster than after a triumph.

Now the medium through which the newspaper acts most effectively on the enthusiastic temperament is what is known as "true Americanism," or "thorough Americanism," or better than all, "intense Americanism." I have studied these phrases a good deal with the view of finding out their exact meaning, but have not been successful in ever getting any exact definition of them from any one who used them in good faith. As a rule, one's merely asking for the meaning of them is taken as a sign of a spirit of ridicule or mockery, which makes real explanation of them difficult, or impossible. Consequently an earnest seeker after the truth is compelled—at least such has been my experience—to rely largely on the context, or on surrounding circumstances, or on collateral remarks, in trying to discover what they really mean who say they are "intense Americans." I used at one time to suppose that an intense, or good American, was a person who was content with his country just as it is, its laws, religion, manners and morals; who was, in spite of its defects, reasonably proud of it, and not disturbed by the judgments passed on it by hostile foreign observers. But it soon became apparent to me that the phrase meant much more than this. I found it did not stand for any piece of American political philosophy. It did not mean simply faith in any particular set of the ideas which are not unnaturally supposed to animate American institutions, such as the equality of man, or the perfectibility of the race, or the continuity of progress, or every

man's natural fitness for office, or the certainty of American good luck. All these are the joint property of many nations, part of the common inheritance of the human race with which it tries to make tolerable its lot on earth. Nor does "intense Americanism" mean glory in the prospect of American growth in wealth and population and revenue, potentiality for military purposes, or consciousness of the fact, that, if we chose to try, we could "whip creation." It means, as well as I have been able to make out, and after approaching the matter from every side, and applying to it every test I can think of, simple readiness to take offense. An 'intense American" is constantly on the lookout for somebody who either expresses, or implies by his looks or manner, doubts of the ability of the United States to thrash other nations; or who fails to acknowledge the right of the United States to occupy such territories, canals, isthmuses or peninsulas, as they may think it desirable to have, or who speaks disrespectfully of the Monroe doctrine, or who doubts the need of a large navy, or who admires European society, or who likes to go to Europe, or who fails, in case he has to go, to make comparisons unfavorable to Europe.

This state of mind is, of course, accompanied with great sensitiveness to criticism of every description and great exposure to slights and affronts. It is the state of mind which is known as "ill-conditioned," and which usually ends in chronic peevishness and irritability. In private life persons thus afflicted become the pests of the household, from whom everybody flees who can, both in business and pleasure. A nation which undertakes such a rôle cannot long maintain a decent footing in the family of nations. Its attempts to embody morbid conceit and suspicion in a foreign policy would result either in its being sent to Coventry, or in receiving a sound thrashing from the combined forces of the civilized world. Good temper, civility, politeness of form, patience and self-restraint have become part of the common law of Christendom which no nation is powerful enough to disregard.

And they never would be disregarded, or only very rarely, if diplomatic intercourse were carried on solely by diplomatists. But side by side with all diplomatic controversy, there usually goes on a newspaper controversy, which cannot be silenced, and which is by no means always confined to the merits of the dis-

pute. Newspaper discussions of international difficulties may not always be well informed, but if they are really discussions of questions, they cannot do much harm ; nay, they may do some good. Their mischief begins when they begin to hurl defiance, heap abuse, and impute motives. The more the democracy of every country comes to the front in international controversy, the more it listens to and is led by the journalistic objurgations of the other side, the more difficult it becomes for the professional diplomatist to maintain the measure and precision of his language, and justify his moderation to his own countrymen. So that, until we get a race of editors who will consent to take a share of the diplomatist's responsibility for the national peace and honor, the newspapers will constitute a constant danger to the amicable relations of great powers.

E. L. Godkin.

THE PROGRESS OF METEOROLOGY.

BY PROF. FRANK WALDO, PH. D., AUTHOR OF "MODERN METEOROLOGY," ETC., ETC.

So LITTLE is generally known about the earliest beginnings of our present science of meteorology that a few words of historic *résumé* will probably not be unwelcome before I touch lightly upon some important features of its modern development.

We know from Biblical and other historic sources that atmospheric conditions have been observed from the earliest times, and attempts made at a rough characterization of the changes which have been noticed in wind and weather. Until the invention of the modern meteorological instruments of precision, all measures of meteorological conditions were made but indirectly, and cover at least whole seasons in their time extent. Such records as have come down to us in history refer to times of extreme cold or great floods; the opposite extremes of excessively hot seasons or great droughts are seldom explicitly mentioned, and we can only infer them from the accounts of famines which accompany them. There is one exception to this crudeness which deserves notice. It is probable that the direction of the wind has been noted with almost modern accuracy ever since the orientation which we now designate "points of compass" has been a recognized system. It has been estimated that the wind's direction was relegated to the four cardinal points of compass at least as early as 1000 B. C.; but it was not until about 500 B. C. that the Grecians added four additional directions. Probably the oldest arrangement which has come down to us for locating the direction of the wind is the "Tower of the Winds" at Athens; this dates from about 100 B. C.

The science of meteorology has been developed by the progress of civilization in Europe. It is therefore a distinctively European

science, and the story of its early growth can be studied only on the western continent. Climatology can be studied for Europe by somewhat rough methods for the period before the year 1000 A. D.; but we have very little data before that date, and even at that epoch we have only some records of very cold winters in some parts of Europe. The thermometer was invented by Galileo in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and we have a few records with this instrument extending back two hundred years or more. For about this same length of time there exists also a record of annual periods when the waters of northern Europe are ice-bound or free from ice. Likewise, in southern Europe, reliable records have been kept of the dates of grape harvest during the past four hundred years or more, and these dates are an index to the natures of the successive seasons.

Concerning rainfall we have still less satisfactory records. About all of the really old material that we have is the indirect measure of the rainfall shown by the fluctuation in height of the water level of some rivers or inland seas. There has been a much-broken record kept for the Caspian Sea since the tenth century; but the more reliable observations do not extend back more than two centuries, when the earlier continuous series of direct observations by means of rain-gauges were begun.

While some of the methods for measuring atmospheric moisture have long been known (since the fifteenth century), yet satisfactory records do not go back of the present century. Observations of atmospheric pressure by means of the barometer (invented by Torricelli in 1643) have been made with regularity for more than a century, but those records made before about 1825 have little claim to recognition by modern meteorologists on account of the unreliable instruments formerly used.

The improvement of instruments employed in meteorological work and the methods of using them have always received great attention from those engaged in this kind of work, but it has been only since about 1850 that anything like the modern conception of refined work has been adopted as a criterion of excellence. This last half of the century has witnessed the introduction of elaborately organized systems of meteorological services in nearly all of the civilized countries for the purpose of making climatic surveys; and this has necessitated the establishment of an immense number of more or less permanent observing stations which

have been equipped with instruments according to the kind of work which they are expected to accomplish. These stations vary in magnitude and importance from the thunderstorm station, where the voluntary lay observer employs no instruments at all except his timepiece, up to the elaborately equipped observatory manned by a permanent staff of half a dozen expert scientists; the observatories at Pawlowsk, Russia, and Potsdam, Germany, are the best examples of these last institutions, which unfortunately are known mostly by hearsay in the United States.

Formerly it was considered that almost any person could make meteorological observations with sufficient accuracy, but in reality a high order of skill is required; and it is certainly as difficult to read a thermometer to within a tenth of a degree as it is for an astronomer to observe the transit of a star with ordinary accuracy; or it is as hard to read a barometer to the nearest thousandth of an inch as it is to make a micrometer setting in measuring star distances.

The introduction of self-recording instruments for making meteorological observations opened a new era in the field of data-collecting. Activity in this line really began about 1850, but it has been only within the last twenty years that any extended application of this kind of apparatus has been made, and even now it is far less than is desirable. The best self-recording instruments furnish results of the same degree of accuracy as that obtained by a skillful observer by direct observations.

As a control for insuring the accuracy of observations, on an absolute scale, it has been found necessary to establish standards with which the instruments actually used in making the observations may be compared. Usually each country has had its own more or less thoroughly investigated and adjusted standards, and for international work it has been necessary to compare the standards of one country with those of another in order to allow for existing differences. It is probable, however, that it will be but a short time before the normal instruments of the International Bureau of Weights and Measures at Sèvres, Paris, will be adopted as the recognized standards throughout the whole world. This will give to our future meteorological observations a unity which they have not had heretofore.

The primary cause of collecting meteorological data was the determination of the normal conditions which prevail for any

place, and also the variations from these normals which the elements may undergo during the longer or shorter periods of change which are found to exist for each. There was, of course, almost from the first, more or less comparing of data for different places, but it required the genius of Humboldt to open up an immensely wider view of the subject by collecting together the scattered temperature observations, and drawing on geographical charts the lines of equal temperatures (isotherms). Ever since the appearance of these charts, in the early part of the century, it has been the ultimate object of most investigators who have devoted themselves to meteorology to reproduce such charts with greater completeness, and to show by a similar process the complete terrestrial distribution of other meteorological elements, such as air pressure, rainfall, wind force and direction, etc. As aids to the final completion of such a huge undertaking, nearly all of the civilized countries have published, and mostly during the past few years, tables and charts for the regions within their own boundaries; and in addition to this, many of the maritime nations have extended their inquiries to the high seas and uncivilized lands. It may be noted that the force of example has induced Japan to organize a meteorological service hardly inferior to those of Europe.

For clearness of expression the graphical presentation of meteorological data is much more advantageous than the representation by mere numbers; and this is especially true in all cases where geographical distribution is being considered. We find, therefore, a constantly increasing application of graphics to meteorology, not only in giving results in published form, but also as an aid in the process of investigation. There are, however, classes of analytical investigations where the expressions denoting magnitudes must be preserved in mathematical form in order that they may be systematically or symmetrically treated. Thus the average daily, hourly, or monthly normals and variations therefrom are still represented by the ordinary Bessel's Functions (the sine or cosine formula), although the use of this formula is now not nearly so frequent as was the case thirty years ago. The geographical distribution of averages for stations scattered over the whole globe can be well represented by the method of spherical functions which were applied by Gauss for terrestrial magnetism, by Schoch for air temperatures, and by Hill for gravity. This method, now so

little appreciated by meteorologists, will undoubtedly come into great favor in the near future.

The numerous methods of making and afterwards discussing observations gradually led to the idea that uniformity was a necessity if there was to be coöperation between the organized workers of various countries. About twenty years ago representatives from several different lands met at Leipzig to see what could be done to remedy the existing evils due to lack of system; and from this meeting resulted the international meteorological congresses which have met, since then, at intervals of about three years. These meetings have resulted not only in producing unity in the form of official meteorological publications issued by most civilized nations, but they have also brought about a thorough and much needed discussion of the relative merits of existing methods, and permitted concerted action to be taken in the matter of future work on an international basis.

In looking backwards over the extensive literature which has been produced concerning meteorology, I find two books which, more than others, furnish us with satisfactory reviews of the science up to the dates of their publication. These books are Kaemtz's *Lehrbuch der Meteorologie,* 1836, and Schmid's *Lehrbuch der Meteorologie,* 1860. We have no such works as these in either the English or French language. The progressive strides made in the subject since 1860, and especially within the past twenty years, have now rendered impossible any such recapitulative work in a single volume, or, indeed, by any individual author in a number of volumes. There are now, probably, a score of modern treatises on meteorology, by as many different authors, in which the main results of our progress have been brought before the reading or student public; but in nearly all of these cases selected topics have been treated to the exclusion of others of equal importance, but which could not be crowded into the pages of individual works. Thus we find even popular works specialized.

The subject of weather and weather predictions is the truly popular side of meteorology. It is popular with the people, and unfortunately it is still a "popular science" with those who view it professionally. From ancient times it has been the custom to make local weather predictions for the morrow from the aspects of the sky to-day; but the later phases of the question, the pre-

diction of weather for a distant locality, is of modern development. I can only make here a few references to the special topic of weather predictions in the middle latitudes. About the middle of the last century Franklin discovered that great storms moved across our country, from the west, in an easterly direction. But the storms moved with such rapidity that no practical use could be made of this discovery, in warning the people to the eastward of the approach of a storm, until a very rapid means of communication was established between the west and the east. This was furnished by the invention and introduction of the telegraph; but who first proposed the use of the telegraph for the purpose of sending storm warnings I am not quite certain. It is probable, however, that the idea occurred about the same time to persons in Europe and America, as soon as the practical success of telegraphy was demonstrated. The mere announcement of the existence of a storm to the westward, and that it might be expected in the east, did not satisfy the scientific mind. Loomis had invented a method of displaying on a map the weather conditions prevailing simultaneously at various observing stations scattered over the country (the eastern part of the United States); and, by means of lines of equal air-pressure and equal air-temperature, drawn on such a map, he laid bare the structure of our extended storms in such a manner that the true relations could be seen. Moreover, by drawing such maps for successive days, the gradual changes in the storm could be followed out, and the path of the storm could be accurately traced. Loomis did not investigate his storms until long after they had occurred, because he had to receive his data from the various sources by mail. The application of telegraphy, however, permitted the transmission at once from the various observing stations to a central point, where weather maps, according to Loomis's plan, could be made while the storm was still in progress; and then not only could the track already passed over by the storm be traced, but, judging from the previous courses of such storms, the probable future direction which it would take could be pointed out. Such is the general method of work pursued by our services for weather predictions at the present time, except that local phenomena are also taken into account in making predictions for any specially designated region.

The value of such work is as fully recognized in Europe as in our own country, and in fact the recent voluntary changes in our

American system of making weather forecasts have made it more than ever similar to the European method. Formerly our official weather predictions were mainly made at Washington, but now these are supplemented by the forecasts made by officials located at a number of points distributed over the country. In Europe each nation has its own weather predictors, and in order that each one may have a whole continental distribution of data at his disposal it is necessary to have a telegraphic exchange between the various countries.

Just a word can be added concerning the nature of these weather predictions. They are not, as some persons think, of a really satisfactory scientific nature. They certainly do require the application of certain faculties of judgment in order to make them successfully; but it has frequently been found to be the case that persons with a relatively very small amount of meteorological knowledge could make better predictions than the savants in the science. The progress in improving the methods of predictions has been very slight since their first beginning, and whatever gain has been made has been due to the increase of telegraphic and other facilities for the rapid transmission of data and the predictions themselves. Our weather maps have remained practically unchanged in form for years, and I venture to suggest that if the Weather Bureau would give us, for only one year, maps of the weather conditions two or three times a day, as shown by records from all of the State meteorological stations, as well as those from the present general government stations, we should have the means of studying the process of storm development with a much greater probability of adding to our present knowledge than is likely to occur without some such change in the plan now in use. In order to have storms so minutely portrayed as this would allow, we who are students would gladly wait for the maps a month or two as might be necessary. It is still too soon to hope that observations aloft may be made with regularity, but the missing links necessary for the true understanding of storms is undoubtedly to be found in the atmospheric conditions above the earth's surface. All long-range weather predictions are pure charlatanism, and any scientist who would have the temerity to foretell the weather conditions for a coming season, or even the coming week, would very deservedly lose caste with his fellow-workers.

The department of our science which deserves to stand highest in the esteem of men of thought is the so-called theoretical meteorology. This is the term now applied to the statics and dynamics of the atmosphere as developed in recent years by eminent physicists. It has been always considered that such variable phenomena as the winds could not possibly be governed by laws of sufficient simplicity for philosophers to detect them. It was perhaps the regularity of the trade winds which first suggested the possibility of system in the air movements. The greatest prominence is certainly given to them in the theory of the general circulation of the atmosphere as outlined by Hadley in his paper in the *Philosophical Transactions* in the year 1735. Hadley said that the difference in the temperature at the poles and the Equator gave rise to an ideal air circulation, which, being modified by the influence of the diurnal rotation of the earth on its axis, produced the existing general circulation. About a century later, Dove, the great German meteorologist, sought to extend Hadley's theory by following out further the action of the general currents, and assigning to their power and influence the origin of the secondary atmospheric disturbances which predominate in our latitudes and give us the winds of such proverbial variability. But Dove had not that breadth of conception which was necessary for solving the problem, and he became entangled in the details of his theory. And, moreover, his views so completely muddled the ideas of many of the students of his works that they have never yet been able, even at this late day, to see the value of subsequent theories. It remained for the philosophical mind of an American, William Ferrel, to point out some defects in earlier theories (especially in Hadley's) and lay before us a picture of the atmospheric circulation as a whole, and the relation to it of the secondary, aye and even the tertiary, systems of air movement. Ferrel's earlier papers were written in 1856-58-59, but he continued perfecting his grand theory in subsequent papers, and gives it to us as a whole in his book, *A Popular Treatise on the Winds.** This remarkable work should be read by every person who desires to know about the origin and maintenance of the greater and lesser air motions : it is to be regretted, however, that Ferrel did not present in this book the results obtained by other theoretical investigators in the same field of work. Ferrel's reasoning was mainly deductive

* John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1889.

and with one exception his work stands alone in the English meteorological literature of the present day. France has not produced any very great deductive meteorologist, but the Germans have taken up the matter with their usual thoroughness, and the works of Hann, Köppen, Sprung, Möller, Oberbeck, Werner Siemens, Von Bezold, and, last and greatest of all, Von Helmholtz have combined to form a literature of the greatest importance in the development of modern meteorology. In this same connection the work of the Norwegians Guldberg and Mohn must not be omitted, because they were the first of the continentalists to write, in 1876-80, an extended memoir on the subject of air motions, in which the subject is dealt with according to the modern mathematical methods of treating fluid motions.

I think that Ferrel's theory of the general circulation of the atmosphere will prove of far more lasting importance than his other work concerning the details of the secondary motions. These last in our latitudes are the huge cyclonic wind-whirls which sweep across our country in an eastwardly direction, and which, as we have seen, form our variable weather conditions. Theoretical meteorologists have sought to find the origin of these cyclones, and that of their opposites, the anti-cyclones, but it still remains a matter of doubt. Some investigators have considered them to be due entirely to local conditions of temperature and moisture; others have thought them to be caused by a combination of local conditions and the great primary hemispherical air circulation; while the studies of the eminent German physicists have led them to think that these huge vortical disturbances, often many hundred miles in diameter, are almost entirely due to the primary air circulation. This last is in some respects a return to the Dovian theory, but it is mainly in name, for the methods of investigation employed are entirely post-Dovian. In closing, I will add that the direct useful application of meteorology to commerce, navigation, agriculture, the practice of medicine, and hygiene is coming to be recognized as of such great importance that the hearty support is secured for it of persons who have the power to greatly promote its future growth.

FRANK WALDO.

THE INCOME TAX.

I.—THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

BY THE HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, EX-SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

THE recent contest before the Supreme Court of the United States, which involved the validity of so much of the Tariff Act of 1894 as imposed a tax on incomes, was only less important than the contests before that Court involving the right of secession and the constitutionality of the measures of reconstruction.

The importance of the controversy did not depend upon the questions arising from the peculiarities of the law of 1894, but upon the question of the validity of any income tax, and more particularly upon the validity of so much of the act as provided for a levy of a tax upon rent of land or income from real estate.

Upon one point, there was agreement at the bar, viz.: That, by the Constitution, Federal taxes are divided into two classes; those which are direct taxes on the one hand, and those which are either duties, imposts or excises on the other.

Capitation taxes, and taxes on land, are held to be direct taxes, and on this point there was no difference of opinion. Nor can there be any doubt that, under the Constitution, direct taxes must be apportioned among the States according to the number of inhabitants in each State.

It was held by the Court, six of the eight judges concurring in the opinion, that taxes on the rent of land or the income from real estate are, in fact, taxes upon the real estate itself, and upon the theory that the rent or income from real estate is an incident of the ownership of the estate. As a result of this opinion, so much of the act of 1894 as provided for the levy of a tax on the income from land, is declared to be unconstitutional and void.

The Court was also of opinion that the income from bonds of States and municipalities was not subject to taxation by the national government. Consequently, so much of the act of 1894 as provided for a levy of taxes upon incomes from the bonds of States and municipalities was declared to be invalid.

Upon three other questions of importance the Court was equally divided, and therefore no opinion was expressed.

(1.) Whether the void provisions as to the income from real estate invalidated the whole act? (2.) Whether as to the income from personal property, as such, the act is unconstitutional, as a levy of direct taxes? (3.) Whether any part of the tax, if not considered as a direct tax, is invalid for want of uniformity on either of the grounds suggested in the argument?

The exemption from taxation of the income from State and municipal bonds was sustained by the whole Court, and is in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme Court from an early period in its history.

In a public point of view, the validity of the existing tax act, in so far as its validity depends upon the peculiarity of its provisions, is of no considerable importance, but the exemption from taxation of the rent and income from real estate, except the levy is through the rule of apportionment and among the States, works, practically, a very serious impairment of the ability of the government to raise revenue. It may well be assumed, as was suggested in the opinion of the Court, that an income tax and direct taxes through the States should be resorted to only in an exigency, but it is of supreme importance that the government should be able, in an exigency, to raise revenue from rents and incomes from real estate by some practicable method.

In every government the power of taxation is an essential condition of continuing existence, and every limitation upon the exercise of that power is a limitation of the capacity of the government to exist.

By the Articles of Confederation the general government had no power to levy taxes, and yet it had power to incur debts. At the end of ten years its insolvency was apparent, and its incapacity, as a government, had been demonstrated to the thoughtful men of the country. The downfall of the Confederation was due to its inability to levy taxes; and the Constitution of the United States had its rise in that experience. With the power to

levy taxes, even with all its other infirmities on its head, the Confederation might have outlasted, and it is probable that it would have outlasted, the eighteenth century.

It was in the presence of that condition of public affairs that the Constitution of the United States was created; and, within the range of probabilities, nothing can be more reasonable than the supposition that the framers of that instrument intended to avoid the error which had caused the wreck of the confederate government.

If this be so, then it may be inferred fairly, that when the Convention gave to Congress power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises," the Convention intended to set forth, as well, the limitations to the exercise of the power, to define the method of its exercise, and, finally, that, in these particulars, nothing was to be left for inference, conjecture or argument.

Except for the presence of limiting and qualifying clauses in the Constitution, the phrase quoted gave to Congress power to levy taxes upon all the persons and property of the nation, and wherever resident, or situated, and with an authority equivalent to that which might be exercised by a State over the persons and property within its jurisdiction.

Beyond this, and exclusive of the power of the States, the right to levy customs duties was vested exclusively in the general government. This concession by the States was not made without debate, nor without hesitation, especially by Rhode Island, but the concession was not procured through any compromise. It is suggested in the opinion of the Court that there were inland States, and that those States, in consideration of the concession by the maritime States of the right to levy customs duties, agreed to a system of direct taxation upon the basis of population, and that it was foreseen that under that system a disproportionate burden would fall upon the inland States. The truth is that every one of the thirteen States was a maritime State; all were engaged in commerce; all alike, if not equally, were interested in the collection of customs duties by States, and they were alike, if not equally, interested in transferring the power to the national government. There was in the Convention, at the end, a general agreement upon two points, namely: that there was manifest injustice in allowing the duties to pass into the treasury of the State in which the port of entry might

be situated; and that conflicting tariff systems would be injurious to regular commerce, and to the growth of manufactures.

In the second clause of the tenth section of the first article of the Constitution, the words "imposts or duties" are limited to taxes on "imports or exports," and hence it is not within the competency of the States to levy "imposts or duties," except for the use of the treasury of the United States as is stipulated in the said clause.

The taxes, known as "imposts" and "duties," having thus passed by the provisions of the Constitution from the States to the United States, all other taxes which the government can levy fall under the head of "taxes" or "excises."

There is a large sense and a not uncommon usage, which give to the word "taxes" a definition whose scope includes duties, imposts and excises, but in the Constitution the word is so limited and controlled that "excises," as well as "duties" and "imposts," are not within the meaning of the word "taxes." In the extract from the Constitution, already quoted, "taxes" and "excises" are spoken of as distinct means of raising a revenue for the specified purposes of the government.

By the third clause of section two, article one, "direct taxes" were to be apportioned among the several States, "according to their respective numbers;" and by the fourth clause of section nine of the same article, it is declared that "no capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken."

Thus are these two provisions of the Constitution connected together and thus does it appear that the words "tax" and "taxes," and the phrase "no capitation, or other, direct tax," were designed by the framers of the Constitution to include only those "direct taxes" which were neither "excise levies" nor "duties," nor "imposts."

Every tax upon a man or a thing is a direct tax, and in this large and every-day meaning of the phrase, it follows that capitation taxes, land taxes, excises, duties and imposts are one and all "direct taxes." No one, however, whether advocate or public writer, has ever contended for this construction of the Constitution.

Again, a land tax has always been classed as a "direct tax." The same statement is applicable to a capitation tax. Indeed, a capitation tax is declared in the Constitution to be a direct tax. It is

worthy of notice that in the fourth clause of section nine of article one, the word "tax" is used in the singular,—"no capitation, or other direct, *tax* shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken," thus giving a basis for the argument that two subjects, and two only, were marked for direct taxation, and brought within the scope of the third clause of section two of article one.

These two taxes, by long usage and universal consent, are "direct" taxes, and they have no quality or peculiarity which justifies their classification under any other head.

By a broad definition taxes on carriages, on watches, on incomes, on professions, on produce, as tobacco and cotton, the "imposts and duties" levied on goods imported, are, one and all, "direct taxes," but one and all they are naturally and properly subject to other classifications.

In every case thus enumerated, and in every other case that might be added to the enumeration, the tax acts will aim and must aim at the thing to be taxed and at the possessor of the thing to be taxed. Thus are they all "direct taxes"; but they are all something else, and they are all to be taxed under other classifications, or they must fall in with capitation and land taxes, and thus would the government be forced to rely upon customs duties and levies upon the States.

Thus indirectly would the old Confederation be revived, and thus a government that had withstood the assaults of war might be disintegrated by processes of law in time of peace.

Of all the objects of taxation an income tax is an "excise tax," practically, etymologically, and without a rival. As to all other objects of taxation, the "excise" can only be secured in form to be useful as public revenue, by a process of conversion; while an income may be divided and the "excise," or the part cut out, can be used as revenue without change of fact or form.

Further, if this analysis be accepted, it follows that the phrase "excise taxes," as used in the Constitution, must include every form of taxes which are not "imposts and duties" on the one side, or "direct taxes" on the other; and if the phrase "direct taxes" is held to include any tax other than a land tax and a capitation tax, then there will remain no subject of taxation to which the phrase "excise tax" can be referred.

To assume that any one of the proper objects of taxation

which may be found between a capitation tax and a land tax on the one side, and "customs imposts and duties" on the other, was to be taxed in conformity to the third clause of section two, article one, is to assume that the authors of the Constitution were incapable, not merely of framing a government, but of providing for its continued existence. Is it conceivable that taxes on incomes, on professional service, on carriages, on silver-ware and gold-ware, on cotton, on tobacco, can be levied upon the States in proportion to population and collection thereof be made?

And if not, can we assume that the men who made the Constitution anticipated that the experiment would ever be tried?

And if the experiment was not to be tried, did they intend to limit taxation to lands, to heads, and to customs duties?

They made a contrary declaration when they gave to Congress unlimited power to levy taxes. The power remains. A reasonable way for its exercise must be found.

Is it too much to say that this proposition is absurd, viz.: that a tax on a carriage and the owner of a carriage is an excise tax and may be assessed directly and personally, and that a tax upon the receiver of an income in money is a "direct tax," and can only be assessed upon the States, and that without any inquiry as to the existence of persons in the enjoyment of incomes?

The last branch of this proposition was asserted by Mr. Edmunds (*Argument*, pp. 16, 17), and he assumed that the first branch of the proposition was already the law of the land (p. 12).

The levy and collection of an income tax through the States, and upon the basis of population, would be an impossibility, on account of the manifest injustice of the proceeding. Mr. Edmunds' proposition was, in substance, a declaration that the possessors of incomes, however derived, and whatever the public exigencies, should be relieved of all liability to contribute to the public revenues. To say that an income tax of fifty million dollars may be assessed upon the States in proportion to population, is to declare, in effect, that it shall not be collected by any process; inasmuch as no just man or equitable court could say that it ought to be paid.

When Mr. Choate approached the conclusion of the argument, aimed at the existence of a power in Congress to levy an income tax, and not merely an argument against the constitutionality of

the statute of 1894, he shrank from a full indorsement of the position that had been taken by his two associates.

He qualified the claim, but the new position seemed to be equally at variance with the opinions of the Court in the Hylton case and the Springer case. He precipitated a theory upon the Court, which for a hundred years had lain dormant in the Constitution of the country,—a theory of which neither Marshall nor Story had had knowledge. That the theory, in its main feature, was accepted by the Court, is a marked tribute to Mr. Choate's quality as an advocate.

With the approval of his associates he thus states his new position—a change of front in the face of the enemy. "Therefore, for the purposes of this argument, I shall assume what my adversaries claim. I shall assume that it may possibly be decided by this court, as it has so often been decided before, that all duties, all excises, all imposts, are shut out from the class of direct taxes by the necessary meaning and effect of the Constitution, and that they are to be administered by the rule of uniformity, as they ought to be in this law and are not. I shall claim, upon the other hand, that at any rate, so far as regards the direct, inevitable, necessary income, and outgrowth of real estate and personal estate, the tax is a direct tax levied upon the proper subject of a direct tax within the meaning of the Constitution, and is therefore invalid." (*Argument*, p. 11.)

Thus leaving to the Court the general proposition "that all duties, all excises, all imposts fall under the rule of uniformity and not under the rule of apportionment among the States," he excepts incomes which are "the outgrowth of real estate and personal estate" from classification as "duties, excises, or imposts," and claims that they are direct taxes, and that they can only be levied upon the States and according to population. So much of this claim as relates to the outgrowth of real estate was accepted by the Court.

In practice the distinction would seem to be this: A citizen who owns a carriage, or raises cotton or tobacco, or who follows a business that yields a profit, or pursues a profession from which some gains are derived, may be compelled personally to pay a tax on the thing owned, or on the article produced, or on the income earned, and upon the theory that these levies fall under the head of "excise taxes"; while the rent of lands and houses and

stores, and the earnings of moneys invested in bonds, stocks and securities of every sort, can only be reached through the apportionment system, by which the new, frontier, and not yet wealthy State of Nebraska, as an example, would be assessed three times the amount that would be levied upon the State of Rhode Island, where wealth has been accumulating in families and in institutions for more than two and a half centuries.

Again, as a system of taxation, as a practical scheme for raising a revenue, who does not foresee that never, never in the centuries, will the poorer States consent to a levy of an income tax of fifty million, of ten million, of one million, in presence of the known truth that the tax was to be paid by States in which the incomes did not exist?

If it be true, as was asserted by Mr. Choate, that the States of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania will pay nine-tenths of the income tax under the statute of 1894, is it within the range of conjecture, or the sphere of any man's faith or hope, that the forty other States in the year 1895, or that the poorer States in any time future, destined always to be a majority, will consent to the levy of an income tax under the rule of apportionment? And will any man, whether supporter or opponent of the income tax system, say that the poorer States ought to assume such a burden?

Nor is the case relieved by the suggestion, if the suggestion were well founded, that there was a compromise in the Convention by which rents of lands and gains from personal property were to be counted as the incidents of land, and to be treated as land for the purposes of taxation.

The nation is bound by the Constitution, and not by anything that was said or done in the Convention. The Constitution is silent. It furnishes no direct support to the theory that rents of land are distinguishable from other incomes.

Nor is the theory supported by the Madison Papers. There was one compromise, and one only, touching the subject of taxation, and that compromise was incorporated in the Constitution. The slave States claimed that the slaves should be exempt from the capitation tax. The free States claimed that, as the slaves were producers, they should be subject to a capitation tax, as though they were free. At the end, the scheme of a capitation tax was connected with the basis of representation. The slaves were

divided into blocks of five, and for the purpose of assessing a capitation tax, and for the purpose of apportioning representatives among the States, each block of five was to be counted as three free persons. In this arrangement the taxation of land was not touched, nor considered, except that the population of the slave States was reduced in the proportion of two-fifths of the slave population.

The modern suggestion that the rent of lands and the outgrowth of personal property could only be taxed as real estate, was not made by anybody. Neither in the Madison Papers nor in the Federalist is there a hint that such a thought was entertained by anybody.

The quotation by Mr. Choate (p. 18) of a remark made by Mr. Langdon, of New Hampshire, and reproduced in the opinion of the Court, had no application to any feature of the Constitution that is involved in the present discussion.

I do not find in the Madison Papers the remark of Mr. Langdon, as quoted by Mr. Choate in these words: "It will be very hard upon New Hampshire, but we will submit to it for the purpose of carrying this Constitution through."

The remark, as reported by Madison, reads thus (p. 1377): "This would bear unreasonably hard upon New Hampshire, and he must be against it." It was this proposition that was to bear unreasonably hard upon New Hampshire, viz.:

"Mr. Gerry moved to add to article seven, section three, the following clause: That from the first meeting of the Legislature of the United States until a census shall be taken, all moneys for supplying the public treasury by direct taxation shall be raised from the several States, according to the number of their representatives respectively in the first branch."

As early as the 10th of June, 1787, three representatives in Congress had been assigned to New Hampshire, and that when that State was not represented in the Convention.

A motion to reduce its representation to two members had failed. In the debate on the Gerry motion, Mr. Langdon said that he was not present "when New Hampshire was allowed three members. It was more than her share; he did not wish for them." (*Madison Papers*, p. 1,381.)

Mr. Langdon's protest was not against the scheme of taxation, nor can it be forced, properly, into service in support of the claim

that he was engaged in drawing a distinction between incomes that are "the outgrowth of real estate and of personal estate," and other incomes, and agreeing, reluctantly, to a constitution in which the first mentioned were to be levied upon the States in the form of "direct taxes." In truth, he was protesting against the assignment to New Hampshire of three representatives in Congress, when, in his opinion, the State was entitled to two only, upon the basis of population; and for the sufficient reason that the additional member added fifty per cent. to the tax that New Hampshire would be required to pay in case there should be a levy in advance of the census. This was the hardship that was to "bear unreasonably hard upon New Hampshire."

Nothing was said in the Convention, of which any record remains, that touches in the slightest degree the issue raised by Mr. Choate; and had there been pages of record in the line of his contention, his own words would contain a conclusive answer.

"The mere talk of this man or that in the Convention, mere talk of this man or that upon the bench of any court, unless it was a solemn adjudication upon his oath of office and the decision of a case, is of very little weight."

The Constitution is our only guide. That does not furnish any direct support to the new theory of taxation. Turning again to the practical side of this question, is it not apparent that the new theory works the exemption of all incomes derived from real estate and personal estate?

Mr. Choate admits as much when he attempts to show that there will remain adequate sources of revenue, as though a suggestion of that nature could have value in presence of the historical fact that within thirty-five years the resources of the country were taxed to the uttermost, including a levy of five per cent., and an additional levy of five per cent. upon "the outgrowth of real estate and of personal estate," and of all other incomes as well. At the close of an enumeration of the sources of revenue that will remain to the general government after the abstraction for which he contends, Mr. Choate says: "It will leave to the federal government, to be applied by the rule of uniformity, all taxes on transportation of every kind, from the $100,000,000 railroad down to the cart of the licensed vendor."

This, then, is the Constitution, of which four generations of

Americans have been boastful, and on which the leaders of thought in other lands have bestowed unmeasured encomiums !

The incomes derived from real estate and from personal estate are eliminated, practically, from the body of taxable property, and we are invited to accept in set-off, and as full satisfaction, the reservation of other means of raising a revenue, including a transportation tax on all articles produced and on all articles consumed by the mass of the people, down to, and including also, the street vendors of peanuts and fruits.

Not so thought Alexander Hamilton. In combating the notion that what was called *internal taxation*, including incomes, should be reserved to the States, he said of the national government: "Its future necessities admit not of calculation or limitation; and upon the principle more than once adverted to the power of making provision for them as they arise ought to be equally unconfined. I believe it may be regarded as a position, warranted by the history of mankind, that, *in the usual progress of things, the necessities of a nation, in every stage of its existence, will be found at least equal to its resources.* . . . As the duties of superintending the national defence, and of securing the public peace against foreign or domestic violence, involve a provision for casualties and dangers, to which no possible limits can be assigned, the power of making that provision ought to know no other bounds than the exigencies of the nation and the resources of the community." (*Federalist*, Nos. XXX. and XXXI.)

The main point of the opinion remains to be considered. It being conceded that land is the subject of direct taxation, and that a land tax must be apportioned among the States upon the basis of population, it is decided that the income of land is an incident of land, and that a tax on the rent is a tax on the land, as the tax on the rent can only be paid from the land. The authority is a quotation from Lord Coke to the effect that a grant in due form of a perpetual right to the rent of land, works, in law, a conveyance of the land from which the rent is derived. "For what," says he, "is the land but the profits thereof ?"

This rule of English law was allied to the system of entail, and it had its origin in that system probably. Of its soundness there is no question. It would not follow, however, even in Great Britain, that an income tax on rents would be treated as a

tax on land. However that may be, the rule should be otherwise in the United States. The common law of England extends not beyond the definition of words and phrases known to that law. In many of the States, and with great probability of truth, it may be said that in all the States, the rent of land, when earned, is not distinguishable from other personal property. Upon the death of a landowner his land vests immediately in his heirs-at-law, but rents, earned and uncollected, pass to the executor or administrator. This general policy has its basis in sound reason, and, if it had been accepted, it would have disposed of the contention that for the purposes of taxation the rent of land is not distinguishable from the land itself.

Holmes speaks of a rule of English law touching entailed estates, calls it "early law," and refers it to the times of the Seventh and Eighth Henrys, by which uncollected rents, earned in the lifetime of a tenant, passed with the estate to the new tenant. If such a system existed in this country the quotation from Lord Coke would give some support to the contention.

In this summary view, rather than review, of the opinion of the Court, I have not been influenced by any partiality for the statute of 1894. There ought not to have been occasion for the passage of an income tax act, and it is not improbable that the law will fail, in part, if not altogether, and upon the ground that it is lacking in the quality of uniformity.

The gravity of the decision is in the exemption of rents and incomes of real estate from taxation, except through the system of apportionment, which, in my opinion, has ceased to be a practical and practicable means of raising a revenue.

If the immense incomes derived from real estate are exempt from taxation, there is no moral foundation for the levy of a tax upon professions or pursuits, or upon earnings or upon incomes other than rents. At the end it appears difficult to escape two conclusions—one of law and one of fact:

First: The provision of the Constitution by which direct taxes are apportioned among the States upon the basis of population, is a dead provision, it having become inoperative by the extension of territory and by the unequal distribution of wealth, especially between the old States and the new.

The levy in 1861 of a direct tax of twenty million dollars upon the States was a failure. It was paid by some of the States and

neglected by others. The experience under the Confederation was renewed, and after a quarter of a century the States that had paid the tax were reimbursed.

It is not probable that the experiment can be again tried under circumstances more favorable. The power of the general government to levy taxes on, or by, or through the States, has been annihilated by events, and every attempt to transfer additional subjects of taxation to the jurisdiction of that clause is, *quoad hoc*, an attempt to impair the means by which alone the continuing existence of the national government is made secure.

Second: Inasmuch as the Constitution gives to Congress power "to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises," and inasmuch as the full and free exercise of that power is the chief, if not the only, means by which Congress can "pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," which is the injunction laid upon Congress, it follows that the limiting clauses in the Constitution are to be construed strictly. Nothing is to be excepted out of the powers of Congress beyond what is expressly declared to be so excepted.

Such, manifestly, was the rule of construction adopted by the Court in the case of Hylton, when, of the four members of the Court, two had been members of the Convention of 1787.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

II.—THE SPIRIT OF THE TAX.

BY PLAIN-SPEAKER.

THE speeches of our law-makers while the present income tax was under discussion clearly demonstrate that hostility against capital exercised a more direct influence in the imposition of the tax than the need of revenue. This is the difference between the present tax and that of war times, and constitutes the gravest objection against it. In short, the present income tax springs from the desire to make the wealthy uncomfortable in retaliation for the greater comforts they enjoy through their wealth. The action of the Supreme Court in excluding rents from taxation, therefore, gives a touch of opera bouffe to the situation. As a general rule, the wealthiest have a large portion of their fortunes in real estate. Following out the instinct that imposed this tax we might call

them the drones. Yet they are to pay nothing on their revenue from real estate, and are even privileged to have the expenses of its maintenance deducted from their taxable income. Thus the man who derives his sole income from a salary, or from a business—in effect, who depends on his energy and his thrift—is punished, the occupant of the easy chair is favored.

But while the measure has miscarried in part, the law remains on our statute books, and the principle of class taxation stands.

What will be the effect of the tax? Can rents be brought within the scope of the tax by the Supreme Court in any rehearing? Will the clause of the Constitution as to "direct" taxes be wiped out by constitutional amendment? Will the tax continue in its present shape, or will it become a dead letter?

First, a word as to its most immediate effect.

Now, people of moderate means will probably interpret the tax in a liberal spirit, giving the government the benefit of the doubt on the many doubtful points in the measure. They will naturally fear the expense of a suit, for their time is valuable to them and they will prefer to suffer injustice, as the amount involved is small. In the case of the very rich, however, and where the amount is excessive, it will pay to employ counsel, and in many instances the suits will be won. Hence the income tax falls most severely on those of moderate means. Besides, a conscientious person is placed at a disadvantage. He does not wish to evade, so the tax plays directly into the hands of the crafty. All these arguments have been urged before, and I need not repeat them further; but a feeling of irritation will pervade all who pay this tax as they recognize that it was imposed upon them in spite, so to speak.

"Many will make up for the tax," an acquaintance observed to me, "by curtailing their charities. They will go further," he added, "and find an excuse for reducing their charities even beyond the amount of the tax they have paid, for when class is arrayed against class the pleasure of giving vanishes."

The spirit behind the splendid gifts that have so distinguished our wealthy citizens will be chilled, if not extinguished. Such public benefactions as our Astor libraries, our Roosevelt hospitals, our Lick observatories, our Stanford universities, will hardly be repeated, when during life a pistol is held at the head of the possessors of our large fortunes for being rich.

As regards the future of the tax, the likelihood of the Supreme Court's reversing its decision on rents in any rehearing is doubtful, I think, as long as the *personnel* of the court remains as it is at present. Nor would apportionment among the different States be acceptable to such poorer States as Colorado or the Dakotas, for instance. The effort will rather be to wipe out the "direct clause" in the Constitution by constitutional amendment. The success of this effort will largely depend, I think, upon economic conditions.

If labor returns to its formerly prosperous condition, if wheat goes up and agricultural values rebound, the attempt will lose its principal incentive. Indeed, under these problematical circumstances, and an excessive cost of collection, the income tax might be repealed, or even die a natural death. The question to be considered, therefore, is whether labor is likely to return to its previous condition. On carefully considering the situation, does it not seem that we are slowly but surely approximating the standard of values in older countries? If this be the case, are not wages more likely to decline than to advance? With increased facilities of transportation and closer communion with the world, an equalization in wages must ensue, to the enhancement of those in the less favored countries and the detriment of our own. In fact, has this decline not already begun? The cry for cheap silver money, the unsettled condition of the labor market during the past few years, the strikes and the convulsive efforts of labor organizations to maintain their status, all prove it.

These disturbances are but the cracklings of the ice after the waters beneath have begun to subside. We recognize the decline in well-being so far as our farmers are concerned, and fully appreciate that competition with India and South America has affected the value of their labor. In face of competition with Egypt our cotton has fallen to such a point that its growth at this day hardly pays the producer. Yet the irrigation works now in process of construction in Egypt will, I have heard, increase the yields of Egyptian cotton by fifty per cent. Must this not tend to lower still further the rate of wages in the cotton districts of the South, if cotton is to be raised there at all? However unwelcome it be, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the products of our soil are continually falling with the opening of new fields in distant lands, with the introduction into them of superior methods

of farming and of improved agricultural machinery, and with decreasing rates of transportation. Roughly speaking, fifty per cent. of our population are engaged in agriculture. Can this proportion of our people suffer a diminution in the value of their labor without consequence to the rest? No! Wages generally must follow the decline in agricultural values, not down to, but towards, the standard of wages in older countries. The greater demand for labor in the development of a new country and our ingenuity as a people will sustain us on a higher level than the others; but the difference will not be so marked as it has been, and the trend must be downwards. With this decline will come increased severity in the struggle for existence. We will all have to work harder. Gold will no longer reward the careless seeker in nuggets, so to speak, but must be acquired by more careful processes of mining, as land must be farmed more inexpensively and laboriously to yield a return. I do not mean that the cream of our prosperity has been skimmed with our virgin soil, but we are nearer the milk and smaller profits in every branch of industry. There may be special cases where labor will approach its old rates and exceptional conditions that will still make wages high, but the halcyon days of high wages for the laborer have unfortunately passed, as have the halcyon days of eight per cent. investments for the capitalist. With this increased severity in the struggle for existence there comes enhanced hostility against the rich. Therefore, if the tax remains on our statute books, the incentive to secure the passage of a constitutional amendment removing the "direct clause" of the constitution, so as to permit of the taxing of rents, becomes intensified, and the attempt undoubtedly will have a certain show of reason. For if you once admit the principle that a class can be taxed, common fairness cannot exclude the class which derives its revenue from the source that is supposed to be the surest and easiest. Frankly, on reading the decision of the Supreme Court, I am uncertain whether inheritances, if in real estate, can be taxed now; but if not, and the direct clause be wiped out, real estate inheritances ought certainly to be included. To change the constitution, however, is a very difficult matter. The same result could be attained either by a change in the *personnel* of the court on a vacancy in that body, or by pressure on the present members. Sooner or later, the court must reflect the popular

will. The tax being then made uniform as regards rents, and its incongruities being removed, the question arises, will the rate remain as it is before the growing hostility against the rich on the part of the poor? On the contrary, will the rate not be increased? Inevitably, I think, it will.

The well-to-do will no more be able to stay an increase than they have been to stay the imposition of the tax itself. They have already been separated from the rest of the community, the dividing line being at four thousand dollars. They have been constituted a class apart, especially chosen to bear the burdens of taxation. It is not in human nature for those who have nothing to resist the temptation of increasing the taxes of the well-to-do. This increase would probably be arrived at by the insertion of the progressive feature in the tax. You can resist socialism, anarchy, because these would affect the people at large, but a progressive tax on income and inheritance would fall immediately but on the few. You cannot declare that it is visionary—it is very actual and real—yet it can be made to go as far as the wildest socialists dream. Once admit the principle that a small portion of the community can be penned off for taxation without the rest—a portion that must necessarily be, if not unpopular, at least the subjects of envy on the part of the many—and their sacrifice must follow. What Jew, what Catholic, what Protestant, would not recognize that his religion was on the edge of the precipice if he were marked off for taxation, however slight, because he belonged to one of these denominations? Being already separated into a class apart, the well-to-do will be so easy to reach, when the time comes to augment their burdens, that it will be impossible not to increase their burdens.

They will have a continually declining following to resist a progressive tax. They are in a more dangerous position than the Jew, if he were separated off for taxation, because they are so much fewer. The arguments that they will be able to urge in their own behalf will not be listened to. They are too subtle, too intangible, too distant. Looking about them, the mass of voters see so much wealth that has been acquired through peculation, through connivance of legislatures and through lobbying, through improper grants of franchises by boards of aldermen and municipalities, that already they lump all wealth in the same category. When, as I have tried to show, their own struggle for

existence will be keener, and they more clearly perceive that they hold the wealth of the wealthy in the hollow of their hands, they will be impelled by a species of religious fury to equalize the condition of men.

You say, perhaps, my argument is the reverse of what one might have expected. Because labor promises to be less well remunerated; therefore, relieve the wealthy of their loads. Though so much wealth has been piratically acquired, still fight the battle for the rich. Alas! by destroying the rich you do not benefit the poor. Stated as a general proposition, we are aware that if you tax wealth unduly, it ceases to be productive. It hangs back, flies to other countries, and in the end reacts on labor by contracting its enterprises. This the experience of the world has shown us, but it requires many repetitions and occasionally a revolution to enforce the lesson.

Feeling as I do, that wealth is the rock on which all national prosperity rests, I maintain that this is not a mere question of preserving the wealth of the wealthy; it is a question of preserving the Republic, now for the first time assailed as all other republics have been. For the taxing of the rich man is the peculiar temptation of democracies, and assaults upon him have before now proved the nail in the coffin of popular government. What then is to be done? Is the struggle hopeless? No; there is an opportunity to remove the tax from the statute book—an opportunity once missed that will probably never return. When the country at large begins to appreciate the effect of the Supreme Court's decision on rents, there will be a temporary fit of hostility against the tax. Its incongruities and absurdities will stand out in such bold relief that for the moment it may be successfully assailed. Let those who have fought it renew their effort against it and seize this favorable occasion for its repeal. For if it is continued on the statute book as it is at present, a change in the *personnel* of the Supreme Court may allow of a different decision on rents without the passage of any constitutional amendment: the popularity of the measure with the mass of people will be established and we shall have entered upon the attractive and easy road that infallibly leads to national destruction.

PLAIN-SPEAKER.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

V.—THE ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

"DURING the week that passed between the public announcement of the Emperor's forthcoming marriage with Mlle. de Montijo and the celebration of the marriage itself, civilized Europe simply went mad with excitement, and the whole of it was virtually transmitted to Paris like a telegraphic message." This sentence was written less than six weeks after the event, and on the writer's return from a dinner party at the Tuileries. It forms part of one of the notes given to me by M. de Maupas, shortly after I had translated his *Story of the Coup d'Etat*, and I have every reason to believe that their author was an English nobleman. The note in question proceeds as follows:

"The excitement has not abated; if anything, it appears to be on the increase, and especially is this the case with the immediate *entourage* of the Imperial couple. The whole of to-night's entertainment looked to me unreal, something like a banqueting scene of an opera, and I should not have been surprised to find the capon under my knife to consist of cardboard and my 'goblet of sparkling wine' 'full of emptiness,' with a rim of cotton-wool to represent the foam of the champagne 'that was not there.' I fancy, moreover, that this feeling of unreality, which obtruded itself on me at intervals, exists permanently among the majority of the new Imperial household, and is not altogether absent from the minds of the Emperor and Empress themselves, although they play their *rôles* with consummate skill and ease, especially the Empress; but their marvellous self-control is calculated to deceive every one except perhaps those who, like myself, are constantly on the watch. Different is it with the majority of

their chamberlains, courtiers, servants, though not with the *dames d'honneur*. In spite of the former's phenomenal *aplomb* and their irreproachable *tenue*, they 'give themselves away' more frequently, for the slightest noise seems to startle them, and they are constantly glancing at the doors and behind them as if expecting some sudden catastrophe which shall fling them back into the humdrum existence from which they have just emerged, or worse. '*Mon ami*,' said Vély Pasha, to whom I communicated this impression; '*Mon ami*, you are right, and I may compliment you on your powers of imagination which enable you to enter into their feelings. To me, or to a Russian* of my age, that kind of look presents nothing unusual; it is the kind of haunted look which you may notice on the face of nearly every Turkish or Russian Court official after a more or less successful palace-revolution, when they expect at every moment the doors of the apartment to be flung open and a company of soldiers to lay hands on them and their fellow guests. In a few months from hence that look will gradually disappear, especially if the more cordial recognition of *le fait accompli* or of *les faits accomplis*, both of the Empire and the marriage, be forthcoming from the Courts of Europe. The Emperor is moving heaven and earth to obtain that recognition. Will he succeed? I fancy he will. His most formidable opponent at present is King Leopold, who is spreading all kinds of reports about him. It is Leopold who has been trying for the last twelvemonth to persuade Queen Victoria that the restoration of the French Empire means a perpetual danger to England. It was Leopold who put a spoke into the Emperor's wheel when the latter asked for Princess Adelaide's hand; and Palmerston, in spite of his own cleverness and his dislike of the late Louis Philippe and his family, was unable to checkmate Leopold in that respect. What he did prevent, and will continue to prevent, is the attempt to poison the Queen's mind politically against Louis Napoleon. He found an unexpected ally in Wellington, who, shortly before his death, went to the Queen, or sent her word to the effect that though Louis Napoleon might be unscrupulous he would not go to war with England. I know that you do not share either Palmerston's or Wellington's opinion, but you will find that they were right. What-

* Vély Pasha was the then Turkish ambassador to France. He was, I believe, of French extraction, and exceedingly well informed.

soever happens, the Emperor will not go to war with England, and that for various reasons; although I have not the least doubt that a war with England would be popular at any time in France. To begin with, a war with England would mean a naval war, and Louis Napoleon fosters no illusions on the subject of the French navy,* even if he could find a plausible pretext for such a war. The only question which the Emperor can take up at present in a hostile spirit is that of the Holy Places, and in that direction the interests of England and France appear for the moment identical. I say appear identical, inasmuch as both England and France would prevent Russia from laying hands on Constantinople on the pretext of protecting the Christians in the East. In reality, those among you who suspect the Emperor of a desire for war are not altogether wrong, but they mistake his main motive which is not the aggrandisement of France at the expense of this or that power. What he desires most is a showy, but, for all that, Platonic alliance, an alliance that will cast a glamour on his newly revived dynasty, or, to be correct, on himself and the consort whom he has chosen in direct defiance of all tradition. Such an alliance, unfortunately, cannot be contracted *à-propos de rien,* there must be a real or supposed adversary against whom to combine, and accident has befriended him in making Nicholas not only the most convenient enemy, but the sole enemy against whom an advantageous alliance from the Emperor's own point of view may be contracted. Just work out the problem for yourself,† always bearing in mind that the alliance itself is

* The Emperor could have fostered no illusions on the subject, seeing that a twelvemonth after this conversation—viz., at the outbreak of the Crimean War—Marshal St. Arnaud had to be conveyed to the scene of operations on a tug, while the Spahis, his particular escort, had to be satisfied with "La Belle Poule," the vessel that had brought Napoleon's remains from St. Helena more than twenty years before.

† The author of the note did not work out the problem—at any rate, not on paper; but it only requires a moment's thought to admit the justice of Vély Pasha's remarks. There were only two European powers to attack at that moment, Austria and Russia. To beard the former on the pretext of freeing Italy from her yoke, as was done in 1859, would have been too dangerous then for the home peace of France; for the clergy never mistook the final aim of a free Italy—namely, the occupation of Rome—and the clergy had especially to be reckoned with at the beginning of Napoleon III.'s reign. Besides, a war with Austria would have only given the Court of the Tuileries the advantage of an alliance with the Court of Turin, and Adelaide, Queen of Piedmont, who was an Austrian archduchess, was not sufficiently important to counteract the prejudices of Europe with regard to Mlle. de Montijo, even if she had consented to do so, which is extremely doubtful. To court the alliance of Prussia or Austria in a war against Russia would have been equally futile. Prussia was in those days under the tutelage of Nicholas, whose wife was the sister of the King of Prussia himself and of the heir-presumptive. Queen Elizabeth of Prussia (the wife of Frederick William IV.) would not have paid a visit to the Tuileries; Princess Augusta—afterwards Empress Augusta—would not have been allowed to go, if she had wished. Francis Joseph was a bachelor, and, moreover, under too recent obligations to Russia for her assistance in the suppression of the Hungarian insurrection.

the thing, and that it must afford not only the greatest number of chances of success from a military standpoint in case of need, but at the same time the greatest amount of social prestige obtainable. By which I mean that it must provide the most unexceptionable sponsor for himself and the Empress in the face of Europe. If you do work this out for yourself, you cannot fail to come to the conclusion that Queen Victoria is not only the most desirable ally, but, in fact, the only available one. A show of active good will on Queen Victoria's part will put an end at once to the equivocal situation of the Imperial couple ; it will reverse at once the unspoken sentence of ostracism delivered mentally against the Empress by the female members of the reigning houses of Europe ; it will, in fact, be tantamount to a presentation *en règle et en masse* at one of the 'drawing-rooms' at Buckingham Palace of all the adventurers and adventuresses among whom we happen to be seated at this moment.'

"I looked closely at Vély Pasha," says the author of the note, "in order to discern how much of all this was thrown out as a bait, and how much of it was founded upon knowledge. Two months ago (December, 1852), I had been told by a friend from London that they considered Louis Napoleon's somewhat too conspicuous concern about the Holy Places and the Latin Christians in the East as fraught with danger to the peace of Europe, and, at any rate, as premature. But no motive like that advanced by Vély Pasha had been assigned to it, for the simple reason that a marriage with Mlle. de Montijo was only decided on about the middle of January. Before that time the new Emperor's contemplated action in the matter was attributed to his wish to court favor with the clerical party. The new Empress, however, is also suspected of decided ultramontane tendencies, and both may be wanting to kill two flies with one blow. Be this as it may, there is no doubt about Vély Pasha's absolutely correct view of the actual situation. Directed against no matter whom, the first war of the Second Empire will be waged for the sake of securing to the Empress a different footing from that which she occupies at present.

"Candidly speaking, the present footing is the reverse of agreeable. The *grandes dames* of the Faubourg St. Germain, to whom the highest positions in the household of the Empress were offered, laughed the idea to scorn, as their grandmothers and

mothers had done to a certain extent when Napoleon I. made similar overtures to them at his marriage with Marie Louise. Napoleon I. foamed at the mouth, and swore at all those '*belles dames qui font les renchéries et ne veulent pas paraître à ma cour!*' and threatened to make them obey.

"He succeeded in a little while, because after all, the daughter of the Hapsburgs was as good as they, and there could be no comment on her past. His nephew, who has his temper under better control, and is less brutal and more witty, simply smiles and makes scathing remarks in the shape of epigrams. But epigrams, however brilliant, are not calculated to bring about the wished-for *rapprochement* between the women of the Tuileries and those of the Faubourg St. Germain. Some of the male members of the old nobility are showing a tendency to rally round the new *régime*. It will not do, perhaps, to scrutinize their motives too closely. They are influenced by pecuniary considerations or personal ambition.*

"But what ever these motives may be, they do not appear to be strong enough to affect the minds of the womankind of the new converts. They, the womankind, continue to stand aloof; their fathers, husbands, and brothers attend the Imperial receptions and entertainments by themselves. This makes it awkward for the six or seven true gentlewomen by whom the Empress is surrounded, for, in spite of Vély Pasha's wholesale condemnation, all the women are not adventuresses, but the men, with the exception of the contingent from the Faubourg St. Germain, and a *very few* others, have all a more or less shady past, and that notwithstanding their high-sounding titles, which in the majority of cases are real enough. 'I do not know a single individual here who in any other country would pass muster as a commonly honest man.' Thus wrote Finch, the English ambassador to the court of Elizabeth of Russia, and his sentence will almost hold good with regard to the civil members of the Emperor's household, for, as I have said, with the exception of the new comers from the Faubourg St. Germain and a few others, such as, for in-

* Shortly after the re-establishment of the Senate (January, 1852) its members passed a bill, conferring upon the Emperor the right of granting senators an annual gratification varying from 15,000 to 30,000 francs. The Emperor had the nomination of 150 senators. Dupin was one of the first to be appointed. But, as the author of the above note remarks, all the new converts were not influenced by money considerations. The Duc de Guiche, the playfellow of the Comte de Chambord, and to whom the Comte's aunt had left £40,000 per annum, could not have been thus influenced. This was the future Duc de Gramont, who rushed France into the war of 1870.

stance, Walewski, Mocquard, and Ferdinand Barrot, they have all been involved in discreditable money transactions. The *vieille noblesse,* though clean in that respect until now, will not remain clean long, for albeit that the Empire is very young, there is the smell of booty in the air, and, unless I am utterly mistaken, the smell will even corrupt what has been hitherto the most invulnerable section of the French nation, the French army, by which, of course, I mean the higher grades.

"As it is, these civilians are, as yet, the most interesting to the dispassionate observer, especially those who for reasons which it is impossible to guess and rarely possible to ascertain, have been pitchforked into high places. The number of civilian craftsmen who 'staged' the *coup d'état* is pretty well-known; they are Persigny and Maupas; yet, to see these new-fangled dignitaries strut and pose, to hear them talk, one would really think that each of them had borne the whole brunt of the affair. There is a minister* who would fain have us believe that he furnished thousands upon thousands to defray the expenses of the *coup d'état.* As it happens I know for a fact that the *coup d'état* was carried out with very little money, one might say without any money, for the President had not sufficient to settle the notes that were sent in afterwards for the refreshment of the troops, though the whole amount did not exceed 15,000 francs. I have heard this boast on the part of the minister for the last three months, and the other day while at luncheon with Véron, I happened to mention it. Sophie, his housekeeper,† was in the room, and as she is an old and trusty servant, the like of whom one rarely sees off the stage, she often gives her opinion on men and things without being asked. 'He lent the Emperor money!' she interrupted, '*vraiment la plaisanterie est trop bonne. Voyons, monsieur,*' turning to her master: 'you know well enough that he would not lend a *traître sou* (a red cent) to any one to save him from starvation. Does not monsieur remember his coming in one morning after he had been to see the President, and his telling monsieur how nicely he had been received? Thereupon he told monsieur,' this particularly to me, 'that the President had offered to make him a

*At the especial request of the Edito. of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, I have suppressed nearly all the names from this note.

†She was a famous character. I have given a short account of her in *An Englishman in Paris,* Vol. I., Chap. 3.

minister.' "Why didn't you accept?" asked monsieur. "I would have done so," answered he, "but I was afraid of his asking me to lend him some money." 'It's quite true,' Véron burst out laughing. 'I had forgotten all about it.'

"There is also an equally brand-new chamberlain, who goes about bellowing that as long as he remains at the Tuileries not a hair of the Emperor's head will be hurt—that, in fact, he will be the French Roustan to Napoleon III., while every one knows that a few months before the *coup d'état* he said repeatedly to any and every one who would listen to him that 'Louis Napoleon ought to be got rid of,' and that 'the man who should put a bullet through his head would deserve well of his country.' "

I have given this note *in extenso* because I feel convinced, from collateral evidence, both from English and French sources, that it contains the explanation of France's share in the Crimean War. My reason for not producing that evidence is simply want of space. By this time Napoleon III. had become fully alive to the necessity of counteracting the unfavorable impression produced throughout Europe by the *faits et gestes* of his courtiers, which doings formed the main topic of the despatches sent by the various ambassadors to their governments. To check, let alone put an end to, those doings was at that moment absolutely impossible, for the simple reason that such an attempt would have entailed the banishment of the whole of his family from the Tuileries and perhaps from France; for those whose foremost aim and duty it should have been to preserve the by no means unsullied records of the Bonapartes from additional stains, seemed bent on besmirching those records still further, and to this charge there is scarcely an exception.

The whole of the Emperor's family, with the exception of Anna Murat, afterwards Duchesse de Mouchy, vied with one another to bring the dynasty into contempt; and the Emperor, when exposure became imminent, had to bear the brunt of their misdoings to avoid public scandal.

Every now and then there was a comic side to the Emperor's part of mediator, financial stopgap, and universal peacemaker, especially when complications of a somewhat flighty nature had to be adjusted, in which cases the sovereign was made the scapegoat for the doings of both parties, sometimes with his will, more often against it.

As time goes on and the dynasty becomes apparently more consolidated at home and abroad, this original attitude of *sans-gêne* with regard to the Emperor will assume a form which even the least observant cannot fail to notice, for there lies one of the germs of the Franco-German War. As yet, however, we are at the period immediately before and after the outbreak of the Crimean War, when Napoleon III. is still the sole dispenser of the good things, when the adventurers around him are not sufficiently daring, but above all not sufficiently accredited in the eyes of France, whom eventually they are to bleed in all her veins, to help themselves. The "Haussmannizing" of Paris, that theoretically honest, beneficent and gigantic idea, is only in its infancy, and has not been corrupted into a system of shameless robbery and the forebear of systems equally shameless. In one word, the sovereign is as yet the sovereign, considerably hampered by his past, it is true, and often yielding where he ought to resist, but not the puppet of the most gangrened society that ever existed on the face of the civilized earth, as will be seen later on.

Meanwhile the struggle in the Crimea was running its course; the battles of the Alma, Balaclava and Inkermann had been fought, but with the exception of a State visit from the Queen to the French ambassador in London in 1854, the Anglo-French alliance had not been productive of the results which according to Vély Pasha were the chief motive of that alliance on the part of Napoleon III. I quote once more from one of the notes given to me by M. de Maupas; but, unlike the first, this one appears not to have been written at one sitting.

"The French are almost apathetic with regard to the news from the seat of war. There was no enthusiasm at the tidings of the victorious engagements, and for once in a way the magic of the word *gloire* seems to fail in its effect, not only on the masses, but also on the better classes; and this, notwithstanding the efforts of the newspapers to work the oracle. This lukewarmness on the part of the nation is not due to the fact of 'the glory being divided,' as some of my English friends who were here a few days ago suggest. It is due to the impression generally prevailing that France is taking the chestnuts out of the fire for England to munch; in other words, that France is being made the catspaw of England. And the impression is shared by the court itself; for, of course, no one outside the court circles

and very few within have a definite idea of the real reason that prompted the Emperor to contract this alliance—for I begin to think that Vély Pasha was absolutely correct in his surmises. If so, the Emperor and Empress must be greatly disappointed, for as yet no invitation from Windsor has reached the Tuileries. That both are clever enough to hide their disappointment there is not the shadow of a doubt; at the same time, the Empress, who is a Spaniard and consequently impulsive, may have dropped a few words expressing her dissatisfaction with things as they appear, while still hiding her real thoughts, and these words have no doubt been magnified and spread about. The Empress is slowly gathering round her a coterie—as yet it is not a party—whose avowed mission, or rather pretension it is to take a share in politics. Their targets at present are Jérôme and his son, which puts the Emperor in an awkward position; for, not to mince matters, I believe the Emperor is afraid of Jérôme's son and I am not the only one who fosters this belief. Lord Cowley said as much the other day.

"Success at last! The Emperor and Empress are going to England about the middle of next month.* The visit, from what I hear of those who do know, will be the upshot of a cleverly enacted comedy within a comedy. How far it will deceive those who, in spite of themselves perhaps, have been drawn into the cast, I am unable to say, but two of the principal actors, the Emperor and the Empress, have every reason to be satisfied. It appears that some months ago the Emperor expressed his intention to Lord Clarendon to take command of the army in the Crimea. Clarendon quietly told the Emperor to abandon the idea, and the matter was not referred to again until within the last fortnight or three weeks, when the Empress at one of the receptions, took Lord Cowley aside, and with tears in her eyes, communicated to him that the Emperor had reverted to his original intention and was determined this time to carry it through. 'I cannot and dare not dissuade the Emperor; if I did, there might be an outcry against me;' the Empress said, or words to that effect. The Empress also as good as said that in this instance her usual influence over the Emperor would be of no avail, that in fact she did not have much faith in any one's in-

* This part of the note must, therefore, have been written in March, 1855. The remaining part seems also divided by a short interval.

fluence except perhaps that of the English court. Two or three days afterwards Cowley had a private letter from England on the same subject, stating that both Walewski and Countess Walewski had expressed a similar opinion. Cowley gives one pretty clearly to understand that he did not for one single moment believe in the Emperor's genuine intention to go to the Crimea, or in the Empress' belief in that intention, at the same time he is quite willing to admit that the Emperor would have gone if the invitation to Windsor had not been given. As that, still according to Cowley's admission, was a contingency to be avoided at all costs, he also set to work to procure the invitation, but whosoever else is, Cowley is not the dupe of the comedy.

"The visit to England, it appears, has gone off most admirably. If it was a comedy, the London crowd, the City Corporation, the public bodies have seconded the Queen and Prince Albert in a marvellous manner in the spectacular part of it. For though Londoners are not more intelligent than the dwellers in other capitals of Europe, a good many among the former must have had an idea, however vague, that all the traditions of the English Court and the private life of the sovereign herself were opposed to the reception *en famille* of this very brand new Imperial couple. But the Queen having said "A," her good-tempered Londoners were determined to proceed to the last letter of the alphabet, and before they were half through with it made the comedy a reality. Of course, the unquestionable beauty of the Empress has had something to do with this spontaneity, but if I read the private accounts which have reached me aright, the Emperor himself did more than any one else to provoke that enthusiasm by the masterly interpretation of his part. He adopted the tactics he had found so effectual at Strasburg and Ham and Boulogne during his presidential journeys, and without waiting for people to remind him of his adventurous past, he reminded people of it. What was cleverer still, he did it *dès son entrée en scène*, as the French would say. As the Royal and Imperial procession wound its way up St. James' Street, less than an hour after his arrival, he stood up in his carriage and showed the Empress the lodgings in King Street he had occupied when his future seemed dark and dreary enough.* That, unless I am

* History always repeats itself. The first time Napoleon I. and Marie-Louise crossed the Pont-Neuf together, the Emperor stood up in his carriage and pointed out to his bride a house on the Quai Conti. Great consternation of the tradesmen

mistaken in my own countrymen, 'did the trick.' Next day, the story went the round of the papers, supplemented by other anecdotes from those who had known Prince Louis when he was a familiar figure at the clubs and at Lady Blessington's; the writers vying with one another in laying stress on the indomitable strength of will in adversity of the new Emperor and conveniently forgetting how they had laughed that strength of will to scorn at the time of its display. In short, twenty-four hours after the raising of the curtain upon that particular act of the comedy, the author of the play as well as *all* the actors in it, seeing that every one was satisfied, might have asked one another with Don Basile in *Le Barbier de Séville*—'*Qui trompe-t-on ici? tout le monde est dans le secret.*' As it happened, every one was not let into the secret, not even among those who ought to have made it their business to be—I am referring to the *corps diplomatique*. Mr. Buchanan, the United States Minister in London, had no idea that all this was a comedy and that the Emperor no more intended to proceed to the Crimea than Mr. Buchanan himself. He was under the impression that this great show of goodwill to the Emperor was a kind of 'God's speed' on his journey to the seat of war. At the reception at Walewski's the Emperor went up to Mr. Buchanan expressing the hope that he would see him at the forthcoming Exhibition, and at the same time mentioning his regret that the United States should not be represented more effectually, from an industrial and manufacturing point of view, at the New Palais de l'Industrie. The fact is, there has been already a good deal of comment on this absence of competition on the part of the United States, and in some quarters it has been construed into a political manifestation of a hostile nature to the Emperor himself, if not against the Empire, To do the Emperor justice, it should be said that he never speaks but in terms of the greatest admiration of America; and he probably felt somewhat sore on the subject, though I feel certain that he did not show his annoyance. Mr. Buchanan, with great tact, replied

on the quay, who were under the impression that the whole of their dwellings had been singled out for demolition, and in those days there was no Municipal Council to have contested the will of the sovereign, who had, however, no such intention. He was simply pointing out to the Empress the house on the fifth floor of which he had lodged, when he came to Paris from Brienne. I remember, when a youth, seeing the tablet which had been placed in front of the house since 1853, in commemoration of the fact. *L'Empereur Napoléon Bonaparte, officier d'artillerie, sortant de l'école de Brienne, demeurait au* 5me *étage de cette maison.*

that he was shortly going back to the United States, which would make it difficult therefore to accept the Emperor's invitation. 'Steam is a wonderful thing in shortening distances,' said the Emperor. 'True, sire ;' replied the Minister with somewhat less tact than he had shown before. 'The distance between Paris and Washington is perhaps less great than between Paris and Sebastopol, whither your Majesty, I am told, is going.' This time the Emperor was visibly annoyed. 'This is entirely my own concern, and no one but myself knows anything about it,' he said, drawing himself up and leaving Mr. Buchanan to stare almost open-mouthed at him. I can understand the astonishment of the Minister, but he could not, for the simple reason that he had neglected to keep himself posted up in the undercurrents of the moment, a thing which no diplomatist should neglect. He had unwittingly reminded Napoleon III. that all the cheers, all the speeches, all the bunting, all the State pageantry of the last few days were virtually the result of a false pretence on Napoleon's part, and Napoleon did not like it."

Here ends the note which, together with the one that preceded it, lets in more light on the secret causes of France's share in the Crimean War than any number of so-called political histories. The first war of the Second Empire was undertaken not for political but for social purposes, namely, to give the new Empress the sponsor she lacked face to face with the sovereigns of Europe. The second (1859) was waged to save the emperor himself from assassination ; the third (Mexico) in order to cover the frauds of Morny in connection with the Jecker bonds : the fourth for the sake of securing the tottering Napoleonic dynasty to the Prince Imperial. I fancy I have already proved the first of these four contentions ; I will endeavor to make good the other three in the course of these papers.

One thing is absolutely certain. Even amidst the excitement caused by the Queen's return visit to Napoleon III., Paris, if not the whole of France, distinguished clearly between the sovereign and the nation over which she ruled. I am enabled to speak about this without reference to notes, for four months after the termination of that visit, I set foot in the French capital for the first time, and although I was but a mere lad, I paid a great deal of attention to the conversations around me, for the simple reason, perhaps, that there was little else to do. The

relatives with whom I had come to stay were old bachelors, our home was the habitual resort of a number of men of note, and I had no companions of my own age. I could not but listen; and being blessed—or cursed—with an excellent memory, I remember those conversations, after forty years, as if I had heard them yesterday. And the subject of the Queen's visit and France's relations with England seemed inexhaustible, especially after the return of the French troops from the Crimea; a spectacle which I was privileged to witness three days after my arrival. It was on that occasion that I also caught my first glimpse of Napoleon III. as the troops marched past him on the Place Vendôme after he had ridden along the whole length of the Grand Boulevards to receive them on the Place de la Bastille. We had a "police-pass," and were allowed to walk in the middle of the road, unhindered by any one. Though I did not speak French so fluently as I do now, I understood everything that was said. "This is the revenge of Moscou," remarked my grand-uncle to a friend whom we met. "You are mistaken, dear friend," was the reply, "it is the stultification of Waterloo and St. Helena." Though I understood the words, I did not understand their sense, and when we got home I asked, for I had been taught to ask. My uncle explained as well as he could to a lad of thirteen, and, presumptuous as it may sound, I did understand. From that moment I have never ceased to understand that no amount of diplomatic tall-talk or soft-sawder will ever remove from the French mind the dislike of the English. I understood it still better when, a week later, a friend of my relatives, a surgeon-major who had just returned from the Crimea, paid them a visit. He was one of those courteous gentlemen, the like of whom are fast dying out in France, but his courtesy notwithstanding, he had not a good word to say for any of the English officers with the exception of Colin Campbell. He did not for one moment question their bravery and refrained from commenting on their military talents. He was simply dwelling upon their innate, albeit carefully suppressed, antagonism to the French. "The men are different," he said, "they fraternize well enough, especially the Irish and the French. I remember," he continued, "when the more minute accounts of the Queen's visit to Paris came. There was not a single one whose face did not show the most intense disgust. I understand but little English, but I

understood their faces well enough. The English soldiers suffered a great deal more than the French, mainly on account of their inability to make the best of things, and on account of their more naturally cleanly habits, but much of this suffering might have been avoided if the men had been allowed to come into closer contact with ours, for there is no doubt that the British troops would not have been above taking a lesson from our men in many things. But the officers systematically set their face against this comradeship. Yes, we have done wonderful things, as the result will prove. In a score of years from this day, England will have reaped all the benefit from this campaign, and France will be left in the cold when she wants an ally. The French are grown-up children and easily pleased. It appears that Victor Emmanuel came a month or so ago. That visit will cost France another war."

He said much more, for which I cannot find space here, but I shall have occasion to quote now and then from his recollections which he left to my grand-uncles. They are chiefly anecdotal, and refer to the Franco-Austrian rather than to the Crimean War. He had been away nearly two years, and the transformation Paris had undergone during that time struck him greatly. "I suppose it's all right. *L'Empire* means peace at home. After all, French soldiers would sooner fight for a cause not their own than not fight at all. The Emperor knows this, but he may fight once too often."

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(To be Continued.)

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY, THE JAPANESE MINISTER AT WASHINGTON, S. KURINO.

THERE are many important reasons why the people of this country should be interested in the future of Japan. Apart from the peculiar historical ties which unite the two nations, the changing circumstances of their respective positions promise to give enhanced importance to their relations. In the past, Japan has received from the United States proofs of a spirit of altruism rare, if not unique, in the intercourse of nations. The good will thus so strongly evinced still exists, but the people of this country are apparently awakening to the fact that they have more than a merely sentimental interest in the momentous events which are now transpiring in the East. Hitherto, in relation to Eastern affairs, circumstances have compelled the United States to play to a great extent the part of a spectator. Their own domestic concerns have absorbed the attention of the people, and foreign intercourse and trade and commerce, with Oriental peoples at least, have been matters of secondary interest. It is true that Commodore Perry made the first treaty with Japan, and that the United States have always held a leading position not alone in that country, but in China also. But it is not going too far to say that the great American Republic has not yet utilized to the full the opportunities it has had in this regard. Now, however, as I have said, there are signs of a change. The motives of enlightened self-interest, which are, after all, the chief springs of national action, are beginning to assert themselves, and there is evident in this country a growing disposition to recognize the fact that no other Western power has greater or more vital interests in the East than the United States. The relations of the two countries in the past have given proof

of a partial realization of this fact; in the future the feeling must inevitably grow and strengthen.

Whatever may be the merits of our present controversy with China, and however great the advantages we have achieved, I do not believe that any thoughtful Japanese will regard them either as our ultimate object or as the consummation of our hopes. We have attracted the world's notice, it is true, by what we have done in this war; but, with the pride which every patriotic Japanese must take in his country's success, there must go the wish to show that we are capable of triumphs in peace as well as of victories in war. Military strength and military aptitude are vital factors in the well-being of every nation, but they are not all. The display of these qualities by the Japanese nation may be what has drawn upon them the eye of the world just at present. That would, of course, be only natural. War is spectacular, and when successfully waged becomes a sure title to the respect, if not the esteem, of mankind. But Japan has not been striving all these years for this one object. Her military affairs have been carefully developed only as an indispensable adjunct to the national welfare. They have not, however, absorbed any greater share of attention than they would have received from any other nation in similar circumstances. We hope that we have made advances in other directions quite as remarkable as in our adoption of Western methods of warfare, and we believe that with us in the future, as in the past, no more consideration will be devoted to questions of military defense and military prestige than a due regard for the honor and welfare of the Empire may require.

This much of explanation is necessary, because it seems to be assumed in certain quarters that Japanese progress since the Restoration has been confined to the acquisition of military strength, and that the future policy of the nation will be directed upon similar lines. The idea is an entirely mistaken one. Perhaps there is no better way of showing the error that underlies it, than by describing the changes that have taken place in the military system of Japan since our Emperor assumed the full exercise of the prerogatives of the throne in 1868. The Shiogunate, as history shows, had been dependent upon the samurai, or ancient military class, for the maintenance of its power and prestige. They were the backbone of the feudal system, of which the Shiogunate itself was the most complete epitome, at least in comparatively modern times. The

endurance of that system for more than two centuries almost without change was due, in no small degree, to the special rights and immunities conferred by the laws of Iyeyasu upon the favored military class. This system had its advantages and disadvantages. While it preserved, no doubt, a spirit of chivalrous loyalty and of complete self-abnegation at the dictates of prescribed duty, it also created a class distinction which was not in harmony with the new order of things. One of the first problems which confronted the Imperial government upon the passing away of the Shiogunate was how to dispose of the services of the samurai. Many of them naturally assumed new obligations and entered upon the discharge of new duties. Many others, however, did not assimilate so readily with the changed conditions of the times. The government was able, by a system of pensions, substituted for the support which they had received up to that time from feudal lords, to supply the wants of a portion of their retainers. But these pensions were necessarily inadequate, and a great deal of distress ensued. Revolts and *émeutes* of a more or less serious character followed in different parts of the Empire, proving that the existence of a large class of men trained exclusively to the use of arms was a menace to the public order. The remedy applied was radical. A law was passed providing for general conscription among all classes of Japanese, thus removing the danger of a dominant military class by the adoption of a method of maintaining the military strength of the Empire similar to that employed by the majority of civilized nations. Thus, at one blow, the samurai lost the prestige they had enjoyed as the sole privileged military caste. The drastic nature of this measure can be appreciated best by one who fully understands the peculiar relations in which the samurai stood in ancient times to the rest of the population of Japan. The change was as complete as it would have been in one of the countries of Europe in the Middle Ages, had the privilege of wearing the spurs of knighthood been conferred by one stroke of the pen upon every hewer of wood and tiller of soil in the land.

This one act, it seems to me, solves the question of militarism so far as the future of Japan is concerned. Our standing army is not large in proportion to the population, and it is recruited impartially from every class. Recent events have proved that it is efficient, but they do not prove that it has been created and main-

tained with a view to prospective conquest or for the purpose of exercising a dominating influence in domestic affairs, as some critics have alleged. I believe it will be admitted that the system upon which it rests has been capably and honestly administered. It should also be equally apparent to all who have full knowledge of the facts that that system is only one of a number of changes which have been introduced into our domestic polity, not at haphazard or by accident, but deliberately, and in pursuance of a general, harmonious plan.

Perhaps no event has occurred of recent years in Japan which has attracted so much attention as the establishment of a constitutional and parliamentary form of government. Certainly there is no change which is liable to have a more potent influence upon the future of the nation. Here again our critics have gone astray. It has been assumed that this important step was the result, if not of a sudden whim, at least of a resolve hastily taken and quickly carried into execution. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

The plan of establishing a constitutional government in Japan was formed upon the downfall of the Shiogunate in 1868. Upon assuming the full control of the administrative affairs of the Empire our Emperor took a solemn oath, which is the foundation of the constitutional form of government perfected in 1890. The design thus announced was kept constantly in view during all of the administrative changes which ensued. The formation of such a design was most natural under the circumstances. It was in no sense the Utopian dream of visionaries, but the result of the deliberate judgment of practical men of affairs. Japan had been dominated until then by an autocracy which ruled the country with a rod of iron. Our lawful sovereign, and his ancestors before him, had been deprived of the practical exercise of the prerogatives of sovereignty. It is true that the virtual usurpers could not supplant the lawful line of Emperors in the affection and reverence of the people; but, acting as the deputies, as it were, of the rightful rulers, they exercised substantially all the functions of government. The vital change which occurred in 1868 naturally produced a rebound. Our Emperor and the people alike had suffered from the same causes. He had been deprived of the control of the Empire, and they had suffered under a form of despotism which had concerned itself even with the most

trivial affairs of private life. What more natural, therefore, than that our Emperor should assure his subjects that the assumption by him of the exercise of all the prerogatives of the throne meant for them a fuller measure of personal liberty and a more direct participation in the affairs of government? Such a declaration was a logical sequence of the situation. In another sense it was a most statesmanlike measure, for it gave to the reverence and affection which the Japanese people have always felt for the throne an element of firm stability which time cannot shake.

The history of our country proves that in ancient times, before the military shioguns had usurped power, the ancestors of the Emperor exercised a mild and beneficent sway, which created much closer and more cordial relations between the governing and the governed than was subsequently the case. Consequently, the modern changes in the domestic administration of Japan have, for the people, to some degree the significance of a return to an older and better order of things. It is a fact, moreover, that even under the Shiogunate traces of ancient liberties in the shape of forms of partial self-government still remained among the people. They were only partial, and were confined to local affairs, but they remained as memories of popular rights once enjoyed and now revivified and broadened by the restoration of the Imperial House.

The methods adopted by the Emperor of Japan in conferring a constitutional form of government upon the nation are well known. The place which that act has taken in history is, also, I believe, equally well recognized. Such an act of voluntary abnegation by a sovereign of a portion of his prerogatives has been seldom, if ever, seen before. As I have tried to show, it was not the result of sudden impulse, but of deliberate and wise design. In proof of this is the fact that it was not finally effected until after extensive and thorough preparation. One change after another was made in the methods of administering public affairs in the years intervening between His Majesty's declaration of his intention to promulgate a constitution and to establish a parliament, and the final consummation of that purpose with the object of adequately preparing for its successful accomplishment. The most important of these was the establishment of prefectural and municipal assemblies, each having a certain control of local af-

fairs, and each designed to educate the people in the exercise of rights which, later on, they would be called upon to employ in a wider field. Finally, as a crowning work, came the constitution and the parliament in 1890.

Of the results of this final change it would, perhaps, be better for me to let the facts themselves speak. But it is certain that constitutional government is no longer an experiment in Japan. It has passed the empirical stage and is firmly established as one of the institutions of the country. No better proof of this could be afforded than the success with which it has weathered the stormy years of its infancy. The duties which it has imposed upon the national legislature have not been performed in a perfunctory way, but have been exercised in a manner sufficiently alert and vigilant to prove that the new form of government possesses an abundant store of vitality. Of the conflicts which have at times occurred between the legislative and the executive branches of the government, it would, of course, not be becoming in me to speak; but this much I may with propriety say, that no such conflict has ever been so severe as to produce in Japan anything more than is usual in political contests in other countries. There have been storms upon the political horizon, and bitterness of party feeling; but, throughout all, the limitations of legal right and of constitutional prerogative have been respected. The attitude of the Japanese parliament at the present moment is to my mind a proof of the soundness of the basis, and of the strength of the principles, upon which the new order of things rests. Its patriotic support of the government at home and abroad is abundant evidence that it is capable of wisely exercising its prerogatives.

In estimating the effect of the establishment of a constitutional government upon the future of Japan it is, of course, easy to go astray. I, as a Japanese, may take too sanguine a view of its possibilities and may expect too much from it. I am not foolish enough, however, to claim that it would be possible by some artificial process to make the Japanese people capable of enjoying advantages of this kind if they have no real capacity for utilizing them. We are not attempting a miracle in Japan. Our sovereign believed that we *are* capable of some measure of self-government and graciously conferred it upon us. It remains with us to prove that his trust was not misplaced. All that I

claim is that up to this time we have done enough to at least earn respectful consideration for our enterprise. Its ultimate success or failure after all will only affect us, and it has surely been carried far enough to be free from the censure of those self appointed critics who relegate all Asiatic nations to one plane, and are surprised, not to say pained, when their predictions of disaster are not fulfilled. We have been called copyists and imitators by some such, but this I distinctly deny. We have before us a problem involving solely our own welfare, and we are trying to work it out for our own best good. In doing this we have not sought to imitate for the sake of novelty, but to utilize those elements of Western civilization and modern progress which seemed best adapted to supply the necessities of our national development. Of course, anyone is free to express an opinion upon our progress and our achievements, not to say our morals, our manners and the like ; but all such criticism is not worthy of the attention which much of it receives. Any one may, for example, like a very distinguished critic who recently spent three weeks in Japan, write a book purporting to describe the whole political and social fabric of the Empire, not to mention the most secret aims and ambitions of its rulers, but Japanese at least will be pardoned if they do not acknowledge the value of such criticism. As to what the future may have in store for constitutional government in Japan, we can only point to the past, and express the belief that the future will not be less fruitful of good. We alone of Asiatic peoples have chosen to take this step voluntarily, and without the least pressure or insistence from abroad. No foreign influence has been operative either in the inception or in the performance of our purpose. This assertion may be regarded as an exhibition of that species of self-conceit which some of the critics to whom I have alluded are fond of classing as a trait of the Japanese character. I do not make it with any intention of implying that we consider ourselves sufficient to ourselves, but merely as another proof of the fact that we are laboring upon projects which we regard as purely domestic, solely for the purpose of improving our own condition, and not with any design of impressing the rest of the world either with our knowledge or our wisdom.

The change in the treaty relations existing between Japan and the Western Powers must not be forgotten in any forecast of

the nation's future. The old treaties were the result of conditions which have entirely disappeared. So far as those portions are concerned which relate to restrictions upon Japan's right to regulate the control of her own foreign and domestic trade, some change would undoubtedly have been made long ago. The difficulty has been in the presumed necessity for the maintenance of the jurisdictional capitulations. These, it will be remembered, were established at a time when Japan first entered into intercourse with the outer world. They absolved aliens in Japan from trial by native courts and punishment in accordance with the provisions of native law. They were rendered necessary, as Mr. Marcy stated, by the fact that "cruel and unusual punishments" were inflicted under the laws of most Oriental countries. In Japan the necessity for such a safeguard has not existed, certainly within the last twenty years. But such safeguards instead of being relaxed with the lapse of time and with the lessening need have, if anything, been strengthened and increased. By a species of free construction which has no warrant in the written text of any conventional agreement undertaken by Japan, "consular jurisdiction," intended originally for the protection of the lives and property of aliens resident in Japan, has grown into "extra territorial jurisdiction," which is held to absolve every such alien from the observance of Japanese law, no matter how just and necessary. Meanwhile, the old order has completely changed. The small foreign "settlements," where foreigners formerly dwelt as in cities of refuge, have grown into large and prosperous commercial cities; foreign life and property is as safe in every part of Japan as it would be in London or New York. Complete systems of codified law, based upon the best models, have been adopted and are in successful operation; while no effort has been spared to establish a competent and an educated judiciary entirely independent of executive control. To all of these guarantees is added the even higher assurance which constitutional government gives for the safety of life, of liberty, and of private rights. The existence of such a state of things side by side with the system of foreign jurisdiction now in vogue, is too great an anomaly to continue. Happily its end is now in view, as treaties have already been concluded with several of the leading foreign powers (doubtless to be followed by the rest in due time) which will restore to Japan

in a little more than four years from now the complete control of her foreign relations.

One of the first results of this changed condition of affairs will be the complete opening of the whole Japanese Empire to foreign trade and residence. During the existence of consular jurisdiction it has been impossible for the Japanese Government to permit foreigners to freely reside in all parts of the Empire and thereby to practically carry with them the immunities originally designed only for their protection in a few open ports. In individual cases such a concession would perhaps have made little or no difference, but as a privilege generally conceded it would have been productive of innumerable embarrassments. All this will be changed with the inauguration of the new treaties, and aliens will be at liberty to come and go, and to remain in all parts of Japan, as freely as native subjects.

But the most important and the most far-reaching consequence of this new order of things will, in my judgment, be the creation of improved relations between Japanese and foreigners. The maintenance of consular jurisdiction has undoubtedly been a potent influence in arousing some degree of distrust and dislike on both sides. The erection of such *imperia in imperio*—as the open ports have of necessity been—on the territory of an independent nation, could not but be distasteful to the people of that nation, even while the necessity existed. And when that has disappeared, the continuance of such an anomalous state of things must become doubly irksome. I do not mean to say that we have any reason to complain of the many upright and self-respecting foreigners who have taken up their residence among us. But there are others who have sometimes taken advantage of their favored position to exhibit a degree of independence from wholesome restraint in word and action which they would not think of showing to the authorities or the people of a country where they were not similiarly protected. The friction and mutual misunderstandings thus engendered, must disappear with the removal of the cause of irritation, and foreigners as well as Japanese must then enjoy the benefits of a more healthy, because a more normal, condition of affairs.

The disappearance of consular jurisdiction and the opening of the whole Empire to foreign trade and enterprise will also, in all probability, have a stimulating effect upon the commerce and in-

dustries of the country. Under existing conditions foreigners are of necessity precluded from participation in many of the pursuits which have added to the national wealth by the development of the country's resources. The growth of Japanese commerce and the increase in the extent and variety of the manufacturing industries of the Empire seem to be among the most assured probabilities of the future. The volume of Japanese commerce has nearly quadrupled within the past twenty years. In equal, if not in greater, measure, the manufacturing, mining and other industries of the country have rapidly progressed. The growth and manufacture of silk and of cotton goods, in particular, have shown signs of wonderful development. In the latter article domestic manufactures now almost wholly supply domestic demands, and manufacturers are looking for foreign markets. This fact is of interest to American cotton growers, since the import of American raw cotton into Japan has so largely increased in the past few years that there is every prospect of a large and prosperous trade in this article alone.

The extension of Japanese railway systems, the increase in steamship lines, and the general inauguration of industrial enterprises of all descriptions, show no signs of diminution even in these times of commercial and financial depression. Railways extend to every important point in the Empire, whereas, in 1872, there were only eighteen miles of railway. Steamship lines under Japanese control also connect the ports of the Empire with all the principal ports on the continent of Asia, including Bombay. What the future progress of the nation will be in these and in other similar directions, it is, of course, impossible to predict, but of one fact there can be no doubt; that the whole Empire, in every department of labor and enterprise, has partaken of the forward movement which began with Japan's emergence from the sleep of centuries, and that, while failure has been met in some directions, the general advance has been so marked and so successful as to afford the amplest promise for future prosperity and continued progress.

This is, of necessity, only a hasty and an imperfect summary of some of the influences which will most probably affect the future of Japan. But general and incomplete as it no doubt is, it will have accomplished the object for which it was penned if it shows the reader that in far-away Japan there are things being

done which are worthy of the serious study of students of human progress. It will, at least, have served some useful purpose if it proves to him that what Japan has done, is doing, and hopes to do, cannot justly be regarded as a spectacle set up for the world's amusement, but must be taken as the serious work of earnest men striving for a definite and well-fixed purpose. The man who studies the history of Japan during the last quarter of a century in that spirit, while he may perceive that mistakes have been made, will not, I feel assured, fail to discover the sincere purpose which actuates the only Asiatic people who have sought to improve their condition and to strengthen their position, as an independent and self-respecting nation, by voluntarily adopting and practically utilizing the elements of Western progress and civilization.

S. KURINO.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

JUDAISM AND UNITARIANISM.

CHRISTIANITY, having wandered off into Paganism in its early stages, has in its latest phase, Unitarianism, returned so closely to its first parent, Judaism, that some people are asking whether amalgamation might not be possible. Should any Unitarian desire to affiliate with Judaism because of identity of belief, our doors are always open. We do not seek converts, because one of the doctrines of our faith is that salvation is not exclusively limited to its followers, and because Judaism has been a common fount whence many religions have drawn; but to expect Jews to become Unitarians because of similarity of belief would be like asking the ocean to flow back into its tributaries, and would recall the complaint against a Shakesperian play that it was "full of quotations." We have never deviated from our strict Monotheism, to use the Greek term, or our strict Unitarianism, to use the Latin term, when once we had attained it; and if, after this lapse of centuries, the most intellectual of Christian sects is coming to our way of belief, it only strengthens our confidence in our grand old religion that has withstood the ravages of time and of man.

But are Judaism and Unitarianism identical creeds? Certainly Unitarianism's most advanced wing (for it has three distinct phases) is strikingly close to Reform Judaism. Both accept the "higher criticism" and the well established conclusion of modern science, both hold practically the same *Weltanschauung* and both are of course anti-trinitarian. But religion is more than a matter of dogma or philosophy. To be a living force it must touch life at every point. Judaism has never been able to express a creed that covered its entire activity. Its practice was blent with every social institution. Birth, marriage, and death had their special sanctifications. Times and seasons were marked off by sabbaths and festivals; rising, eating, and retiring, and every function of life, recalled the relation of man to his God, and fed the fires of faith and spirituality. Beliefs and morals taking symbolic form clustered round home and synagogue, and suggestive observance hallowed every circumstance of life. A distinct mode of religious life develops special characteristics and individuality. The nature of Judaism, for instance, has tended to sanctify family life, and to engender that remarkable optimism for which Schopenhauer never forgave the Jews.

Though varying with different ages, all faiths need symbols to stir the emotional depths and to clothe humanity's conceptions with the drapery of helpful association. These symbols help to hold together the different denominations of each great faith; and they foster religious sentiment, which is more tenacious than doctrine.

The Cross is the symbol of all Christianity, whether Catholic or Uni-

tarian, although the latter rejects the doctrine of vicarious atonement connected with it. It has been made a metaphor for suffering and sacrifice, and so does service in ethical instruction. Indeed, its association with a crucified Saviour has made Christianity an emotional religion. The Unitarians have even retained "The Lord's Supper," and although it does not mean to them what the sacrament means to the orthodox Protestant or what transubstantiation means to the Catholic, still both extremes of Christianity observe this same ceremony and are linked together by it.

The institutions of Judaism unite its different parties in the same way. To the Reform Jew the observance of the day of Atonement is inspiration to better life; to the Orthodox it is almost the *sine qua non* of God's forgiveness. But to both it is the great day of religious revival and fraternal reunion. Naturally, the advanced Jews accept the critical view of the Exodus, while the conservatives adhere to the traditional view. But the Passover marks Israel's starting point in history, and the birthday of their religion for orthodox and radical alike, and for both it is the feast of liberty, and one of the foundations for the Sabbath.

This brings us to another all-important element in religion—the historical. Observe the progress of Judaism in its panorama of events: Sinai, Canaan, Jerusalem; the Conquest, the Exile, the Dispersion; the Law, the Prophets, the Talmud; the Maccabees, the Rabbins, the Martyrs. All are interwoven in our religious institutions, and are so many stones in the structure of our faith. The history of the growth of Israel's God-idea is part of the doctrine itself. How each great soul added a something to that great belief; how it broadened, and deepened, and grew in spiritual force and moral sublimity as each successive prophet-hero breathed his inspiration into it; how at length the vital truth, that divinity and righteousness must be one, so filled the horizon of our ancestors, that, letting conquest and art and many other civilizing forces sink into subordination, they felt impelled, in spite of themselves, to make religion their mission, for it had taken possession of them. "Hear, oh, Israel, the Eternal is One!" became the refrain running through the history of this "God-intoxicated" people. This watch cry, "*Sh'ma Yisrael!*" was heard not only in the synagogue but also in the Roman amphitheatre, in the dungeons of the Inquisition, at the stake, in the Ghetto—everywhere.

Unitarianism has Christianity's history behind it. The Apostles, the Church Fathers, the Holy Roman Empire and the Reformation are great landmarks in its past. The Arian movement, the Socinian movement, the Church Synods, Calvinism and Puritanism indicate so many steps in its growth. Watch the development of Unitarianism out of Trinitarianism. First, the Holy Spirit was rarified into an influence, then the "Son of God" was explained away in a figure of speech. Gradually Jesus' immaculate birth, his miracles, his resurrection were bit by bit given up, until he is depicted to day as differing from all other men only in being better than they, including in himself all human virtue and free from all human sin, whose example is all-sufficient for endless human advancement.

But why stop there? Why is this spirit of rationalism not carried to its remorseless extreme? Why, having rejected his divinity, does Unitarianism still give Jesus this unique place in its teachings and beliefs?

Because the glamour of the old belief is on them still. They will never be able to look upon the character of Jesus as a normal man. The divine man in some sense he will always be to them. Even with those

Unitarians who are agnostic, the worship of Jesus abides. This persistent factor in rationalistic Christianity is here impressed to show the force of sentimental association and historic background in religious life, and to indicate that Reform Judaism and Unitarianism, even when reduced to their lowest terms, are still distinct religions, partly because of these historic divergences, which react both on doctrine and on practice.

If religion were purely a matter of creed, Mohammedanism being a Unitarianism, might also have long ago asked Judaism to amalgamate with it. In fact Mahomet did make these overtures, and very surprised and disappointed he was that the Jews would not accept a creed so largely Jewish. But Israel's intense Monotheism could never compromise with hero-worship. We ask the testimony of history whether Judaism was justified in not permitting itself to be absorbed by its second daughter?

Finally when asked to pass upon the merits of advanced Unitarianism—the only phase we could consider—with a view to amalgation, we cannot ignore its insufficiencies as pointed out by many Christian critics. We are told that it has not gained in public confidence to anything like the extent of other denominations, not only because it lacks symbolic ceremonial, but also because of the vagueness of its beliefs, and because it has nothing to teach that was not taught before it came—that in brief it is but an eclectic gathering of modern scientific and religious opinions.

It certainly seems to us an indication of fatal weakness that a faith should only appeal to a cultured few, who least need its discipline, and should not reach the masses. But even among the cultured, Unitarianism was forsaken by two of its greatest representatives in America, Emerson and Frothingham. Why did it fail to satisfy them? Because it either meant too much or too little.

While, then, we feel the value for the cause of truth of stating minutely the difference between Judaism and Unitarianism and where the latter seems to fall short for us, we are glad to recognize an intellectual kinship growing out of similarities that also exist between them. And so we will go on our different ways with kindly thoughts for each other and with occasional friendly interchange of views. We feel nothing but admiration for the boldness and sincerity of the Unitarians, and rejoice to acknowledge our indebtedness to the inspiring teachings of Channing, Martineau, and Parker.

We are, furthermore, assured that, through the spread of its rationalistic literature, Unitarianism is rendering a beneficent service to Orthodox Christianity by holding up to it a more liberal ideal. It would be less likely to effect this service did it cut itself entirely adrift from the old moorings and start as a new religion.

MAURICE H. HARRIS.

A LAST WORD ON AN OLD SUBJECT.

THREE brilliant, well-known women have answered brilliantly Dr. Edson's rather remarkable onslaught on "Nagging Women." Will a few words from "the ranks" be out of place?

I feel that I have every qualification to be called a "Nagger." I am a step-mother, and in constant ill-health, nervous, and with a multifarious household of old and young, nurses and invalids, all whose wants must be met—serenely if possible—between sunrise and bedtime.

I know perfectly well, because mature reflection shows me afterward, that I dispense harsh and hasty words when softer ones would have been better in policy and more Christian; that I often and often go back to an undone duty (the failure to do which, indeed, may not have been heinous) with more than deserved criticism. So conscious am I of all this evil which may properly be called "nagging," that the knowledge of it constitutes one of the bitterest facts in my existence.

I am not too feeble mentally, to try with all my might to free myself from this *almost* nightmare, as the testimony of a thousand broken resolves would show; but every new day brings with it more duties than its hours give time or strength to execute, and I am so situated that I *cannot* order things otherwise.

These conditions may not last, but they are the present ones.

I am constantly longing the while—as one longs for a green oasis in the desert—for such a change in these conditions as will ensure time for the arts I most love, a feeble glimpse of which is an inspiration to many an hour begrimed with sordid care.

When I read Dr. Edson's article, I felt: "Here is a man who *should* know how many of the homes in the land are made up; and yet he has no sympathy, except for cases of acknowledged illness from regular causes." I think if we could get below the surface in the lives of many homes, we should find reasons for nervous weariness, to make us wonder that the thread does not *snap*, instead of merely giving a high, harsh note. Let it be said: "Our homes should be so ordered that no brain shall have more than it can healthily perform." But if Fate, or God, has placed a woman with a conscience, where duties *will not* "let up," where nervousness, and in many cases, insomnia leading to drearier nervousness, is the result, and if a woman "fight manfully" against this fiend of Dr. Edson's, then I maintain that any large-hearted man with his insight, could do better than stab at wounds.

Dr. Edson says: "When a man comes from his office, he *must* have rest—or 'this way madness lies.'" He says nothing of the over-crowded, harassed brain of the wife to whom he comes, who in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred dispenses with as many of the accessories of toil, as is possible, at his approach, but who, nevertheless, if hard-pushed (as we often are) must go on with a tired brain, and *no change of thought* for the remainder of the twenty-four hours. Surely "man's inhumanity to *woman*" is the evil here.

He says in respect of gamblers and drunkards, "I have never been able to join in the chorus of sympathy for the wife," meaning, of course, the wife who may have made the home unbearable. But, in spite of this, with wasted means, and extra care, and all the other deeper woes which gambling and drunkenness entail upon the wife, has our philanthropist no pity in his heart for her? It may have been—nay it probably was—physical inability to carry all the load placed upon her, that out of a jolly, rosy girl, has developed a querulous miserable wife.

When was the beginning of this change? Doubtless when she entered upon the duties of wife and mother, and possibly of "household drudge," and night watcher with children. And shall pity be lavished upon a physically sound man, too weak, mentally, to find alleviation above a grog shop or a gaming table, and withheld from the poor quivering bundle of nerves, trying, however inefficiently, to enact the household rôle?

From my early childhood, and with no *knowledge* of nerves, I always pitied and sympathised with poor Gretchen, even while Jefferson played

"Rip Van Winkle." It seemed that *she* and not *he* was the martyr, and I think many children have felt the injustice to be there.

Again, Dr. Edson *hardly* suggests that a *man* may be a "nagger."

True, at the end of his article, he says, "if the wife or the husband be etc.,"—a very small possibility, evidently, in his mind.

I have known at least two wealthy homes, where through the extreme irritability of the "head" of the house, children have been sent supperless or dinnerless to bed, banished from the table (to which they had only just succeeded from the nursery) for failure to hold a soup-spoon properly, and other equally flagrant offenses. The child, overwhelmingly grieved and ashamed, had to be hushed and soothed by the mother's *tact*, while she tried to uphold the dignity of the father. What of the demand upon her physical powers! *Or, are they of no account?*

I maintain that when we women do give way to uncalled-for severity, it is usually because of our over-strained nerves. The gentleman referred to had *nothing* to think of except the care of himself—to which care, all the household contributed.

Dr. Edson knows that I speak of no *unique* cases. He knows there are seasons unavoidable, in *nearly* every woman's life, when the cumulative cares of sick and aged, and of little ones, come at once. We *cannot* escape these seasons; they are doubtless a part of God's discipline. If our earnest purpose be to get away from the dominion of any evil tendency (and the overstrained nerve of any man, I am *sure*, would as soon succumb) shall we not have from the wisest of our kind, something that looks to be alleviative, rather than consignment to mediæval tyranny and the ducking stool?

ONE OF THE NAGGERS.

THE LATEST NEWS OF MARS.

BEFORE the winter season with its fogs, snows and high winds had set in at Mount Hamilton, a long period of good observing weather was enjoyed during the summer and spring. That good weather was thoroughly utilized by four observers—Messrs. Schaeberle, Barnard, Campbell and myself—with two telescopes during the whole of the recent very favorable apposition. The earliest observations were made on the first of June and very few favorable hours, or even moments, were missed. The great number of drawings, measures and notes accumulated must still be reduced, set in order, and prepared for publication, and until this work is finished it is not desirable to announce partial conclusions. Such final results as could now be formulated can wait till they have been viewed in the light of all the observations.

One piece of work is complete in itself, however, and the results derived from it are definitive. I allude to the observations of the spectrum of Mars by Professor Campbell. The principal details of this research have already been printed in the *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific*, and it is my object to show, in the paragraphs which follow, the nature of his observations and the chief conclusions to which they lead.

The planets, Mars among them, shine chiefly by reflected sunlight. The light of the central nucleus of the sun passes out through the solar envelopes, and illuminates the planet. If the planet has an atmosphere, a portion of the sunlight is reflected from the outer portions of this atmosphere; another portion penetrates the atmosphere of the planet and is reflected from its surface. To reach the earth the reflected light must again traverse

the atmosphere of Mars (if so be it has one), must traverse the atmosphere of the earth, the telescope, the spectroscope and finally reach the eye. The original light from the central parts of the sun must then traverse the atmosphere of the sun once, the atmosphere of Mars twice and the atmosphere of the earth once. The light from the highly heated interior of the sun has a continuous spectrum; *i. e.*, an uninterrupted rainbow ribbon. The outer layers of the sun are composed of metallic vapors. After the sun's light has traversed these layers the resulting solar spectrum is no longer perfectly continuous, but is crossed by numerous dark lines fixed in position. These lines are produced by the absorption of particular waves of light by the outlying vapors. This is the kind of solar light which passes throughout the whole solar system, and which impinges on and is reflected by the planets and moon. The position of every one of the thousands of dark lines in the solar spectrum is known from accurate maps, made by Rowland and others. When the solar light passes directly through our own atmosphere (not reflected from any planet), it is modified by the gases contained in it, by oxygen, by aqueous vapor, etc. Each of these gases absorbs particular waves, and produces special dark bands in the original spectrum. The deeper the layer of our atmosphere traversed, the greater the corresponding absorption.

By observing the solar spectrum as seen by us when the sun is very high (that is, when its rays traverse a relatively thin layer of our air), and the same spectrum when the sun is low (near sunset, when its rays traverse a relatively deep layer), it is possible to construct two maps. The first map (high sun), shows the spectrum comparatively unaffected by the earth's atmosphere. The second (low sun), on the other hand, exhibits the solar spectrum much modified by the aqueous vapor of the earth's atmosphere. Admirable maps of this sort have been constructed by M. Thollon, of the Nice Observatory, and the modifications introduced by the earth's atmosphere are well understood.

Now, if the solar spectrum is observed, not directly, but after it has passed (twice) through the atmosphere of Mars, it will be correspondingly modified by this atmosphere. Whatever lines, not solar and not terrestrial, there may be, will be due to the modifications imposed by the atmosphere of the planet. If Mars has no atmosphere the observed (planetary) spectrum will be the combined solar and terrestrial spectra; it will consist of the sun's light modified by the solar and terrestrial atmospheres only.

We actually have an example of such a combined spectrum readily available in the spectrum of the Moon. The Moon has no atmosphere, or, at all events, an indefinitely thin atmosphere. If, then, we compare the spectrum of *Mars* and the Moon (under proper conditions as to altitude, etc.), and if we find them unlike, the unlikeness is due to the absorption of a Martian atmosphere. If, on the other hand, we find them like, then Mars has no atmosphere; just as the Moon has none.

Such is the principle of the method which Professor Campbell has carried out at the Lick Observatory, during the past summer, taking every precaution to exclude all sources of error. He was unable to detect any difference between the spectrum of Mars and that of the Moon under like conditions. That is, Mars has no more atmosphere than the Moon, so far as this method is sufficient to detect one. There is no more evidence of aqueous vapor in the atmosphere of Mars than in the no-atmosphere of the Moon. The method employed is delicate, but it is not perfectly and abso-

lutely so. An atmosphere one-fourth as extensive as our own would certainly have been detected, and, very probably, an atmosphere much less extensive than this. The atmosphere of Mars, if indeed it has any at all, must be at least as thin as, probably very much thinner than, that of the highest peaks of the Himalayas.

There does not appear to be any escape from this conclusion. Whatever our other observations of a different nature may be, they must be interpreted to agree with this fundamental result. We see, already, that some of them do so (notably the observation of bright "prominences," *i. e.*, mountains, at the terminator of Mars). It is very difficult, on the other hand, to reconcile some others with these spectroscopic results. For that reason I prefer to wait until all our observations have been collected and discussed before promising any further opinion. But this much may now be announced as a definitive result from Professor Campbell's spectroscopic observations alone; there is no more evidence of aqueous vapor or of an atmosphere on Mars than there is on the Moon. And it is in the highest degree unlikely that Mars has an atmosphere anything like as dense as the earth's atmosphere at the summit of the Himalayas.

My object in writing this note is already attained, since the scientific results of observation—the only really important things—have been stated. Perhaps I may be forgiven if I go a step further and point out that the lakes, oceans, canals (of water), the snowstorms, inundations, inhabitants (like ourselves) and the signals they were making us, etc., etc., etc., have all vanished with the aqueous vapor. We have heard so persistently of these beings for so long, that people in general were beginning to accept them as proved. In 1890 I pointed out, on various occasions, that we did not then know which of the markings on Mars—the dark or the red—were land and which were water. In 1892 Professor Schaeberle showed that there were some very good reasons for reversing the ordinary belief on these points. In 1894 Professor Campbell has demonstrated that it is in the highest degree improbable that any considerable bodies of water exist on Mars at all. It is very unsatisfying, no doubt, not to be able to answer many questions which an eager mind can put regarding the planets, their constitution, their habitability, etc. But it is most satisfactory to have this year taken the very important step of clearing the way for such solutions by sweeping out of sight the fabric of assumptions and ungrounded assertions which has lately barred the path.

EDWARD S. HOLDEN.

MORALITY IN COLLEGE ATHLETICS.

PUBLIC interest in games and field sports seems to become keener every year, and is likely to grow for a long time to come, for the area of those who either personally take part in these contests, or who throng them as spectators, is continually increasing.

The importance attached to games may indeed be said to be a test, it is certainly an accompaniment, of civilization. The Olympian games did not become of real importance as games, apart from their importance as a religious ceremony, till the more brilliant periods of Greek life, and the triumph of Alcibiades in the chariot race, was a fit emblem of the supremacy of Athens, in the world of politics, literature, and art. Even the tournaments of the Middle Ages were not a recognized institution, until Chivalry

flourished with all its ennobling influences, that glorious epoch of the Edwards, which saw the completion of Westminster Abbey, and the writing of the Canterbury Tales.

But it must be remembered that the sports of ancient Greece and mediæval Europe had direct reference to the serious struggles for military supremacy; the cultivation of wrestling and running and throwing the quoit, and, later on, the heroic contests among the knights, were all useful, as preparing men for war, the real business of life in those days.

Interest in our modern games is, no doubt, due to their immediate connection with modern education. From Plato downward, every educationalist has recognized the necessity of training the body as well as the mind, and games are the best training for the body. But the Greeks had very sound and practical views on physical training, and held that a general discipline in hunting and salmon fishing was better than strict training for a boat race; indeed in their view, as Professor Mahaffy has pointed out, rowing was the work of slaves. The time and money spent on athletics at our universities would have been thought scandalous by the Greeks, who would never have treated themselves as one treats horses and dogs, with a mere view to physical exercise. The importance of games and the amount of time devoted to them has certainly become excessive, but boys wholly devoted to games are better than boys wholly devoted to "loafing." We acknowledge that a lad who learns to captain a football team with judgment and temper, has gained an admirable lesson; we admit, without hesitation, that to stand up to a fast pitched ball, or endure any other trial of nerve with pluck and resolution, is invaluable training; we agree that there are moral dangers which can be lessened by the scientific cultivation of bodily exercise, and it is altogether better that some boys should play too much, than that many boys should play too little. But the "athletic spirit," as it has been called, is not represented solely by plucky football players, and judicious captains, and strenuous oarsmen. It is swollen by a mass of devotees, who do not very much exercise the body, but do very greatly exercise the mind on things of the body; they are, in fact, what would be called in race-course parlance the "ring," and are no more athletes than a "bookmaker" is a gentleman rider, or a man who knows the Greek alphabet is a scholar.

Into this frame of mind boys are very easily tempted, and often greatly to their detriment; morever, the need for mental as well as physical courage is not likely to become less, but greater, in modern civilization, and here, we think, the advocates of athleticism are apt to show a want of perception.

The question of exercise, or no exercise, is clearly not one of amusement, but of expediency. Apart from the Anglo-Saxon race, the habits of other civilized nations are often misquoted against the healthier instincts which we rather claim for ourselves. It is true that the French and Germans do not take naturally to the strenuous games which are the feature of our college life, but, on the other hand, they do not appear to suffer, later, from the want of such stimulus to active exertion. The ordeal of compulsory military service in which the three years of opening manhood are spent, is a physical discipline to which the spasmodic training of an amateur athlete bears no comparison. The incessant activity during this period of barrack life in France and Germany, lays the foundation of health; early rising and a natural bias to temperance in eating and drinking, may be supposed to do the rest in later years. The Jews, who alone refuse active exertion, either

as a means of livelihood, or as a source of amusement, are, perhaps, the sole instance of a successful people living in temperate climates, who explicitly or implicitly, reject the duty of exercise; this no doubt is a survival of the oriental feeling that the burden of labor should fall on slaves.

On the other hand, if there are really any people who think that football and baseball are merely affairs of perspiring Philistinism, unworthy of the attention of the philosopher or an earnest man, they may surely be told off against those who agree with the late poet-laureate's somewhat hysterical hero, that "books are miserable and hurtful to the eyesight," and that boys are properly occupied in "hurling lances, whistling to parrots, and leaping the rainbows of the brooks." The subject is only obscured by arguing with unreasonable prejudices on either side.

A rational estimate of the value of exercise should gauge the amount which helps to the best performance of the daily work of life. Work that "pays" at school or college is usually sedentary work or brain work. The question is, how far violent exercise, or long, if less severe, hours of manual toil help or impede brain work. Statistics show us that the leading scholars of England and America have not indulged in, nor aspired to take, the more exacting forms of violent exercise; there are, certainly, instances in which prominent athletes have shown marked ability and gained distinction in their academical studies, but these are so few and far between as to warrant special notice on their accomplishment. At the English public schools we find that the "quiet and gentlemanly" game of "fives" is still pre-eminently the scholar's pastime, and here we may remark that the experience of Cornell University pointed to the conclusion that it was impossible to profitably employ the brain in the study of Greek, after a working day of manual labor, and perhaps the same holds good in some degree of modern athletics.

Now-a-days the intellectual path has been smoothed for a boy by every conceivable form of help; everything is explained to him in notes and translations and keys; he totters along the path of learning like a child with a chair. But mental pluck and self-reliance have to be learnt somehow, and for this the tact and discretion of our teachers must be held responsible.

The recent limitations which have been imposed by the authorities at Harvard, with reference to football, lead us to hope for more moderation and decency in connection with intercollegiate contests. The danger of confusing athletics with the perpetual talk of athletics, and of mistaking what boys like, for what is good for them, is the bane of our schools and colleges to-day.

OLIVER S. JONES.

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POWER AND WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

If we take a survey of mankind in ancient or modern times as regards the physical, mechanical and intellectual force of nations, we find nothing to compare with the United States in this present year of 1895. At the same time, we see that the wealth of the American people surpasses that of any other nation, past or present. It may be a subject for legitimate pride, although, perhaps, a profound philosopher would be able to show that it is merely the result of circumstances; indeed, there may not be wanting impartial critics who would go so far as to assert that Americans might have turned to greater advantage the elements at their disposal. Meantime, I venture no further than to lay down the statistical facts, which are undoubtedly of the highest importance in the history of the human race.

The physical and mechanical power which has enabled a community of wood-cutters and farmers to become in less than 100 years the greatest nation in the world, is the aggregate of the strong arms of men and women, aided by horse-power, machinery and steam-power, applied to the useful arts and sciences of every-day life. The power that traces a furrow in the prairie, sows the seed, reaps and threshes the ripe grain; the power that converts wheat into flour, that weaves wool or cotton into textile stuffs and garments; the power that lifts the mineral from the bowels

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of the earth, that forges iron and constructs railroads; the power that builds up towns and cities: in a word, whatever force is directed for the production, conveyance or distribution of the necessaries, comforts or luxuries of life, may be measured at each national census with almost the same precision as that with which the astronomer indicates the distances of the heavenly bodies. The working-power of an able-bodied male adult is three hundred foot-tons daily, that of a horse three thousand, and of steam horse-power four thousand. On this basis we find that the working-power of the United States was at various dates approximately as follows:

	Millions of foot-tons daily.				Foot-tons daily per inhabitant.
Year.	Hand.	Horse.	Steam.	Total.	
1820	753	3,300	240	4,293	446
1840	1,406	12,900	3,040	17,346	1,020
1860	2,895	22,200	14,000	39,005	1,240
1880	4,450	36,600	36,340	77,390	1,545
1895	6,406	55,200	67,700	129,306	1,940

The working-power, or number of foot-tons daily per inhabitant, has almost doubled since 1840, and the absolute effective force of the American people is now more than three times what it was in 1860. Of the three great elements of energy above enumerated that which shows the most rapid growth is steam-power, which consists of three classes, viz.:

	Horse-power of steam.			
	1840.	1860.	1880.	1895.
Fixed	360,000	800,000	2,186,000	3,940,000
Locomotives	200,000	1,800,000	5,700,000	10,800,000
Steamboats	200,000	900,000	1,200,000	2,200,000
Total	760,000	3,500,000	9,086,000	16,940,000

In the above statement, the "fixed" horse-power employed in mines and factories in 1880 is according to the census returns; the same item cannot be precisely ascertained for the other years, but if it existed in proportion to the number of operatives, as may be fairly supposed, it was as shown above. More than three-fourths of the total steam-power of the Union is employed for traction purposes, on railways and in steamboats, which is not surprising when we remember that the area of activity is as vast as Europe, and that the merchandise transported by rail in the United States is shown by official returns to be double the amount of land-carriage (at least by railway) of all the other nations of the earth collectively. If we would compare the energy or work-

ing-power of the United States with that of other nations, the following table would suffice to show it at a glance :

	Millions of foot-tons daily.				Foot-tons
	Hand.	Horse.	Steam.	Total.	per inhabitant.
United States...	6,406	55,200	67,700	129,306	1,940
Great Britain.	3,210	6,100	46,800	56,110	1,470
Germany.....	4,280	11,500	29,800	45,580	902
France.....	3,380	9,600	21,600	34,580	910
Austria.....	3,410	3,900	9,200	22,510	560
Italy.....	2,570	4,020	4,800	11,390	380
Spain.....	1,540	5,500	3,600	10,640	590

Here we see that the United States possess almost as much energy as Great Britain, Germany and France collectively, and that the ratio falling to each American is more than what two Frenchmen or Germans have at their disposal. Moreover, the military armaments which keep in forced idleness 4,000,000 men in Europe are happily unknown in the United States. It is not merely that European nations are deprived of the labor, skill and exertions of 4,000,000 men in the prime of life; they have also to set apart 1,000,000 workers of the agricultural and industrial classes to feed and clothe the standing armies and defray the cost of artillery, war-vessels, etc. Thus the average of productive energy in France, Germany, England, etc., is much less than appears in the above statement. Again, if we consider the labor-saving appliances in the United States, we see the perfection of agricultural and other machinery. Take, for example, the reaping machine commonly used in the Western States, which will cut and bind grain at the rate of forty-five minutes per acre. On this point it may be well to compare the production of grain and meat in various countries with the number of hands employed in agriculture in 1890 :

		Tons of		Product per hand.	
	Hands employed.	Grain.	Meat.	Grain, bush.	Meat, lbs.
United States.....	8,760,000	76,600,000	4,830,000	350	1,230
United Kingdom.....	2,469,000	7,330,000	1,140,000	119	1,090
France.....	6,910,000	16,900,000	1,200,000	98	350
Germany.....	8,120,000	15,100,000	1,370,000	75	380
Austria.....	10,680,000	17,100,000	1,080,000	64	230
Italy.....	5,400,000	5,300,000	360,000	39	150

An ordinary farm-hand in the United States raises as much grain as three in England, four in France, five in Germany, or six in Austria, which shows what an enormous waste of labor occurs in Europe, because farmers are not possessed of the same mechanical appliances as in the United States. In order to make the comparison of labor more exact, I may be permitted to reduce all farm products to the common denominator of grain,

by supposing ten pounds of meat or two gallons of wine to be equal to a bushel, and then the account will stand thus:

	Bushels of grain per hand.				
United States	475	France	188	Italy	115
United Kingdom	228	Germany	118	Austria	97

While the above is the general result for the United States, as compared with other countries, Mr. Atkinson in his book on the *Distribution of Products* shows that, in some of the Western States, the labor of one man, during three hundred days in the year, is equivalent to the production of 4,500 bushels of wheat, while the cutting, threshing, milling and conveyance to market represent the annual labor of three other men. Thus four men can produce and deliver to the bakers as much flour as will feed a thousand persons, at twelve ounces of bread daily, for a whole year. In other words, one man can feed two hundred and fifty, whereas in Europe one man feeds only thirty persons. Nor can we hope for a better state of things in Europe soon. So dense is the ignorance of most men, even among the educated classes, that they are convinced that all labor-saving appliances are an evil, and that the more persons there are employed to do any given work the better.

The intellectual power of the Great Republic is in harmony with the industrial and mechanical. The census of 1890 showed that eighty-seven per cent. of the total population over ten years of age could read and write. It may be fearlessly asserted that in the history of the human race no nation ever before possessed 41,000,000 instructed citizens. European states have certainly made efforts to diffuse popular instruction, and with considerable success, but Americans have left them far behind in generous and wise-minded expenditure on education, as may be seen in the following table:

	Annual school expenditure.	Dollars per inhabitant.
United States	$156,000,000	2.40
Great Britain	48,000,000	1.30
France	31,000,000	0.80
Germany	26,000,000	0.50
Austria	12,000,000	0.30
Italy	7,000,000	0.25

The highest European standard is that of Great Britain, but the average American pays twice as much as the Englishman to endow his fellow-countryman with the blessings of popular instruction. From the earliest time Americans have been solicitous

in this particular. The contemporaries of Washington and Franklin were conscious that "Knowledge is Power," and felt that in building up a nation which was destined before long to take a foremost place in the world, the schoolmaster would have to play the most important part. Hence they spared no pains to make the school system as liberal and efficient as possible, and the results have fully corresponded to the well-directed efforts of each successive generation. We cannot measure intellectual force as we do the horse power of steam engines, but we can compare the Post Office returns with those of the most enlightened nations of Europe, viz.:

Letters, etc., per inhabitant yearly.

United States	110	Germany	53	France	39
Switzerland	74	Belgium	49	Austria	24
Great Britain	60	Holland	40	Italy	16

In this regard the United States are much ahead of all other nations.

If the physical development of the Great Republic in the last seventy years has been stupendous the growth of wealth has been still more marvellous. The results of the census at various periods showed thus:

Census.	Millions of dollars.	Dollars per inhabitant
1820	1,960	205
1840	3,910	230
1860	16,160	514
1880	43,642	870
1890	65,037	1,039

The above table from first to last comprises a span of seventy years, the ordinary length of human life. In the first interval of twenty years the amount of wealth doubled, in the second it quadrupled, but in subsequent years the rate of geometrical progression was much less, although the increase of wealth per head was unprecedented. The following table shows the average annual growth of wealth and the accumulation per head:

	Annual increase.	Dollars per inhabitant.
1821-40	$97,500,000	7.40
1841-60	612,500,000	25.50
1861-80	1,374,100,000	34.30
1881-90	2,139,500,000	37.90

The average annual increment from 1821 to 1890 was nine hundred and one millions of dollars, equal to twenty-nine dollars per head of the mean population over the whole period. Much as critics may cavil at the results of the census of wealth, and say that such figures are efforts of the imagination, we have the

strongest internal evidence of their correctness. In an essay read by me at Bath before the British Association of Science in September, 1888, the following passage occurred:

"The American census of 1890 will probably show an accumulated wealth of 67,200 millions of dollars (fourteen milliards sterling) in the United States."

The actual result of the census was three per cent. less, namely, 65,037 millions, but the enumerators omitted public lands, for which a valuation of one dollar per acre would bring up the total of national wealth to 66,336 millions, or a fraction over one per cent. less than my estimate. American wealth exceeds that of Great Britain by thirty-five per cent., but the ratio per inhabitant is less. The following table shows approximately the average of wealth to population in various countries:

	Dollars per head.				
United States	1,039	Holland	1,080	Sweden	630
Great Britain	1,260	Belgium	840	Italy	480
France	1,130	Germany	730	Austria	475

It will be seen that in comparison with population the wealth of the United States is by no means wonderful, the ratio per head being surpassed in three countries of Europe, but we must bear in mind that, from the showing of a preceding table, ninety-four cent. of American wealth has been created and accumulated since 1840. The new wealth added during a single generation—that is, in the period of thirty years between 1860 and 1890—was no less than forty-nine milliards of dollars, which sum is one milliard over the total wealth of Great Britain. The accumulation during the decade ending 1890 averaged eleven cents daily per inhabitant, and we have no reason to suppose that it will be less during the current decade. This would mean a daily increment of seven million dollars, and the next census at this rate would show the wealth of the Union to be ninety milliards, or a little more than double what it was in 1880. If we would classify the whole wealth of the Union under two heads, urban and rural, the result at different dates would be as follows :

	Millions.			Percentage of total.	
	Urban.	Rural.	Total.	Urban.	Rural.
1850	3,169	3,967	7,136	44.4	55.6
1860	8,180	7,980	16,160	50.6	49.4
1870	15,155	8,900	24,055	63.0	37.0
1880	31,538	12,104	43,642	72.2	27.8
1890	49,055	15,982	65,037	75.4	24.6

In the above table rural wealth is the aggregate of the value of lands, cattle, and implements at each census; the rest is urban. We find that rural or agricultural wealth has only quadrupled in forty years, while urban has multiplied sixteenfold. This would seem to point to the conclusion that farming has not been so profitable as commerce, manufactures, banking, railways, and other pursuits. But it is to be observed that in late years the increase of urban population has been much greater than that of rural, and that the number of hands engaged in agriculture is by no means comparable with that of persons engaged in city or town life. The following table shows the increase of wealth per head in the two great classes that make up the American people:

Period.	Number of workers.			Yearly accumulation. Millions of dollars.			Dollars per worker yearly.	
	Urban.	Rural.	Total.	Urban.	Rural.	Total.	Urban.	Rural.
1851-60.....	11,206,000	3,820,000	15,026,000	501	401	902	44.70	105.00
1861-70.....	14,462,000	5,133,000	19,595,000	698	92	790	48.30	17.90
1871-80.....	18,183,000	6,797,000	24,980,000	1,638	320	1,958	90.00	47.10
1881-90.....	23,905,000	8,215,000	32,120,000	1,752	388	2,140	73.30	47.30

Before 1860 the accumulation of wealth for each rural worker was much greater than that corresponding to persons of the urban classes. Between 1860 and 1870 the farming interests, especially in the Southern States, suffered so severely by reason of the war that the increase per head fell below eighteen dollars yearly, but during the last twenty years the increment of rural wealth has been almost uniform at forty-seven dollars per head per annum of the number of rural workers. Looking back to 1870 we find that since that year the accumulation of wealth among urban workers has averaged eighty-two dollars per annum, or seventy-three per cent. more than among rural workers, which suffices to explain the influx of population into towns and cities. The increase of urban wealth has been accompanied by a remarkable rise in wages, as we see from census returns:

Year.	No. of operatives.	Wages paid, Millions.	Dollars per operative.
1860.....	1,311,000	379	289
1870.....	2,054,000	620	302
1880.....	2,733,000	948	347
1890.....	4,713,000	2,283	485

The average of wages has risen sixty per cent. since 1870, and at the same time the accumulation of urban wealth per head has been seventy-six per cent. more than in the period from 1850 to 1870, which shows that the rise in wealth and the increase of wages go almost hand-in-hand. But the farmer has nevertheless

a corresponding advantage, for his life is a healthier one, the statistics of mortality showing that the death-rate in American cities, especially among children, is greatly in excess of that of rural districts. The farmer may make money more slowly, but he has a safer and less agitated life, and his children grow up around him in affluence and comfort. The census of 1890 showed that the United States had 4,565,000 farmers, the aggregate value of whose farms, cattle and implements summed up 15,982 millions of dollars, giving to each an average fortune of $3,505, most of these men having begun on a capital of a couple of hundred dollars. The number of new farms created since 1860 has been 2,520,000, bringing into cultivation 195,000,000 acres, and the greater part of this work has been done by European settlers. In fact, if the United States had no urban population or industries whatever, the advance of agricultural interests would be enough to claim the admiration of mankind, for it has no parallel in history. The following table shows the value of all agricultural products at various dates:

	Millions of dollars.			Dollars
Year.	Home use.	Exported.	Total.	per worker.
1840	789	93	882	346
1860	1,803	257	2,060	475
1880	2,686	686	3,372	440
1893	3,089	615	3,704	408

The above table shows that the farm products of the Union represent a value of about $12,000,000 daily; or, if we take the working day at ten hours, it is about $1,200,000 hourly, and, as the number of hands engaged is about 9,070,000, the gross product of their labor is equal to thirteen cents an hour per hand, whereas the ordinary wages of the hands engaged in manufactures are fifteen cents an hour.

Dividing the Union into five great sections* we see the wealth of each as set forth in census returns thus:

	Wealth, millions.				
States.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
New England	1,129	1,862	3,237	4,978	5,223
Middle	2,256	4,192	9,693	13,748	17,819
Southern	2,591	5,867	2,827	6,448	9,928
Prairie	1,127	3,966	7,642	16,186	25,256
Pacific	33	270	656	2,282	6,811
Total	7,136	16,157	24,055	43,642	65,037

* The Middle States are New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland; the Southern are the two Virginias, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The Prairie States are Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and the two Dakotas.

As regards the year 1870, the above figures are in gold, the currency having been reduced at the rate of eighty cents to the dollar, as recommended by the Census Commissioner. This rule applies to all tables concerning that year. The following table shows the average wealth per inhabitant in the sections alluded to:

	Dollars per Inhabitant.				
States.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
New England	413	594	925	1,241	1,112
Middle	340	503	984	1,170	1,269
Southern	314	572	250	422	539
Prairie	208	437	588	933	1,130
Pacific	183	439	666	1,285	2,247
Union	308	514	624	870	1,039

The average per head for the whole American people is now more than double what it was in 1860, and in the Pacific States it has quintupled in the interval. If we divide the above period of forty years into two intervals of equal length we find the growth of wealth was as follows:

	Yearly increase, millions dollars.		Dollars yearly per inhabitant.	
States.	1851-70	1871-90	1851-70	1871-90
New England	105	99	34.10	24.50
Middle	372	406	44.70	33.80
Southern	12	355	1 20	23.60
Prairie	326	881	35.80	50.30
Pacific	31	308	52.00	154.20
Union	846	2,049	27 30	41.00

The average accumulation in the second interval has been much lower in New England and the Middle States than in the first, but the reverse is true of the rest of the Union, and the general average for the whole country in the second interval was forty-one dollars per head, or fifty per cent. over the first. The principal components of public wealth are shown in the following table:

	Millions of dollars.			Annual increase, millions.	
	1850.	1870.	1890.	1851-70.	1871-90.
Land	3,272	7,410	13,279	207	293
Cattle, etc	696	1,490	2,703	40	61
Railways	290	1,894	8,686	80	340
Factories	520	1,760	3,059	62	65
Houses	1,380	9,240	21,010	393	588
Sundries	978	2,261	16,300	64	702
Total	7,136	24,055	65,037	846	2,049

The increase of wealth under the item of land is partly owing to a rise in the average value, from twenty-nine dollars per acre in 1850 to thirty-seven dollars in 1890, but far more to the extended area under cultivation, the increase of which has been 245,000,000 acres since 1850. As regards railways, the con-

struction of new lines has cost a million dollars a day during the last twenty years, and, if some of these lines have proved unfortunate to shareholders, it is nevertheless true that every dollar spent in this way has been a benefit to the country. The freight charge in 1890 averaged ninety-three cents per ton per hundred miles, which is less than half the charge customary in Europe ($1.90), and this implies a saving in this respect alone of $845,000,000 yearly to the American people, or ten per cent. on the original cost of constructing the lines. Another large item in the increment of wealth is houses, which represent an annual investment of twelve dollars per inhabitant of the whole Union during twenty years ending 1890. The annual average in Great Britain is five dollars and a half, and, as economists recognize the outlay on houses to be a gauge of wealth, it appears that the average accumulation in the United States is double what it is in the mother country. In effect, English statisticians estimate the ordinary accumulation in Great Britain at five pounds, say twenty-four dollars, per head, whereas we have seen that the American average is forty-one dollars per head.

In conclusion, I have only to repeat what I said at the commencement, that the United States in 1895 possess by far the greatest productive power in the world; that this power has more than trebled since 1860, rising from thirty-nine to one hundred and twenty-nine milliards of foot-tons daily; that the intellectual progress of the nation is attended to in a more liberal manner than in Europe, and that the accumulation of wealth averages $7,000,000 daily. These simple facts tell us what a wonderful country has sprung up beyond the Atlantic in a single century, and furnish a scathing commentary on the books written by English travellers only fifty years ago. Englishmen of to-day have more correct views, and regard with honest pride and kindly good-will the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, while the rest of mankind marks with wonder and admiration the onward march of the Great Republic.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

ENGLAND, VENEZUELA, AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

BY SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE Monroe doctrine has been lately the subject of much discussion and, although it is often stated correctly, there seems to be a good deal of confusion in regard to it, particularly among that small group of persons who are more vocal than numerous, and who dislike it because they have a vague suspicion that it is of value to the United States, and may, in its enforcement, interfere with the interests and purposes of foreign nations, which they are desirous of promoting. The proposition laid down by Mr. Monroe, however, is not complicated. It is merely the corollary of Washington's neutrality policy, which declared that the United States would not meddle with or take part in the affairs of Europe. The Monroe doctrine announced it to be the settled policy of the United States to regard any attempt on the part of any European power to conquer an American state, to seize territory other than that which they then held, or to make any new establishment in either North or South America, as an act of hostility toward the United States, and one not to be permitted.

The Nicaraguan incident, which has justly been attracting public attention, will serve to illustrate the scope and limitations of the Monroe doctrine. The right of England to secure indemnity for injuries to its subjects in no way contravenes the Monroe doctrine. That is a right which every nation must possess and must be prepared to enforce in any part of the world. But if England in seeking this indemnity should undertake to conquer Nicaragua or to hold any of her territory, she would at once contravene the Monroe doctrine, and therefore commit what for

seventy years American statesmen have always held to be an act of hostility against the United States. In other words, the Monroe doctrine forbids any territorial aggression, whether permanent or nominally temporary, on the American continents by any European power. Some London editor, discussing this subject recently, with the knowledge and moderation characteristic of his class when dealing with American affairs, said that the Monroe doctrine was not a principle of international law and had never been enforced. It is certainly not a principle of international law any more than the independence of the American colonies, when it was first asserted, was a principle of international law. We declared and established that independence and secured for it the recognition of the civilized world. Other nations continue to recognize it, not because it is a principle of international law, but because it is a fact which it is not wholesome to quarrel with.

As to the second statement of the London editor, he is grievously in error. The Monroe doctrine has been observed since its declaration by other nations out of deference to the United States. But one case has arisen hitherto in which an infraction was forcibly and seriously attempted, and then the doctrine was vigorously vindicated. The Emperor of the French undertook to establish an empire with a European emperor in Mexico. We were hampered at the moment by a great civil war, but the dispatch from Mr. Seward which carried to our representatives abroad the news of Lee's surrender, bore also instructions to our Minister in France to notify the French government in diplomatic language that, if the French armies were not withdrawn from Mexico, we would march five hundred thousand men down there if necessary and put them out. General Sheridan, with a strong army, was immediately ordered to the Mexican boundary and the only mistake we made was in not immediately crossing the frontier and expelling the French. Mr. Seward, however, preferred the slower methods of diplomacy, and in the course of two years attained his object completely. The French abandoned Mexico and Maximilian was left to his fate. There can be little doubt that at the time both the French government and the luckless Maximilian were quite aware that the Monroe doctrine was a vital principle, and that it was dangerous to infringe it.

With this exception there has been but one other serious attempt on the part of any European power to break through the

Monroe doctrine and thereby take action hostile to the United States. This attempt has been made by Great Britain in Venezuela, where she has taken advantage of the situation to covertly disregard the Monroe doctrine, to seize territory, and establish her power in regions where it did not exist at the time the Monroe doctrine was declared. That she should have been permitted to do so without anything but an occasional gentle protest from the United States is not creditable to the administrations of either party in the United States, and is an unfortunate example of the neglect of our foreign affairs which has become almost habitual in this country. The purpose of this article is merely to state briefly what has happened in Venezuela, and to show the steady course of British aggression against a weak power with the view of getting possession of one of the great river systems of South America.

It is, of course, impossible within the space of this article to give more than a bare outline of the facts, but that will be enough to show the policy pursued by England in this important part of South America. The whole region in question belonged originally to Spain by right of discovery. The Dutch established themselves on the Atlantic coast east of the Essequibo river during their war for independence, and at the treaty of Münster in 1648 this Dutch establishment was recognized. Venezuela succeeded to all the rights of Spain, and was recognized as having done so by Spain herself in 1845. Great Britain succeeded to the rights of Holland when, in 1814, that country ceded to her the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice. England possesses all the rights and territory possessed by Holland, and Venezuela all those possessed by Spain. No new rights have accrued to either party since they came into possession as the successors, respectively, of Spain and Holland. The settlement of the boundary now must depend on the determination of that which existed between the possessions of Holland and Spain, and should be a matter of arbitration, and settled by historical investigation. Into that question, it is not the purpose of this article to enter, although it seems reasonably clear to any dispassionate inquirer that the river Essequibo was the recognized line of division between the Dutch and Spanish possessions, that the Dutch subsequent to the treaty of Aranjuez in 1791 never succeeded in making any permanent establishment west of the Essequibo, and that the extreme limit of any attempt

made by the Dutch prior to that time to take additional territory from Spain, did not go beyond the Pomaron and Moroco rivers.

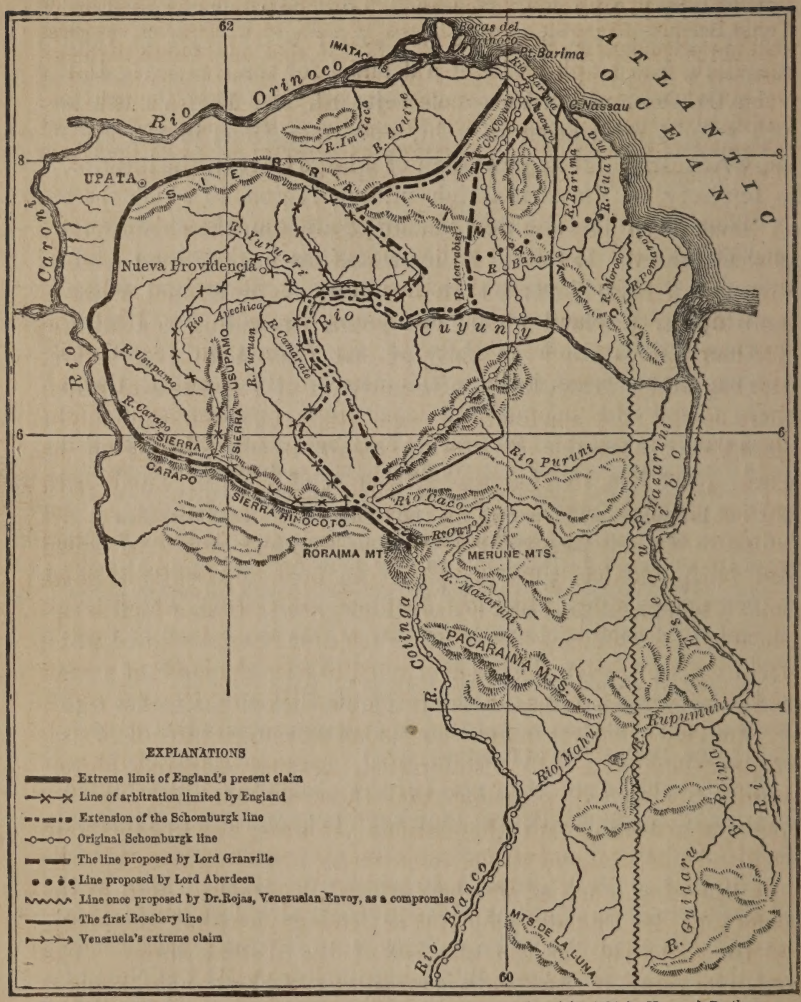
Matters remained in this condition without any dispute about boundaries for many years, and in 1836 the representative of the British Government in Venezuela petitioned the Government of that country for the construction of a lighthouse at Punta Barima, at the mouth of the Orinoco, while in 1841 Venezuelan jurisdiction over Caño Moroco was acknowledged by the court in Demerara. In that same year, however, the first attempt to claim for England what had always been considered Venezuelan territory was made. An English engineer named Schomburgk planted posts and other marks of dominion in Barima and Amacuro, far west of the Essequibo river. Venezuela protested, and England, Lord Aberdeen then being Minister, ordered the removal of the marks set up by Schomburgk, and stated that they were not intended to indicate possession. In 1844 boundary negotiations were opened in England. Venezuela proposed the Essequibo river as a divisional line, and Lord Aberdeen proposed the Moroco river, west of the Essequibo, and stated that Great Britain was disposed to cede all territory between the Moroco and the Amacuro rivers, and made no claim to anything beyond it. Venezuela, however, declined Lord Aberdeen's proposition. In 1850 it was agreed between the two governments that neither should order or sanction any occupation of the territory in dispute. There the matter rested again until 1876, when Venezuela once more opened negotiations, and suggested that they would now accept the Moroco line of Lord Aberdeen. Lord Granville declined this, and proposed a line of his own, which took in a large piece of additional territory on the coast, but followed Lord Aberdeen's line in the interior. This Venezuela declined, and while the negotiations dragged along between 1877 and 1881, the colony of Demerara advanced its settlements, and a British man-of-war appeared at the mouth of the Orinoco with telegraph posts and wire. Venezuela again protested, and invoked the assistance of the United States, and in 1884 Guzman Blanco re-opened negotiations in London. A treaty covering various points was then practically agreed upon, including a provision for arbitration of the boundaries, but a change of Ministry ensued, and Lord Salisbury rejected the arbitration clause. In 1886 Guzman Blanco re-opened the negotiations with

Lord Rosebery, who had succeeded Lord Salisbury, and Lord Rosebery proposed a new line not so far to the west as Lord Granville's, but coupled with it a demand for the free navigation of the Orinoco, which Venezuela rejected. In 1887 Venezuela again sought arbitration in vain, and, meantime, in the same year, Great Britain took possession of a large tract in the interior, the territory of Yuruari, a rich mining region, to which there had never been the slightest shadow of a claim, the only efforts of the Dutch even to extend their possessions having been made on the coast. Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State, and whose friendship for England no one can doubt, wrote to Mr. Phelps, the American Minister in London, as follows in regard to this new and extraordinary pretension on the part of Great Britain:

> The claim now stated to have been put forth by the authorities of British Guiana necessarily gives rise to grave disquietude, and creates an apprehension that the territorial claim does not follow historical traditions or evidence, but is apparently indefinite. At no time hitherto does it appear that the district, of which Guacipati is the centre, has been claimed as British territory or that such jurisdiction has ever been asserted over its inhabitants, and if the reported decree of the governor of British Guiana be indeed genuine it is not apparent how any line of railway from Ciudad Bolivar to Guacipati could enter or traverse territory within the control of Great Britain.
>
> If, indeed, it should appear that there is no fixed limit to the British boundary claim, our good disposition to aid in a settlement might not only be defeated, but be obliged to give place to a feeling of grave concern. (Mr. Bayard to Mr. Phelps, 17th of February, 1888.)

There could be no better proof of the absolutely unwarranted character of England's course than such language from Mr. Bayard.

Venezuela, however, unable to procure arbitration, now severed her diplomatic relations with England, although since that time she has continued her endeavors to re-open negotiations, while the British have gone on seizing territory. At the close of 1889 Great Britain took possession of the main mouth of the Orinoco, and declared Barima a British port. In 1890, Lord Salisbury stated that Great Britain would not accept arbitration as to anything east of the Schomburgk line, and put forward a new pretension over territory beyond that line, to which no claim had ever been made before. In 1893, Lord Rosebery offered a new line going far to the West of the line which he had himself formerly proposed. Let me summarize briefly the course of Great



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Britain, which can be easily followed on the outline map given above:

"Great Britain had not advanced beyond the Pomaron River in 1840. All at once, in the same year, she made an attempt to extend her dominion as far as Barima, where she fixed the starting point of the frontier line between the two Guianas—Schomburgk's line; she retrograded in 1844, and proposed that the line should commence at the River Moroco, between the Pomaron and Punta Barima—Aberdeen's line; in 1881 she removed the

starting point to a distance of 29 miles from the Moroco, in the direction of Punta Barima—Granville's line; thence, in 1886, to a place on the coast west of the Guaima River, between the former spot and Punta Barima—Rosebery's line; in 1890 she set it in the mouth of the Amacuro, west of Punta Barima, on the Orinoco—Salisbury's line; and finally, in 1893, constantly advancing west and south in the interior of the country, she carried the boundary from a point to the west of the Amacuro as far as the source of the Cumano River and the Sierra of Usupamo—Rosebery's new line."

Thus it will be seen that since 1844 England has continually pushed forward the line within which she has declined arbitration, and with each advance she has made an additional claim to more territory about which she would be willing to arbitrate. She has advanced more rapidly of late years than ever before. She has taken large tracts in the interior of Venezuela to which there is not the shadow of a legal right, not even such slight claims as it is possible to offer in regard to the seizures on the coast. She has violated the agreement of 1850, by which both parties promised not to occupy the territory in dispute, an act which in any nation less virtuous than England would be called bad faith, and has thus far seized an area apparently of some 40,000 square miles. She has declined arbitration, which is applicable to a boundary dispute if it can ever be applied, and while declining arbitration she has continued to seize the lands of a weak power by superior force, on the principle that might makes right.

England's motives in her Venezuelan movements are, of course, entirely honorable and disinterested, because England herself admits freely on all occasions that these are her characteristic qualities in dealing with other nations. It is easy also to appreciate England's natural and strong resentment toward a country she has injured as much as she has injured Venezuela. But, at the same time, let England's motives or feelings be what they may, we are concerned for the interests of the United States. The practical result of England's aggressions in Venezuela is plain enough. They are all directed to securing the control of the Orinoco, the great river system of Northern South America, and also of the rich mining district of the Yuruari. All that England has done has been a direct violation of the Monroe doctrine, and she has increased and quickened her aggressions in proportion as the United States have appeared indifferent. The time has come for decisive action. The United States must either maintain the Monroe doctrine and treat its infringement as an act of

hostility or abandon it. If Great Britain is to be permitted to occupy the ports of Nicaragua and, still worse, take the territory of Venezuela, there is nothing to prevent her taking the whole of Venezuela or any other South American state. If Great Britain can do this with impunity, France and Germany will do it also. These powers have already seized the islands of the Pacific and parcelled out Africa. Great Britain cannot extend her possessions in the East. She has pretty nearly reached the limit of what can be secured in Africa. She is now turning her attention to South America. If the United States are prepared to see South America pass gradually into the hands of Great Britain and other European powers and to be hemmed in by British naval posts and European dependencies, there is, of course, nothing more to be said. But the American people are not ready to abandon the Monroe doctrine, or give up their rightful supremacy in the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, they are as ready now to fight to maintain both, as they were when they forced the French out of Mexico. They are not now, and never will be willing to have South America, and the islands adjacent to the United States, seized by European powers. They are resolved that the Nicaraguan canal shall be built and absolutely controlled by the United States. It is high time, therefore, that steps should be taken to maintain the policy of Washington and Adams, to which American statesmen of all parties have adhered down to the present time. It is not too late to peacefully but firmly put an end to these territorial aggressions of Great Britain and to enforce the Monroe doctrine so that no other power will be disposed to infringe upon it. But immediate action is necessary. Every day makes the situation worse. In such a case as this, *obsta principiis* is the only safe rule. In the words of Junius "one precedent creates another. They soon accumulate and constitute law. What yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine." The supremacy of the Monroe doctrine should be established and at once—peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. It will be the duty and the privilege of the next Congress to see that this is done.

H. C. Lodge.

A CABLE POST.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF ATLANTIC SUBMARINE COMMUNICATION.

BY J. HENNIKER HEATON, M. P.

Two generations ago a heaven-sent genius took pity on the two great sister-nations of the Anglo-Saxon stock, dwelling isolated and apart, forever sundered by the wide, tempestuous ocean. A slender wire was laid across the depths of the watery abyss, and an end of this wire was placed in the hand of either sister. "Now speak," said their benefactor, "as if you were face to face. Share your joys, sympathize with each other's sorrows; take sweet counsel together; and if, as is the wont of your sex, you talk overmuch and overlong, why, you will be all the better friends."

Why is it that this delightful vision has never been realized? Why has the grand experiment, on which we grown men looked as boys, with breathless interest, proved a miserable failure? Is it because the two peoples, numbering more than 100,000,000 of the same blood and speech, have nothing to say to each other and no desire for more frequent, rapid, and intimate communication? If so, how can we explain the constantly increasing bulk of the mails, side by side with the development of trans-Atlantic trade, and the eager, persistent injunctions laid on the two governments to provide the swiftest mail steamships that money can buy? No; the obvious explanation is that a shilling a word is a prohibitive rate, which can only be borne in the small class of transactions yielding extraordinary profits, or under the pressure of sheer necessity. If a man with a business of moderate dimensions corresponds with London customers by letter, knowing that his wealthy rivals habitually employ the cable for the same

purpose, it is not because he prefers a week's delay, but because he cannot help himself. On the other hand, capitalists would be glad to have the rate five dollars a word, in order to kill the competition of poorer men. Yet even rich men writhe a little in the grip of the cable companies; and this is why 97 per cent. of the messages are sent in code. The proportion of social messages exchanged between relatives and friends on matters of private concern—only 3 per cent.—is so small as to be hardly worth taking into account at all. The Anglo-American cable tariff helps to accumulate business in the hands of a few operating on a large scale, and to accentuate the inequalities of distribution, while it effectually cuts off all electrical communication between the masses divided by the Atlantic. Electricity has been appropriated by a long-headed "trust," just as whiskey, beer, and other good things have been appropriated. The poor man knows that this subtle force pervades all nature, even to his own body, and that it was intended to be the common heritage of humanity. He hears the long roll of thunder among the hills, he shrinks from the lightning flash, he is exposed to the storm which follows. But if he would avail himself of the marvellous powers of the ubiquitous subject fluid to send a message of life and death, he is promptly reminded that such luxuries are not for the like of him. He may wish to tell his old father that he is one of the few saved from a wreck: "Let the old man wait until he can receive the good news by post."

The Atlantic cables are controlled by a monopoly; that is the evil to be dealt with. Strictly speaking, it is a duopoly, for there are two groups of shareholders interested; but these two maintain a common tariff, and so far as the public is concerned, all the evils of a monopoly exist. Unless competition be independent and unrestricted, its wholesome influence is non-existent. Let me here say, once for all, that I do not presume to censure the sagacious and energetic men of business who have laid the cables, and now work them. Some of these gentlemen—I refer above all to my friend Sir John Pender—have displayed financial and administrative talents of the highest order; and they cannot be blamed for monopolizing electricity, any more than others can be blamed for monopolizing gas and water.

The true culprits are the British and American governments, which have allowed private persons to undertake state responsi-

bilities, and to intercept benefits that belong to the public at large. "*La propriété c'est le vol,*" said Proudhon. However horrified we may be at such a doctrine, all must admit that in certain cases private property means public loss. Where exclusive possession of a right by an individual means a deprivation of essential or valuable privileges to the entire community, the state should assume the ownership, in trust for the citizens. This view is familiar to the postal authorities of the United States, who have long contended that the inland telegraphs ought to be acquired and worked by the state. The communications of the people ought not to be at the mercy of a calculating director, who will naturally prefer a small number of messages at a high rate to a larger number at a lower rate. For such reasons the postal service in every civilized country is managed by state officials. But in every country the telegraph is superseding the post. The mere fact that an inland transaction can be arranged by telegraph or telephone in an hour, at any distance, as against twenty-four hours by post, causes a corresponding reduction in the time required for carrying out the bargain. Where, as in the case of Anglo-American trade, the arrangement by post takes a fortnight, it is obvious that the bulk of such trade, being conducted by post, is handicapped with a fortnight's delay. We are reminded of a surly squire, whose park divides two villages from each other. A few favored persons are allowed to cross the park, but the rest of the villagers must walk several miles round the jealously guarded demesne, in order to communicate with their neighbors.

Before going any further, let us glance at a few facts and figures bearing upon the question before us. Nominally six companies carry on the trans-Atlantic cable traffic, namely: the Anglo-American Telegraph Company, the Western Union Telegraph Company, the Commercial Cable Company, the Direct United States Cable Company, the American Cable Company, and the Paris and New York Cable Company. Of these, however, the American Telegraph and Cable Company is (according to *Burdett's Intelligence*) leased to the Western Union Telegraph Company, and the Anglo-American Telegraph Company receives 48.825 per cent. of the receipts of four companies, namely: the Direct United States Cable Company, the Paris and New York Cable Company, and the American Telegraph and Cable Company (now leased, as stated, to the Western Union Telegraph

Company). It is clear, therefore, that competition is practically confined to the Anglo-American Telegraph Company and the Commercial Cable Company, the former of which controls nine cables (five of its own and four of its allies), while the latter has three at its disposal. *Burdett* states that the capital of the Anglo-American Company is £7,000,000 (nominal), and of the Commercial Cable Company £2,000,000. Putting the capital of the other three companies at about a million each, we may take it that the total capital invested is £12,000,000, or $60,000,000.

Reverting to the Anglo-American Company, there are three kinds of shares—the ordinary, preferred, and deferred; and *Burdett* tells us that in 1893 the ordinary-share holders received £2 11s. per cent., the preferred £5 2s. per cent., and the deferred nothing. The report dated July 20th, 1894, gives the receipts for the half-year at £135,390, and the expenses at £55,716, leaving a balance of £79,674, from which, £12,000 being appropriated to the renewal fund (now amounting to £530,000), the residue available for dividend is £67,674.

By the report of the Commercial Cable Company for 1893, as summarized in *The Times*, it appears that

The gross receipts of the company were	$1,842,346
Working expenses	784,600
Net income	$1,057,746
Dividends paid (7 per cent.)	$613,376
	$444,370
Balance applied to pay off remaining debenture bonds	389,600
	$54,770

The number of words sent over the cables between America and England last year was 23,000,000. Of these twenty million were business messages at one shilling per word, and the balance, three millions, were messages at fivepence per word. Deducting some small charges, the total income from Anglo-American cables may be put down at £1,000,000, or five million dollars.

Now, by means of the recent improvements, forty-five words per minute can be sent over one wire, so that the twelve cables might be employed to send in one year no less than 283,824,000 words! It must be remembered, however, that only two of the twelve cables are extensively employed. Indeed, a cable expert of high authority is of opinion that the new cable of the Anglo-American Company, having a weight of 400 pounds of copper to the mile, is of sufficient capacity to carry all the existing traffic.

The cost of laying a trans-Atlantic cable is said to be about £500,000. If so, the total cost for the twelve working cables, and three which have been abandoned, is about £7,500,000. Yet the capital of a single company is £7,000,000, while for £1,000,000 we might at once lay two cables capable of doing all the work. The interest on £1,000,000 could not exceed £50,000, and the working expenses would be about £80,000; total, £130,000. For which annual expenditure the public might have a service just as good as the present one, for which it pays the companies £1,000,000.

It is of course well known that there is great pressure on the cables at certain hours—just about the time when the street traffic becomes congested opposite the Mansion House; while at night the wires are comparatively idle. Again, the code system must greatly impede and hamper the working of the service. One man is known to have paid £3,000 for a good code. These codes are sometimes over-significant. Thus the word "man" might mean "Readings declined one-tenth," "Penns. rose one-fifth," and "New York Central steady." And again the word "wormlike" means in one code: "The price is 10 shillings; appearing high as compared with your market. We took refusal until to-morrow, and shall buy unless you immediately instruct us to the contrary." This message of twenty-eight words was sent as one word, to the disgust of the shareholders and managers of the cable companies. No code can properly anticipate a social or family message. Such codes as have been prepared are rarely used, for it is difficult to prepare a cut and dried programme of the diversified events of daily life. An attempt was made some years ago to charge double and treble for code words. But the merchants were too clever, and an apparent social message, such as that "John married Eliza," often conveyed the most recent market rates for corn, leather, and cotton goods. I may here compliment the officers and men of the cable companies on their courtesy, capacity, high ability, and intelligence. The accuracy with which they work is simply astonishing. But they cannot please everybody. Some persons are intolerant of the slightest delay. The other day a gentleman made a great disturbance in a London office because he had to wait 20 minutes for a reply from New York. It must be abundantly clear from what has been said that in the charge of one shilling per word the public is paying not only for

the companies' services, but for their founders' blunders, their miscalculations, and their faulty finance. It is paying for abandoned cables, for superfluous cables, for unnecessary working staff and apparatus. In a word, the public is paying, as already pointed out, a million a year for what could be supplied at £130,000.

I repeat that if it were possible to take a sponge and wipe out our present cable service, we could reconstruct the whole of the present living cables to America for £6,000,000.

It remains to suggest a remedy for the unsatisfactory state of things which we have been reviewing. Here are two nations, the one of 38,000,000, the other of 65,000,000, of the same origin, speaking the same language, and strongly attached to each other. The American imports from the United Kingdom amount to £37,577,682, and the American exports to the United Kingdom are £86,543,150. British immigrants still pour into the States at the rate of 160,000 per annum; and it is no exaggeration to say, therefore, that millions of American citizens are as warmly attached to the one country as to the other. Parents and friends are left in the Old Country; wives, children, and more friends are found in the New World. Yet of the total 100,000,000 people, only one in ten cables one word a year.

I say it is high time to change all this; to recognize that since the first cable was laid the Atlantic no longer exists. What I propose is that the British and American governments should jointly acquire the property and rights of the existing cable companies, at a fair valuation, and establish a common state monopoly in cable communication. They should then establish a tariff of one penny per word; and the result would be a prodigious development of trade, and an immense increase in the happiness of the masses. It is by no means impossible that ultimately the tariff might be still further lowered, down in fact to the lowest remunerative point. For governments have no right to make a profit out of the communications of the people.

This programme is by no means a visionary one. For no appreciable increase of expenditure accompanies the augmentation of the traffic over a wire, which is almost pure profit. If the traffic increased twelve times under a penny tariff, the revenue would be the same as at present; but the state would be satisfied with less than half the revenue of the companies. In fact it

would be perfectly feasible to telegraph the whole of the letters now exchanged between the two countries, for the sum which is now paid to the mail-steamship companies.

Meanwhile, I may invite the Anglo-American Company to make a grand experiment. It should institute a Sunday or nightly service at a penny per word for purely social messages, the use of codes being strictly forbidden. I have little doubt that a profit of £50,000 a year would at once be realized.

I appeal to men of business, on both sides of the Atlantic, to take up this question, as one in which the immediate future of commerce is bound up, and to insist, first, that the two governments shall do their duty by performing the work, and secondly, that the tariff shall be no more than sufficient to meet expenditure. A profit on cablegrams, telegrams, or letters is as noxious and indefensible as a tax on books or newspapers, or on conversations with one's friends and customers. We might as well levy tithes on seed corn, or exact a duty whenever a traveller calls for orders. The initial operations of trade, which may or may not lead to profitable results, should be encouraged and facilitated, for every individual in every class of society is directly or indirectly interested in their success. Taxation should be collected on profits, not on tools ; not on the negotiations that are intended to create profitable work. I call upon British and American statesmen to seize this golden opportunity of benefiting the two peoples, and adding the precious birthright of cheap and instantaneous intercourse to the privileges already distinguishing the Anglo-Saxon race. This is no scientific problem or financial adventure. The wires exist, the staff is in perfect training; and at a week's notice the people of the United Kingdom and the United States may be in constant electrical communication on questions of business or on private affairs; the letter post being reserved for the transmission of formal documents. And this wonderful transformation would be effected with a positive saving to the taxpayers.

Finally I turn to the one man who has it in his power to advance this scheme more than all other public men put together— I mean Sir John Pender. Sir John is the brain of cabling enterprise, not only in the Atlantic, but all over the world. He has gathered up the electric threads, throbbing with the fate of individuals and nations, as an old coachman gathers up the reins of

his team. He is the Cable King. He has acquired a universal monopoly in submarine telegraphy for the companies with which he is connected. He is chairman of the Eastern Telegraph Company, which, with its allies and satellites, such as the Indo-European, the Great Northern, the Eastern Extension, and the South African Companies, engrosses all the traffic of Egypt, India, the East, Australia, and Africa. In the same way he has helped to form this alliance of four trans-Atlantic companies, which "pool" their profits, and defeat all efforts to reduce the tariff. When his one rival, the Commercial Cable Company, was formed, the rates went down from one shilling and eightpence to sixpence, and the traffic increased 727 per cent. But Sir John has worked the charge up again to a minimum of one shilling per word, and there he would fain maintain it. But he must be aware that this scandal of idle wires and prohibitive charges cannot last forever. He is exposed at any moment to competition such as has just been called into existence in the Pacific. I suggest to him to be wise in time, to accept a fair compensation for his shareholders (some of whom receive nothing), and to support with all his unmatched experience and ability the proposal here brought forward. He has had a long and splendid career, in the course of which he has conferred splendid advantages on the commerce of the world. Let him crown the work by doing something for the millions who can never pay high tariffs, but who none the less long for the means of communicating in a moment with those who are dear to them. If he should listen to this appeal and link the hearts, and not merely the pockets, of the two peoples with an electric chain, he will have accomplished a miracle in the Atlantic almost recalling that witnessed in the Red Sea when, as Moses stretched forth his hand, the angry waters were rolled back and were a wall unto the Israelites on their right hand and on their left.

I may summarize the policy put forward in this article by quoting the terms of a resolution which stands in my name on the Order-Book of the British House of Commons:

That freedom of communication by cable is one of the most vital interests of the Empire, and, as such, ought not to be dependent on the policy of private companies; that it is in the highest degree expedient to encourage, cheapen, and facilitate communication by means of the electric cable between the several portions of the Empire; that the rates charged by the cable companies for the transmission of messages are, generally speaking,

excessive, and, in some cases, prohibitive; that, it being advisable at all costs to put an immediate end to cable monopolies, the British Government (or the Home and Colonial governments jointly) ought forthwith, in the interests of the Empire, to acquire, at a fair price, the rights, plant (and other property, if any) of the existing cable companies; that the price paid should not exceed the market value of the cable companies' shares on the date of the appearance of this proposed resolution in the paper; and that the state (or the Imperial Cable Administration), when possessed of the cables, should aim at no profit on the transmission of cablegrams, but should charge rates low enough to allow of the despatch of the largest possible number of messages, after providing for the cost of maintaining the cables and the service generally in an efficient condition, the cost of any extension of the cable not being met by a further investment of state funds."

It is a significant fact that the action of the British and French governments in buying the Submarine Cable Company's wires across the British Channel proved highly profitable and advantageous to both countries.

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

CAN WEST POINT BE MADE MORE USEFUL?

BY GENERAL JOHN GIBBON, U. S. A.

In some respects the Military Academy at West Point has remained as it was fifty years ago, but in others it has undergone very radical changes. During these fifty years the course of studies has been very considerably expanded; the number of professors and instructors augmented; the scientific apparatus improved, and the number of cadets increased with the growth of the country. Yet the Academy is the same in so far that a uniform class of students change the gray of the cadet for the army blue, "to grow gray as captains or lieutenants."

The most radical change which has taken place in the Academy during these fifty odd years relates to the standard established for entrance. The qualifications required by law, with some few additions, remain about as they have always been, but had the Academic Board interpreted the law fifty odd years ago as it is interpreted and enforced to-day, many of our most distinguished generals could never have passed the portals of the institution. The objection to the present system of examination for entrance to the Academy is, that it bars out from the military profession one-third of all the boys appointed, before giving them the slightest opportunity of showing whether or not they possess any soldierly qualities. This is not only bad policy, but it is bad tactics for the welfare of the country and unjust in its discrimination against certain sections, when the clear intention of the law is to be impartial. Fifty odd years ago, had the bars to the entrance of the Military Academy been as rigid as they are now, the country never could have had the services of a Grant, a Sheridan or a Hancock!

The rules governing matters of this kind have a tendency to become more and more rigid, but the military class in this coun-

try, and probably a good many more, were considerably startled by the announcement that a grandson of Hancock had just been rejected for being two pounds under the standard weight! In architecture, it may be a good rule that a building of a certain width should have a specific height, but a rule which demands that an embryo warrior of a specific height and age must weigh a given number of pounds, is as likely to rule out a Napoleon as a blockhead, on a feature, too, so apt soon to be remedied by government rations.

There should be no examination whatever (except a physical one), for entrance to the Academy, and the test as to whether or not the appointees have any qualifications as soldiers should be applied at the end of six months, when an opportunity could be afforded the Academic Board to judge understandingly of the character and aptitude of each for the military profession.

One of the principal characteristics (if not the main one) of graduates of the Military Academy is their soldierly bearing and conduct, and the tendency of the whole course at West Point is toward the production of these characteristics. Considering the results of the West Point education and the character of its real founder, Colonel Thayer, it is not presuming too much to say that the intention originally in founding the Military Academy was to make "soldiers." The country to-day recognizes that in this the Academy has been a success. Although many graduates have distinguished themselves in other walks of life, all will admit that the Military Academy is most distinguished for her "soldiers" and her very creditable list of "generals." Of the few who showed genius in war, we have every reason to feel proud, and the country seems measurably well satisfied with the soldierly qualities displayed by the mass of her graduates, both during the Mexican War and the great War of the Rebellion. But in the struggle for this endorsement by the people, great obstacles had to be encountered, and the day was finally won by the frank and soldierly testimony of the American Volunteer.

In the only foreign war we have had since the graduates existed in any number, they, and indeed the whole regular army, played an entirely subordinate part, nearly all the prominent officers, with the exception of the two leaders, Scott and Taylor, being appointed from civil life; but it is well to note that in

most cases these officers from civil life surrounded themselves with graduates and other officers of the regular establishment by appointing them on their staffs, and that both the great leaders, Scott and Taylor, gave full credit to these subordinates for their valuable services in the war. How highly General Scott prized the services of the graduates in Mexico is shown by a letter, dated July 25, 1860, in which he says :

"I give it as my fixed opinion that but for our graduated cadets, the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted some four or five years, with, in the first half, more defeats than victories falling to our share ; whereas in less than two campaigns, we conquered a great country and a peace without the loss of a single battle or skirmish."

This testimony from the great soldier (a non-graduate) whose campaign in Mexico was so eminently successful, did not serve to change the policy of the authorities, for when the civil war burst upon us in all its huge proportions, and volunteers were flocking to the aid of the Government by thousands, it was still adhered to, and commanders were appointed who were as ignorant of military matters as the volunteers themselves, sometimes more so, for some of the volunteer regiments could drill and go through the manual—an important though minor element in the science of war.

On the opening of the war there was no immediate demand for graduates, and with some few individual exceptions they were not appointed to as prominent positions as colonels of regiments. When the war had actually begun, and it became apparent that it was a very serious matter, demanding not only professional knowledge but some preparation, every community in the land commenced looking for people who could give the command "Shoulder arms !" and knew whether it was properly executed or not. This, of course, was not true where there were well drilled militia regiments, but in numerous other places that hunt went on.

The success of professional military men was largely due to the quick-witted, intelligent observation of the American soldier, who did not fail to notice the immense superiority, in every way, of the well drilled, disciplined regiment over the rabble in the adjoining camps, and after once going into action all doubt in regard to the advantages of discipline and drill vanished, and then all sensible men yearned for the same kind of training that

they might be made perfect. Thus did the few regiments disciplined under regular officers leaven the whole batch. The masses, however, knew little of the struggles by which this efficiency was gained. Many a poor fellow, smarting under the galling restraints of discipline and madly raging against arbitrary rules, the objects of which he did not see, had sworn in his heart that in the first battle he would wreak dire vengeance against the ruthless tyrant placed over his head. But when he went into battle and discovered that that "tyrant" was his savior, and that now every rule and restraint, inexplicable before, was enforced with an object and a purpose, his resentments all vanished and he became henceforth a "regular" amongst "regulars."

Americans are an intensely practical people, and when, during the first year of the war, those of them who were in the field had opportunities to observe the effect produced on raw troops by such men as Kearney with New Jersey volunteers; McCall, Reynolds, Meade and Ord with those from Pennsylvania; Smith and Brooks with Vermont men; Dana and Sully with those from Minnesota, and Gordon with Massachusetts men, they soon began to appreciate the fact that a knowledge of military affairs was a good thing to have, and they preferred "military" men for military purposes, just as they have preferred the operation of a skillful surgeon in amputating a leg to that of an amateur with broad-axe and hand-saw.

From that time the military element took the ascendant and held it, and in numerous instances the men themselves besought the governors of States to appoint military men to command them. In this way the volunteers themselves decided in favor of West Point and its system as the best school for war. The country itself fully endorsed this approval, and now the question is a very pertinent one: "How can this institution which has demonstrated its usefulness in times of war, be made, in a time of profound peace, more useful still to meet the contingencies of future wars?" The general answer is: "By extending the influence of West Point education in such a way as to leaven the military element in the country, so that, in the event of war, our forces shall be in a better state of preparation to take the field than they have ever been in before." How best to do that is the practical question before us.

General Scott, in the letter from which I have already quoted, recognizing the fact of the unjust discrimination against boys sent from the sparsely settled districts, whose opportunities for schooling were so few, made a recommendation which he prefaced by saying:

"The many rejections at the first examination and the still greater number of failures after admission, clearly referable to bad habits contracted at home—the result of defective family discipline, so common throughout our country—have long spread so general a prejudice against the Academy, that it would certainly, by this time, have been altogether abolished but for the admiration won by graduates in the Mexican war. *That generous and patriotic feeling*, however, is not likely to *survive the present generation*; hence the necessity of finding some means of preventing or diminishing the annual growth of the popular prejudice in question."

He, therefore, proposed "a preparatory school in the Academy—a fifth class with a lower standard of preparatory knowledge, together with admission at an earlier age (say fourteen)." This recommendation was never acted upon. A short time, before, a five years' course had been adopted, but the entrance class was not devoted to preparatory studies, the entrance age was not reduced, and the standard of admission, far from being lowered, was raised. It has been rising ever since.

The five years' course was soon abandoned, and the high standard for admission has since been adhered to.

General Scott's prediction in regard to abolishing the Academy in accordance with the popular prejudice against it, would in all probability have been fulfilled, but for the interposition of the civil war, and the verdict of our people in favor of West Point as a preparatory school for war. "The admiration won by graduates in the (Civil) War" may stave off the doom of the Academy for a time, but no system which rejects one-third of all the applicants for admission before they have had any chance to show whether or not they can be moulded into soldiers can very long withstand a popular verdict of disapproval. The simple remedy is to have no mental examination at all before entrance, and to let the test come six months (or preferably a year) after entrance. This would possess the advantage over a year of preparatory schooling, of requiring no diminution of age or standard, and would allow boys with defective education and possessed with the requisite energy and push to assert themselves. The education, drill and discipline, bestowed in these six or twelve months at the

Academy, would not be thrown away upon those who failed to pass the examinations, for they would carry back to the people important information which would be valuable in case of war, as was abundantly shown in the rebellion.

If a thing is good, it may be made better. If West Point education is beneficial to the country, then the more it is extended within proper limits the better, and an increase of the number of yearly graduates is desirable. By restoring the right of the President to appoint ten each year, and bestowing the right to nominate one cadet upon each United States senator, the number would be increased about one hundred per year for four years, and the number of graduates after that would be proportionately greater.

The West Point course of four years' education is complete and well rounded out at the end of the term as preparatory to a military career. Cut short at any point, defects would be left, not easily remedied in after years. One year's course at the Academy would simply set a boy up in the school of the soldier, drill and discipline, and instruct him in the lower grades of a common school education ; a second year would improve his drill, add somewhat to his discipline and to his mental acquirements. A third year would add drawing and the higher mathematics, the duties of a non-commissioned officer, drill in cavalry and artillery, and some knowledge of ordnance matters. Whilst the fourth year would give him practice in the duties of a commissioned officer, experience in drill as a commander of artillery, infantry, and cavalry, and instruction in the application of mathematics, and the details of civil and military engineering, etc., etc.

The cadet's education when he graduates is by no means completed. He has simply laid a good foundation for that military education which he is to perfect in the army. To omit any one of his four years' course at the Academy would therefore be akin to leaving out of a piece of machinery one of the important wheels. Hence I do not think it would be advisable to adopt Mr. Mitchel's * suggestion for the partial education of more cadets, to be used after they leave the Academy in the instruction of the State militia. The cadet on graduation can scarcely be regarded as being adequately equipped as an instructor. He has just escaped pupilage himself, with a very limited knowledge of the outside world. He

* North American Review, July, 1894.

needs just the experience he will get in the army in contact with age and experience to fit him for the important position of instructor, where he will be frequently called upon to instruct men much older than himself. Hence it would be preferable to graduate (in full) a larger number and put them in the army to complete their education and perform the duties of those older officers, whose more mature services could be made use of elsewhere.

Army officers are now being used quite extensively in disseminating military information and instruction throughout the country. A large number are engaged in giving instruction in various colleges, and every season numbers of them are detailed for duty with the militia of the different States, both for the purpose of drill and inspection. So great a draft, in fact, is made on the army for these and other purposes that the number of officers serving with troops is reduced to a very low ebb, although seventy companies in the regular establishment have been practically disbanded. Let the young graduates fill the void thus made, perform service with troops, and thus enable still more of the older officers to be detached for service with the State militia.

It is a matter of the first importance that there should be a cordial and sympathetic bond between the regular service of the United States and the State troops. Wherever there has been an opportunity to bring the two together, this bond already exists, and it is desirable to continue it, foster it and extend its influence. This can be done by still further extending the detail of regular officers for service with State troops. For such a purpose the authorities of the United States and of the various States should be in accord. Probably the simplest way to bring this about would be for Congress to enact a law, giving authority to detail such number of officers as could be spared from active service for duty with the State militia for periods of not less than four years, unless otherwise specially directed. These details should be made in accordance with the requests of State governors, who, as a rule, would apply for officers from their own States, and thus start the system under the most favorable auspices.

It has often been remarked in the army that officers who leave the service and go into private life are sure to return to it, on the occurrence of war, with rank far above that of the officers left

behind amongst the regulars. Jefferson Davis, Clay, Stevens, McClellan, Burnside, Sherman, Grant, Mitchel, Slocum, Rosecrans and McCall are prominent examples of this, and there are numerous others. The reason for this is plain. The regular officer, cut off very much as he is by the peculiarities of our service from contact with his fellow citizens, loses that touch so easily kept up by the officer in civil life, and when the opportunity occurs he is just in the position to meet the want demanded by the community. It is this touch with civil life which it is intended to keep up by the plan I propose. The governors of States, having secured the services of a number of officers by details for a series of years, would be enabled to appoint them to positions in the State militia, the older ones as field officers of regiments, the younger ones on the staff, and the influence of all would be speedily felt in the State organization.

At the commencement of the Civil War the prejudice against the Academy, so deplored by General Scott in his letter, from which I have already quoted, was increased in the popular mind by the fact that at a time of great civil turmoil and excitement when, in all the other walks of life, people were severing their connection with the government, some of her graduates were seen to leave the service and, in the political phraseology of the times, "go with their States," and it was loudly proclaimed that West Point fostered disloyalty to the government which educated its pupils for her military service. But this feeling was in a great measure swept aside when the country came to recognize the services of her graduated cadets, and to realize the fact that a West Point education actually kept loyal one-half of the southern graduates; that four-fifths of all graduates remained loyal to the government; that one-fifth of those engaged laid down their lives in the war, whilst between one-third and one-half were wounded.*

It was a Southern graduate who, amidst doubt and perplexity, and when there was uncertainty and wavering in the highest officials, shifted his little garrison from Moultrie to Sumter and defended his flag to the last. It was a Southern graduate who, in far off New Mexico, having received a letter from his father disowning him for not resigning and coming home to join his State in rebellion,

* Politics does not constitute any part of West Point education, though constitutional law is taught there, and although the whole tendency of the instruction is to ignore partisan politics it cannot be expected that a few years course can entirely obliterate the teachings of early life amidst a community where peculiar political ideas have existed for generations.

went into battle, fought his battery until all his gunners were shot down and then, in face of the coming charge of rebels, coolly seated himself upon the trail of his gun, drew his revolver and fired it until he was shot down. It was a Southern graduate* who, down in Texas, commanding a little post of one company, replied to a rebel summons to surrender, that he had been placed in charge of that post by his government and he would surrender it to no one unless by its order. It was a Southern graduate who, with his gallant division, so bravely resisted the advance of Early's troops at Cedar Creek as to enable Sheridan, when he reached the field, to rally his army on this division, turn the tide of battle, and win a great victory. In the mad whirl of secession there were two graduates from Mississippi who remained true to the flag under which they were raised. One of them, at the head of a cavalry force, cut his way out of Harper's Ferry, and joined McClellan's army at Antietam. He afterwards fell leading a charge at Beverly Ford. The other laid down his young life gallantly defending Knoxville, Tenn., against his own people. The "Rock of Chickamauga" was a Southern graduate.

An institution with this record need not fear to look the world in the face, nor will the country long harbor the remembrance that in the mad whirl of political revolution some of her pupils were torn loose from those teachings which it will be well to disseminate more and more.

JOHN GIBBON.

* This graduate shortly afterwards resigned and joined the Rebellion.

GLIMPSES OF CHARLES DICKENS.

BY CHARLES DICKENS THE YOUNGER.

II.

FROM a very early period of his career the idea of reading his books aloud was very familiar to my father, and as far back as the year 1844 he read "*The Chimes*" to a specially distinguished audience of men of letters and artists in Mr. Forster's room, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, running over from Genoa for the purpose. Readings of the portion of the book which might at the time be in progress we often had at home, and it was only two years after "*The Chimes*" reading that, writing from Lausanne to Mr. Forster, he said: "I was thinking the other day that, in these days of lecturings and readings, a great deal of money might be made (if it were not *infra dig.*) by one's having readings of one's own books. It would be an odd thing. I think it would take immensely. What do you think?" Mr. Forster did not encourage the idea, and it remained for some time in abeyance, but at Christmas, 1853, my father gave three readings for the benefit of the Midland Institute, in the Birmingham Town Hall, to tremendous audiences; and so many other applications for aid of a similar kind were made to him from other parts of the country, that it soon became evident that there would be little chance for Mr. Forster's advice against the determined set of my father's inclinations toward the platform. But if Mr. Forster could not altogether put a stop to the project, he could delay it considerably, and it was not until the 29th of April, 1858, at St. Martin's Hall, in London, now no longer in existence, that the first professional appearance as a reader was made. Shall I ever forget how my father, at one of the early St. Martin's Hall readings, gave Serjeant Buzfuz's speech straight at Lord Chief Justice

Campbell, who happened to be seated in the middle of the front row, and who took the joke with admirable gravity; or how several of the learned counsel who were present, themselves very open to the charge of Buzfuzism, afterwards pronounced the serjeant to be an exaggeration, the like of which the British bar had never known?

As regards Mr. Forster's opposition to the undertaking the truth is, to speak with all respect of so good a friend and, in the main, so judicious an adviser, that he was intensely jealous of anything my father did outside his books. "Freely open as Dickens was to counsel in regard to his books he was less accessible to it on points of personal conduct," Mr. Forster says with some artlessness, and it was because he found his influence powerless in regard to the readings that he attributed all sorts of evils, real and imaginary, to them. "It was," he declared, "a substitution of lower for higher aims; a change to commonplace from more elevated pursuits, and it had so much of the character of a public exhibition for money as to raise, in the question of respect for his calling as a writer, a question also of respect for him as a gentleman." My father took a clearer and a wider view than this, and the result justified his confidence. Neither as a writer, nor as a gentleman, did his public readings damage him in any way, and, for my part, I have always thought that a great deal of that curious sort of private affection which the public were always ready to display towards him, arose from the relations of personal friendship, so to speak, which were set up in the course of his numerous public appearances. "Mr. Dickens, will you let me touch the hand that has filled my house with many friends?" said a lady, quite unknown to him, speaking to him in the streets of York the day after one of the early readings, and I think this was the sort of spirit in which the readings were at first accepted, and which, even if they had not been as admirable as they were, would still have made them successful. But how admirable they were, and what a prodigious success they grew to be on their own merits alone, many of my readers know, and need not now be told by me.

Time will not admit of my dwelling at any length on the history of the readings, and it is only in respect to their bearing on the premature close of my father's life that I will touch upon them, even briefly, now. For, unfortunately, they did have a

distinct bearing upon the end, and must be said to have hastened it even if they did not actually bring it about. It was not only that the work was hard—I have known readers and lecturers who have worked much harder, in so far as mere travelling and number of public appearances are concerned—but there was something of almost willful exaggeration, of a defiance of any possible overfatigue, either of mind or body, in the feverish sort of energy with which these readings were entered upon and carried out. And that they went on long after unmistakable physical signs had given the clearest warnings of serious danger ahead, everybody knows quite well.

The first two series, those of 1858–1859 and 1861–1863, did no particular harm, though indications of overwork were not wanting from time to time even then—not altogether surprising when we remember that, besides the readings, there were editorial duties to be attended to, and books to be written as well. But in the early part of 1865 my father had a somewhat severe attack of illness, and was afflicted from that time to his death with a lameness in the left foot, brought about by some form of inflammation which, occasionally, caused him acute suffering, and which persistence in excessive walking exercise greatly aggravated. The actual cause of this painful malady was somewhat of a puzzle to the doctors. Sir Henry Thompson put it down to gout. Another eminent authority, Mr. Syme, of Edinburgh, said it was nothing of the kind. All that they did agree upon was that perfect rest was necessary, and perfect rest was just the very thing that could not be got. And in June of that year my father was in the terrible railway accident at Staplehurst, when, although he escaped actual injury, he received such a shock to the nervous system as he never quite got over. I went down to Gadshill when I saw the news in the paper next morning, and found him greatly shaken, though making as light of it as possible—how greatly shaken I was able to perceive from his continually repeated injunctions to me by and by, as I was driving him in the basket carriage, to "go slower, Charley," until we came to a footpace, and it was still, "go slower, Charley."

For some months he suffered considerably at intervals. There was a perceptible drag about the left foot; the pulse denoted some ailment of the heart. He was, in fact, really ill—so ill that he even recognized the fact himself. In February, 1866, he wrote:

"For some time I have been unwell. I have noticed for some time a decided change in my buoyancy and hopefulness—in other words, in my usual tone." All this pointed to the absolute necessity of rest, but the very next sentence in the letter I have just quoted ran: "So I have accepted an offer to read for thirty nights in England, Ireland, Scotland, or Paris," and so the round of hard work, under circumstances more than ever difficult and unfavorable, began again. So the season of 1866–1867 was got through, not without great effort and considerable suffering, and in the autumn of 1867 he went on his second visit to America, where, notwithstanding almost continual illness and frequent recurrences of the trouble in the foot, aggravated by over-walking in the snow, he travelled and read all through a very severe and trying winter.

Soon after his return I joined my father as private secretary and sub-editor of *All the Year Round*, and almost my very first experience of work with him was connected with the new reading which he now had strongly in his mind—that of the *Sikes* and *Nancy* murder. We were alone together at Gadshill, I remember, and I was sitting, with doors and windows open, one bright, clear, still, warm autumn day, in the library, engaged upon a mass of papers, as to which I had to report to him later in the day. Where he was I did not know, but, supposing him to be in the Swiss chalet, over in the shrubbery, across the road, took advantage of having the place to myself, and went steadily on with my work. Presently I heard a noise as if a tremendous row were going on outside, and as if two people were engaged in a violent altercation or quarrel, which threatened serious results to somebody. Ours being a country constantly infested with tramps, I looked upon the disturbance at first as merely one of the usual domestic incidents of tramp life arising out of some nomadic gentleman beating his wife up our lane, as was quite the common custom, and gave it hardly a moment's attention. Presently the noise came again, and yet again, worse than before, until I thought it really necessary to ascertain what was going on. Stepping out of the door on to the lawn at the back, I soon discovered the cause of the disturbance. There, at the other end of the meadow, was my father, striding up and down, gesticulating wildly, and, in the character of *Mr. Sikes*, murdering *Nancy*, with every circumstance of the most aggravated brutality. After

dinner I told him what I had seen, and he read me the murder—it was rather a startler for an audience of one—and asked me what I thought about it. "The finest thing I have ever heard," was my verdict; "but don't do it." If there was one thing more than another that my father resented it was any suggestion from anybody else that his health was failing, or that he was undertaking anything beyond his strength, so when I was pressed for reasons I would give none, and merely stuck to my point without any explanation or argument. Mr. Forster had also objections to urge; he had, as he tells us, a strong dislike to the proposal, less, perhaps, on the ground which ought to have been insisted upon, of the excessive physical exertion it would involve, than because such a subject seemed to be "out of the province of reading," and it was finally resolved that, before the murder was incorporated in a public programme, there should be a private trial performance of it at St. James' Hall.

Well, the trial performance was given before a very representative and critical audience, whose verdict, unfortunately, confirmed my father in his opinion of the effect the reading would produce upon the public, and the moment he spoke to me—eager, triumphant, excited—at the little supper on the platform which brought the proceedings to a cheery end, I knew that no advice or expostulation of mine would avail. "Well, Charley, and what do you think of it now?" he said to me as I came up to where he was receiving the enthusiastic congratulations of such good judges of dramatic effect as Madame Celeste and Mrs. Keeley. "It is finer even than I expected," I answered, "but I still say, don't do it." As he looked at me with a puzzled expression in his eyes, Mr. Edmund Yates came up to us. "What do you think of this, Edmund?" my father said. "Here is Charley saying it is the finest thing he ever heard, but persists in telling me, without giving any reason, not to do it." Mr. Yates, an intimate friend and a keen observer, knew more than most of the people who were gathered about us, and, with one quick look at me, said gravely, and to my father's intense amazement, "I agree with Charley, sir."

And, indeed, the situation was grave enough to any one who would look at it impartially. He had altered materially of late. There was no doubt the American work had told upon him severely. The trouble in the foot was greatly intensified, and he

was gravely out of health. Among other serious symptoms he noticed that he could only read the halves of the letters over the shopdoors on his right. The old elasticity was impaired, the old unflagging vigor often faltered. One night at the St. James's Hall, I remember, he found it impossible to say Pickwick, and called him Pickswick, and Picnic, and Peckwicks, and all sorts of names except the right, with a comical glance of surprise at the occupants of the front seats, which were always reserved for his family and friends. But, although his lifelong friend and medical attendant, Mr. Carr Beard, looked very grave at this danger signal, he himself treated it lightly enough, and if he attributed it to any special cause at all, referred it, as he referred the disordered vision I have mentioned, to the effects of the medicine he was taking.

Everything pointed to the desirability of his giving up the more trying part of his work—at the very least to the absolute necessity of not adding to it in any way. But his mind was made up. The new series of readings must be carried through, and *Sikes* and *Nancy* must be put into the programme as often as possible. You will see, if you will read Mr. George Dolby's excellent book, *Charles Dickens as I Knew Him*, how intolerant he became of any suggestion that the work that he had undertaken was too hard, or that the number of murders should at any rate be curtailed, and what tremendous effort, followed by what pitiable exhaustion, this particular reading cost him. But nothing could stop him, until nature stepped in and brought the series of readings to an abrupt close towards the end of April, 1869, by the development of symptoms, the significance of which Dr. Thomas Watson, who was specially consulted, and Mr. Beard, refused to ignore. In fact when my father described himself, in a letter written to Mr. Dolby on the very eve of the breakdown, as being, "a little out of sorts," he was, in fact, on the brink of an attack of paralysis of the left side, and probably of apoplexy.

The enforced rest brought about some improvement, and during the rest of the year he pursued his usual editorial business, in the course of which I was with him constantly, and also worked at *Edwin Drood* with no very apparent strain, and really seemed on the road to a much better state of health. But there was yet to be a farewell series of twelve readings at St. James' Hall, and I have no sort of doubt whatever that these completed the

work which the murder had practically begun, and, if his death can be attributed to any one thing, killed him. "I have had some steps put up against the side of the platform, Charley," said Mr. Beard, who was constantly in attendance. "You must be there every night, and if you see your father falter in the least, you must run up and catch him and bring him off with me, or, by Heaven, he'll die before them all." What I felt during those readings, and when I saw the exhausted state of the reader in his dressing-room afterwards, I need not tell you. But, strangely enough, I remember very well that on the very last night of all, the 15th of March, 1870, I thought I had never heard him read the "*Christmas Carol*" and "*The Trial from Pickwick*" so well and with so little effort, and almost felt inclined to hope against hope that things had not been really so serious as the doctors had supposed.

My readers know how soon the end came. On that mournful time you will not, I am sure, wish me to dwell. I will only tell you of the last time I was with him before he lay dying in the dining-room at Gadshill—an interview which is curiously illustrative of that reality to him of his ideal world to which I have already referred. He was in town for our usual Thursday meeting on the business of *All the Year Round*, and, instead of returning to Gadshill on that day, had remained over night, and was at work again in his room in Wellington street on Friday, June 3. During the morning I had hardly seen him except to take his instructions about some work I had to do, and at about one o'clock—I had arranged to go into the country for the afternoon—I cleared up my table and prepared to leave. The door of communication between our rooms was open as usual, and, as I came toward him, I saw that he was writing very earnestly. After a moment I said, "If you don't want anything more, sir, I shall be off now," but he continued his writing with the same intensity as before, and gave no sign of being aware of my presence. Again I spoke—louder, perhaps, this time—and he raised his head and looked at me long and fixedly. But I soon found that, although his eyes were bent upon me and he seemed to be looking at me earnestly, he did not see me, and that he was, in fact, unconscious for the moment of my very existence. He was in dreamland with *Edwin Drood*, and I left him—for the last time.

It was but a few days after that, as you know, that we laid him to his rest in the grey old Abbey, with the garden plots all around appropriately ablaze in the warm June air with the scarlet flowers he loved so well, and I think that we all felt, even then, in the first bitterness of our loss, that the end, although it had come all too soon for us, had come to him as he himself would have wished it to come. "Much better to die, doing," he had said thirteen or fourteen years before; and again, "I have always felt of myself that I must, please God, die in harness. How strange it is to be never at rest, and never satisfied, and ever trying after something that is never reached, and to be always laden with plot and plan, and care and worry; how clear it is that it must be, and that one is driven by an irresistible might until the journey is worked out! It is much better to go on and fret than to stop and fret. As to repose—for some men there's no such thing in this life."

CHAS. DICKENS.

MILITARY LESSONS OF THE CHINO-JAPANESE WAR.

BY THE HON. HILARY A. HERBERT, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

JAPAN has leaped, almost at one bound, to a place among the great nations of the earth. Her recent exploits in the war with China have focused all eyes upon her, and the world now comprehends the startling fact that this small island kingdom, so little taken account of heretofore in the calculations even of students and statesmen, has within a few decades stridden over ground traversed by other nations only within centuries. We estimate the rate at which bodies move by their relations to other bodies, and it often happens that when the eye is fixed upon two objects, both moving in the same direction, the greater speed of the one causes the other to seem to be standing still. So, to the casual observer, it is with China and Japan. The common impression is that while Japan has been making phenomenal progress, China has been stagnating. This is not true in a military sense; if it were, experts would not be everywhere studying, as they now are, the lessons of the recent war in Asia.

The value of preparation, of being ready, for war has never been more conclusively shown than by the results of this struggle. The Chinese government seems to have understood the importance of sea power. Preparing itself for whatever emergency might come upon it, possibly for this very conflict, it had made large expenditures in procuring modern ships and modern guns, and upon these and their effectiveness it seemed almost entirely to rely. When the war began China only had a comparatively small number of well-equipped soldiers. For defence against invasion by land it would seem to have reckoned largely on the power of the numbers it could put in the field, though its arsenals were

entirely without proper supplies of arms and ammunition. The Japanese were thoroughly prepared. They had arms and munitions in abundance and of the most modern types. The drill and discipline of their troops and of their navy had been carefully perfected after the best European models. The organization of all their forces seems to have been without a flaw.

From the very first Japan pushed the war with vigor, and her armies and her navy were handled with consummate ability. The issue was practically decided by two battles, one upon the land at Ping Yang on the 15th and 16th of September, and the other upon the water off the Yalu on the 17th of September.

The Japanese, by greater energy and better means of transportation, had beaten their enemy in putting troops into Korea, and by strategic movements, which will always be admired, converged three columns composed altogether of 60,000 men upon the 22,000 of the Chinese at Ping Yang, all the several columns striking from different directions at the same time. There could be but one result. The flower of the Chinese army was destroyed, and when a day or two later the news came that their fleet had been beaten off the Yalu the Chinese lost heart. They were never able to raise another army that could stand before the victorious columns of the Japanese in the open field. The Chinese seem to have successfully resisted and turned back a column that sought to go northward towards Mukden by way of Motien Pass, but this did not seriously affect the result that was inevitable after Ping Yang and Yalu.

It does not follow as a natural conclusion from the results of this struggle, that the Chinese are, as a people, incapable, under proper leadership and proper organization, of waging a great war.

The disparity between the land forces of these two countries in training, equipment, arms, and in other respects was so great as to render it almost impossible to institute any comparison between this war and other wars, yet it should not be forgotten that quite often where the difference in these regards was not so notable, as in several of Napoleon's campaigns, one or two signal victories destroyed the power and struck a terror into the hearts of armies that greatly enfeebled, and sometimes absolutely ended, all further resistance. Within the memory of the present generation occurred a war between two of the greatest nations

of the earth that teaches, in as striking a manner as does the struggle we are considering, the value of thorough preparation. When the Franco-German war began in 1870, it will be remembered that public opinion everywhere, and especially in America, was much divided as to what was to be the outcome. A majority, perhaps, of disinterested lookers on, remembering Wagram, Austerlitz and Jena, and forgetting the battles fought by the Germans under Frederick the Great, inclined to the opinion that France was to be the victor. But Germany, in 1870, like Japan, in 1894, was ready for battle. Her troops were drilled, disciplined, thoroughly equipped, and armed to perfection ; her commissariat complete ; her means of transportation provided for beforehand ; her plans perfected. Von Moltke had organized victory before a gun was fired. The campaign had been wrought out and perfected, even to the minutest detail. The French fought bravely at Spicheren Heights, at Gravelotte, and other places, but one disastrous defeat after another taught them that they were overmatched, not by the individual prowess of their enemies, but by the superior organization of the invaders. The German army moved like clockwork. Wherever there was a strategic point, there were the Germans in superior numbers. In the German lines and in the German plans there seemed to be no weak point. The French armies lost heart, and though they made many gallant fights, it is safe to say that there were not many detachments of the French army who, after Bazaine was shut up in Metz, ever fought as their ancestors had fought under Napoleon I. This does not argue want of courage, for there are no braver people than the French. It shows only, what all history demonstrates, that signal defeats often demoralize armies. There are few troops indeed that can be counted on to resist bravely when convinced that resistance is useless, and it was scarcely to be expected of the Chinese that they should stand stoutly against the Japanese when they saw themselves to be so immeasurably inferior as they were in drill, in discipline, in organization, and especially in the matter of arms and munitions of war. It is really pathetic to contemplate the condition of the Chinese soldiers who had imposed upon them the duty of meeting the well equipped and thoroughly disciplined armies of Japan. Against troops supplied with all the terrible appliances of modern war Chinamen were forced to take the field armed with guns of every conceivable pat-

tern, some of date one hundred years back, some with pikes and pitchforks, and some with crossbows. Upon the battlefield of Port Arthur one poor fellow, who died bravely at his post, was found stark and stiff in position of vainly endeavoring to load a musket with a cartridge that could not be forced into its muzzle.

Disparity in arms and munitions of war has been growing apace with the years. The needle gun is said to have decided the battle of Sadowa in a few minutes, and as inventions now crowd upon inventions it is safe to say that in the future, even more than in the past, victories will often and again depend upon him who equips and sends armies into the field, as success will be more and more dependent upon superiority of weapons, adaptation of and previously acquired skill in using weapons, and less and less upon the prowess of the individual soldier. It is not intended by these reflections to underrate the value of those personal qualities which go so far to make up the good soldier. "The patriotism, loyalty, faith, manhood, public spirit and self-respect," which Sir Edwin Arnold in a recent article justly attributes to the Japanese, count for much, sometimes for almost everything in a soldier. These were the qualities that rendered the volunteers in the Federal and Confederate Armies, even without previous training, so terrible in the battles of our Civil War, and, beyond doubt, individual prowess contributed much to the triumph of the Japanese armies in China. But all these conspicuous virtues would not, of themselves, have availed to achieve the wonderful results we have witnessed; they must have been supplemented, as they were, by the exact and rigorous methods that have developed modern armies, and these Japanese armies must have had modern arms in their hands to succeed as they did.

This article, however, does not propose to discuss the peculiarities or the characteristics of these two peoples. It will take no account of the differences, whatever they may be, in the institutions or in the social, religious or economic conditions existing in the two countries. There is no doubt much in all these that contributes towards the making of the individual soldier. It is sufficient for the present to say that though the Chinese have suffered a disastrous and overwhelming defeat, and though they won no victory of any material importance, there is no reason to suppose them under favoring conditions to be incapable as soldiers. Indeed they have shown themselves, in their contests with each other, to

be a warlike people, and, when trained by American and European officers, they have exhibited splendid qualities as soldiers. General Gordon, than whom, in the languge of Tennyson,

"This earth has borne no simpler, nobler man,"

speaking of a defeat finally suffered in one of their many battles, by "The Ever Victorious Army," which had been trained by the American, Ward, said: "The Chinese troops behaved as bravely as soldiers could do under the circumstances, holding their ground for nearly eight hours, exposed to a galling fire from the enemy, from under cover, so hotly as to have either killed or wounded twenty out of the forty-six Europeans serving as officers in the force, and between four and five hundreds of Chinese." It is admitted on all hands that the Chinese fought bravely at Yalu. In one respect, however, there must be a radical change of opinion in China before the Chinese armies can ever be representative of the Chinese people. In China now the Civil Service of the government is held in the highest esteem, next in order come other occupations, and lastly in public opinion ranks the soldier. It must finally come to be understood in China as elsewhere that man can perform no higher office than the stern duty of defending with his life, if need be, the honor and interests of his country.

China had in this war a chance, and only one chance to win, and that lay in her fleet. Her land forces were, as has been stated, for the most part, raw, undisciplined and without any efficient supply of arms or equipments. Against the splendid armies of Japan they were helpless and hopeless, but the ships of China, including armament were, in offensive and defensive power, superior to those of Japan. Both the Chinese and Japanese fleets were modern. Japan's ships had been built abroad in France, England and Holland, and many of the best of them at home. They had all been commissioned since 1878. China's ships had been built in Germany, in England, and a few of them at home, and had all been commissioned since 1881. The larger proportion of the Japanese ships were of very recent construction, and the combined horse-power of their engines, which indicated speed, was somewhat greater than the combined horse-power of China's fleet, the figures standing 95,793 for Japan, as against 90,377 for China. Japan had twenty-five effective torpedo boats, combined displacement 1,290 tons, and indicated horse-power 12,200, as against

twenty-seven serviceable torpedo boats for China, with the displacement of 1,810 tons, and I. H. P. 27,600. Exclusive of torpedo boats the combined displacement of the Chinese fleet was 53,495 tons, of the Japanese 55,934, which was slightly to the advantage of the latter; but the weight of fire of the Chinese ships was 19,968, whereas the Japanese vessels threw in a single discharge only 14,850 pounds. Japan had no battle ships, nothing that could fairly match with the "Chenyuen" and "Tingyuen" of the Chinese fleet. The Japanese navy was, however, like the Japanese people, one organized body. The Chinese navies were several independent organizations, each lacking in drill and discipline. The ships of neither of these several Chinese fleets had ever manœuvered in company at sea. They were all, nevertheless, well built and well armed modern vessels.

It was apparent from the beginning that the control of the sea was vital to China, and on the sea was her only chance. Her policy was to combine at once all her navies, to seek to bring the Japanese fleets to battle, and trust to her greater weight of metal, and the superior defensive power of her battleships. It was inevitable that a decisive battle on the sea must come at last, and it could not long be deferred. Either China or Japan was to control the waters. China should have brought on a battle at her own time and in her own way. A conflict between two modern navies, each seeking domination over the sea, cannot long be deferred. In this age of steam, when ships can go straight to any desired point, the world is not wide enough to allow a fleet to long avoid a combat by hiding away, as the allied fleets did for months when Nelson was hunting them to the battle of Trafalgar. Control in Korea seemed to be indeed the occasion of the war, but the game of war between the two nations could not by any possibility be confined to that little country. Korea was simply a pawn, not worth the taking, when the queen, the enemy's navy, was in sight. Besides, possession of the sea meant for China possession of Korea. She could approach it by land; Japan could only reach it by water.

China began the war by hurriedly shipping troops into Korea, when in transportation she was distinctly inferior to Japan. The tonnage of the mercantile marine, flying the Japanese flag was, at the outbreak of the war, 104,890, while the tonnage of the merchant vessels, flying the Chinese

flag, was only 34,780. Here then, instead of pitting her combined navies immediately against the Japanese fleet, to which in power of resistance and weight of fire they were decidedly superior, China began by avoiding a conflict which must inevitably come at no distant date, and entered upon the losing game of transporting troops to Korea, the battle ground Japan had chosen, in competition with an enemy, whose lines by sea were shorter and whose transports were as three to one. The result of this game was shortly seen in the numbers that met each other at the battle of Ping Yang.

Japan, having beaten China in transporting troops to Korea, was then allowed to choose her own time and place for a sea fight in the battle off the Yalu. The first of the untoward results of the unfortunate policy of scattering her war ships upon which China had embarked, was that she was worsted off Asan, where three of Japan's ships attacked two of the Chinese vessels. Both sides suffered considerably, but the moral effect was a victory for Japan. Then followed the sinking of the "Kow Shing," the transport vessel, with one thousand Chinese troops on board. These two affairs were, for China, the disheartening prelude to the battle off the Yalu. This action was decisive of the war on the water. It gave Japan practically the control of the sea. China lost in the fight the "Kingyuen," coast defense vessel, 2,900 tons displacement; the "Yung Wei" and "Chao Yung," gun vessels, 1,350 tons displacement; the "Chihyuen," cruiser, 2,300 tons displacement; and the "Kwang Chia," gun-vessel, 1,030 tons displacement, was wrecked in escaping from the action. The Japanese lost no vessels. The "Akagi" was badly damaged, and many other ships suffered, especially the "Matsushima," the Admiral's flag ship. It was nearly a drawn battle. The Japanese fleet drew off before or about nightfall, and when the Chinese fleet left the scene of action the Japanese did not follow closely and never again came in sight. Most of the Japanese fleet had suffered severely. The two Chinese battleships, the "Chenyuen" and "Tingyuen" were, at the close of the action, still in condition to continue the fight, with all their heavy guns absolutely unharmed. The heaviest projectiles used in the fight thrown by the 12.6-inch B. L. R. had failed to injure their armored parts. Their upper works were riddled with projectiles from the smaller rapid-fire guns of the

Japanese, and the woodwork of both had been set on fire, but their engines, magazine and heavy guns were still in condition to continue the action. The "Tingyuen" was struck 159 times and the "Chenyuen" 220 times during the fight. The belt armor of these vessels was 14.8 inches and their barbettes 12 inches, and this armor was very inferior to that manufactured at the present day. The belt armor of the "Tingyuen" was hit eleven times, deepest indent 5.5 inches; her barbette armor was struck six times, deepest indent 3.2 inches. The "Chenyuen's" belt was struck seven times, and her barbettes twelve times; deepest penetration, 5.5 inches.

In the Chinese line of battle the "Chenyuen" and the "Tingyuen" occupied the centre. Next to them were the coast defense vessels, slighly armored, while the unarmored ships were placed upon the flanks. The Japanese Admiral, well knowing that the aim of his practised gunners was more accurate than that of the Chinese, gave the Chinese battleships a wide berth. His fleet sailed, during the action, in a line somewhat in the form of an ellipse, leaving about 4,000 yards between him and the battleships occupying the centre, and nearing, as he passed, the gun-vessels and cruisers upon the flanks. Thus the fire of the battleships was avoided as far as possible, and the weaker vessels of the Chinese fleet destroyed. That the Japanese cruisers escaped the fate of the Chinese ships of the same class resulted partly from the want of that marksmanship on the part of the Chinese, which only practice can give, and in great part from the want of proper ammunition. One expert, who himself made a careful survey of the Chinese ships after the battle, and who had received full reports of the condition of the Japanese ships, insists that the prime cause of the Chinese defeat was that they had supplied their battleships with armor-piercing shells, and had only three (others say about fifteen) common shells per gun for use against unarmored vessels. The armor-piercing shells, where they struck, passed through the Japanese ships without exploding. Common shells explode on striking. One of these common shells struck the "Matsushima," the Japanese flagship, and that one shot is said to have caused twice as much loss of life on that vessel as was suffered on board the "Chenyuen" and the "Tingyuen" during the whole fight. The marksmanship of the Japanese was excellent, and they were greatly superior to

the Chinese in their supply of rapid fire guns, by which they were enabled to rain a hail storm of projectiles on the unprotected parts, the upper works, mast, etc., of the enemy. Two hours after the action had begun it was impossible to have made a signal on board the Chinese battleships, as all the halyards had been shot away. Frequent fires occurred during the battle on Chinese vessels; both the battleships were at times aflame. One report says that by the splendid fire of the Japanese the woodwork of the Chinese ships was shivered into kindling wood and then set on fire. Fires also occurred on board Japanese ships, but the Japanese were well drilled in fire exercises and succeeded more easily in subduing the flames, although the fire in one of their vessels was so serious that the ship was withdrawn from action until it could be subdued.

The ram played no part in the battle off Yalu, as the distance at which the battle was fought did not permit of the use of rams. The gallant captain of one of the Chinese ships, when he saw his vessel was disabled, steered straight for the closest Japanese vessel, evidently intending to ram it, but he sank before reaching his enemy.

Shortly after this battle, the news of which created a great sensation throughout naval circles all over the world, many critics, through the newspapers, began to assert that cruisers were superior in action to battleships. The writer of this article published an article in the November number of this REVIEW, in which he endeavored to stem the tide of criticism then seemingly so adverse to battleships. It was admitted in that article that the information from the battle then at hand was meagre, but it was confidently asserted, on principles there laid down and discussed, that when full and accurate reports should be received, the battleship would be found to have maintained its ground. The fuller information now at hand is an absolute verification of this prediction, and it is the consensus of opinion of experts throughout the world that this action emphasized, in the most striking way, the superiority of the battleship over the cruiser.

The action off Yalu pronounced the doom of all unnecessary woodwork on naval vessels, and all navies are now dispensing with wood as far as possible. In this battle the Japanese had no torpedo boats, and the Chinese had only three. One of these

was bravely handled. She discharged three torpedoes at the "Saikio Maru," the last at a distance of only forty or fifty yards on broadside, but she failed to strike the vessel, the torpedo diving underneath and coming up on the other side. It was reserved for the Japanese at Wei-Hai-Wei, to show the efficiency of torpedo boats. There two attacks were made by these boats at night. In the first, ten torpedo boats took part. Two of them were disabled, two were lost, and ten men killed, but the battleship "Tingyuen" was sunk. In the second night attack, five torpedo boats took part; one of these fouled a boom, broke her rudder, and failed to enter the harbor. The other four torpedoed a cruiser, a gun vessel, a tug boat, and a schooner, and returned without injury.

The two battleships, "Chenyuen" and "Tingyuen," again vindicated themselves at Wei-Hai-Wei. One of them, as has been seen, was sunk by a torpedo boat, and the other finally surrendered, after having resisted for days the fire of the Chinese forts on the mainland, which the Japanese had captured and turned against it. Shortly before the surrender of the "Chenyuen" a remarkable letter was addressed to the brave old Admiral Ting by Marshal Count Oyama, of the Japanese army, and the Japanese Vice-Admiral Ito. Admiral Ting's cause was hopeless, and surrender inevitable. The purpose of the letter was to invite the Chinese admiral to take refuge in Japan until such time as the war should be ended, when the prospect was held out that he might be useful to his country in effecting reforms. The letter is so remarkable that, though it has already been published, it deserves to be perpetuated. It was, in part, as follows:

"To whatever causes the successive failures of the Chinese arms by sea and land may be attributed, we think your Excellency's sound judgment will not fail in assigning them to that true cause which must be apparent to any unprejudiced observer. In China the literary class is still the governing class, and literary accomplishment is the chief, if not the sole, way to rank and power now as it was a thousand years ago. We do not venture to deny that this system is excellent in itself, and might well be permanent and sufficient if China were to stand alone in the world. But national isolation is no longer a possibility.

"What a hard experience the Japanese Empire had thirty years ago, and how narrowly she escaped the awful calamity which threatened, will be to your Excellency well known. To throw away the old principle and to adopt the new as the sole condition of preserving the integrity of the Empire is as necessary with your government now as it was with ours then. The neces-

sity must be attended to, or fall is inevitable sooner or later. That this is being brought about by the Japanese arms is due to mere chance; it might have been caused by other political difficulties as well. Now, at such a conjunction, is it the part of a truly patriotic man, upon whom the necessity of action devolves, to allow himself to be simply dragged along by the force of circumstances? Compared with the re-establishment on a sound working basis of the oldest Empire in the world, with its glorious history and its extensive territories, what is the surrender of a fleet or the loss of a whole army?

"If your Excellency be truly patriotic and loyal to the cause of your country, we would beg you to listen to the words of a sympathetic heart filled with the sense of honor representative of the fighting men of Japan, which asks you to come to stay in Japan until the time arrives when your services will be required for the good cause."

But the gallant old Chinese Admiral preferred death to what he felt would be dishonor. He negotiated a surrender of his forces, stipulating for their safety, and then committed suicide.

A glance at the progress so recently and rapidly made by these countries in building up modern navies will show that, while Japan's exploits in this direction are nothing less than marvellous, the results achieved by China have also been quite remarkable. Japan has at her principal dockyard, Yokosuka, on the Gulf of Yeddo, three dry docks, 308, 392, and 502 feet long; at Sasebo, at which work was begun in 1886, two dry docks, two building slips, rolling mills, store houses, hospital, barracks, etc.; at Kure, near Hiroshima, she has begun a dockyard, which is to be her most important constructing and repairing establishment; and at Onahama (Kobe), she has a small yard, in which she is building torpedo boats. Since 1887, Japan has built from eight to ten vessels, ranging from 614 to 4,200 tons. Others are now in process of construction, and the ships she turns out are first-class. She has gun factories and foundries at Osaka, at Tokyo, at Okazakimura, and a powder factory at Itabashi, where she is constructing guns of various classes, gun carriages, rifles, ammunition, accoutrements, etc. The Portuguese government purchased recently from Japan six breech-loading rifles made at Osaka.

China made some attempts at a navy yard at Port Arthur in 1881. In 1887 she awarded to a French company a contract to improve this yard, which was completed by the end of 1890. The channel, originally of 12 feet, was dredged to a depth of 24 feet. A wet basin for 12 ships was created, and the yard is equipped with shops, storehouses, and the best modern machinery

for every kind of work. Some small vessels were under construction here at the breaking out of the war. At Wei-Hai-Wei she had a repairing station, and an extensive engineering establishment, and a dry dock, 340 feet long, at Taku. At Kiang Nan, near Shanghai, there is a dry dock, castings are made, and large ordnance work done. At Foo Chow she began work in 1867, and commenced the construction of vessels in 1874, mostly wooden and of smaller types, but the "Pingyuen," an armored coast-defense vessel of 2,600 tons, was completed here in 1890. There are several building slips and dry docks at this place, the largest of which is 420 feet long. She has another yard at Whampoa, near Canton, purchased in 1888. There are two dry docks here, 350 and 500 feet long, and some small gun vessels had been constructed at this yard. At Kiang Nan, near Shanghai, China constructs heavy guns. In 1893 she turned out here a 5-inch R. F. and a 12-inch B. L. R., built entirely by Chinese, except as to the tube of the latter. Several of these and intermediate calibres were under construction at the beginning of the late war. She has also ordnance factories at Kirin, Nankin, and Hanyan, at the latter of which places there is a large plant for producing gun and armor steel and small arms.

Japan has, for the training of her *personnel*, the Imperial Naval College at Kure, which deserves to rank high among the naval institutions of the world, and at Tokyo a Naval Academy, corresponding partly to our War College, in which a thorough postgraduate training is given. She has also, at Yokosuka, Kure and Saxpo barracks, at which her troops are instructed in life aboard ships, drills, etc., both naval and military; and a torpedo station at Nagura for the instruction of officers and seamen, with a workshop, foundry and storehouses. The careful instruction given to recruits by Japan, including her training schools for seamen, gunners, engineroom artificers and even firemen, before they are put on board ships, are worthy of the most careful study.

China has, at Tientsin, a naval school, established by Li Hung Chang in 1881, for students from Northern China. Besides elementary branches, there is a very complete course in Chinese and foreign studies, mathematics, gunnery, engineering, torpedo science, fortifications, chemistry and other subjects pertaining to the training of naval officers. She also has a school of navigation

at Fuchau, under a Chinaman, educated abroad, and an Englishman. The naval college here is gradually exacting a higher standard of scholarship. English is being taught and foreign teachers, or Chinese educated abroad, are being employed as instructors at both of these institutions. China had also, at Wei-Hai-Wei, a torpedo school, the superintendent being a lieutenant in the German service, Bourchier. The Imperial Naval College at Nanking was opened in December, 1890, to educate young men for official positions in the Southern Fleet. Of its sixteen instructors, two are English, and five of the Chinese teachers had studied abroad.

Thus it will be seen that during recent years, both the Chinese and Japanese have been availing themselves of the best sources of information, and both nations have been sending young men abroad to study naval science. Japan has for years had one or more students at the United States Naval Academy, and others in France, England, and Germany. China has sent some students abroad, though not so many as Japan, but certainly the efforts she has heretofore made clearly indicate that this great nation, whose supineness and backwardness are so much and so frequently lamented, is beginning to awaken to the necessity of adopting modern civilization. What is to be the effect upon China and the Chinese of the reverses suffered by her in this late war, which certainly are in great part, and which the Chinese themselves will undoubtedly believe to be, altogether traceable to the superior methods of the Japanese, is matter of speculation.

There is nothing, so far as known at this writing, in the recent treaty of peace to prevent China from preparing herself in the near future for another struggle with Japan, just as France has been for twenty years putting herself in readiness for another possible test of strength with Germany. What if this giant nation should rouse herself, and through the influence of some great leader, shake together her loosely-jointed limbs, as Bismarck under William welded the disjointed German states into one? Her strength lies in three hundred and fifty millions of people, singularly patient, wonderfully industrious and capable in a remarkable degree of enduring hunger and cold. United they could accomplish almost any result. China will believe, and with much semblance of reason, that if she had only

had common instead of armor-piercing shells she might, and that if in addition to these her ships had been supplied with more rapid fire guns she undoubtedly would, have won at Yalu. Had she gained a decisive victory there, followed up, it would have given her absolute control of the sea. Dominion over the sea would eventually have given her control of Korea and would have saved her from invasion. The splendid armies of Japan armed and ready for the fray would in that case have been absolutely useless, except to repel invasion. They could only have stood upon the seashore, just as millions of our countrymen would in case our navy should be overpowered, looking out upon the ocean in helpless despair, cursing the authorities that had failed to provide them with means with which to go out upon the waters and fight for their country. If China begins to gird up her loins, Japan will respond, and indeed whatever may or may not happen in Asia, it may be confidently predicted that Japan will immensely increase her naval resources. She will not be slow to find in the events of the recent past many reasons for this course.

This Queen of the Asiatic seas the world has been in the habit of looking upon as a small country, but it will now be remembered in every reckoning of the resources of nations that Japan's people, homogeneous and united, are quite equal in numbers to the population of England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland, and that the United Kingdom is and has been for years mistress of the seas. Americans must remember, too, that only the waters of one ocean, a wide one, no doubt, but easily traversed by navies, separate their country from Asia. Our policy, it is true, is and has been one of peace—peace always when it can be maintained with honor—peace and good will not only with, but among, all the nations of the earth. We avoid entangling alliances with other nations, but we have constantly exercised our good offices with both China and Japan, as far as we might, to bring them again into peaceful relations. Such, it is hoped, will always be our aim, but let us bear in mind that we can never be assured of the ability to command our peace unless we are prepared for emergencies.

HILARY A. HERBERT.

THE SILVER QUESTION.

I.—GERMANY'S ATTITUDE AS TO A BI-METALLIC UNION.

BY COUNT VON MIRBACH, MEMBER OF THE PRUSSIAN HOUSE OF LORDS AND OF THE GERMAN REICHSTAG.

On February 15 last the Reichstag began a discussion of the currency question, pursuant to the following demand submitted by Dr. Friedberg, Von Kasdorff, Dr. Lieber, and myself:

"The Reichstag is asked to request the confederated governments to issue invitations as soon as possible for a monetary conference, looking toward the international regulation of the currency question." This demand was signed by 211 members; that is, a majority of the German Reichstag. At the very outset of the speech with which I introduced themotion I stated that "the only way in which an international union can be thought of is on the basis of a fixed relation between gold and silver, established by an international treaty."

The Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, made the following declaration at the same session:

"It must be conceded, without prejudice to our national currency, that the growing disparity of value between the two coin-metals is producing a detrimental reaction upon our industrial life. I am therefore inclined, in the further pursuit of the endeavors which have resulted in the convoking of the Silver Commission, to consider with the confederated governments whether other states which are essentially concerned in the enhancement of the value of silver, cannot be brought into a friendly exchange of views on mutually protective measures."

At the second session of the Reichstag on February 16, Count Posadowsky, Secretary of the Treasury, said:

"Just view, I pray you, the present situation of the coin and standard questions! At the conference convened by the former Chancellor, even the monometallists acknowledged that the depreciation of silver entailed serious damage to our industrial life. It is indubitable that the lessened value of

silver has also exercised a disadvantageous influence upon our internal manufactures and exports.

"In opposition to this statement it is urged that our export to silver countries is a minimum one, and can therefore cut no great figure in comparison with the aggregate economic interests of the nation. In this limited sense the claim is only partially true, for there is no doubt that, on account of the depreciation of silver, English production and export also suffer materially in the intercourse with silver countries. But the resultant stagnation to English manufactures on the one hand, and to English exports on the other, produces a latent reaction also upon German manufactures and exports to silver countries—a factor which must not be disregarded.

"It is, moreover, certain that our native mining interests are suffering most grievously from the depreciated value of silver. Attach whatever importance you wish to these interests, it is well enough known that they constitute an old, traditional industry which gives occupation to many working people, that a transposition of the industry is, in its nature, impossible, and that the very existence of a great many working people is jeopardized by the decline of our mining prosperity.

"And there is a third consideration which is recognized by monometallists. It can not be doubted that there is something essentially wrong in the considerable under-valuation of the current silver coin. We have been able so far to ascertain only one instance in foreign countries of a genuine counterfeiting of foreign coins, but I think it cannot be controverted that a similar possibility and danger in reference to our coins must threaten us so long as a thaler has only the value of 1.40 marks.

"The question is a far-reaching one, from the solution of which a great part of the agricultural population of Germany promises itself a benefit, and in view of the representation which this question has found among the overwhelming majority of the Reichstag, it was the duty of the Chancellor to concede a serious, well-meaning investigation of the matter."

The Prussian Council of State to which Bank Director Russel and I referred, occupied itself under the chairmanship of his Majesty, the Emperor, for two days, March 14 and 15, with the question of a standard, and resolved as follows :

"According to the statement of the Chancellor during the session of the Reichstag, February 15 last, an exchange of views of the confederated governments with other states has been proposed concerning common measures for obviating the detrimental reaction recognized to have resulted to industrial life from the increasing disparity between the values of gold and silver. In reference to this statement, of which the Council of State has taken note with pleasure, the same believes that no further measures should be taken at the present time, and that the result of the steps already taken should be awaited."

The enemies of bi-metallism moved to incorporate in the first part of the Council's resolution the terms, "without prejudice to the existing standard," but this was declined. This resolution therefore advances one step beyond the declaration made by the Chancellor in the Reichstag.

And thus matters stand officially in Germany. It cannot, of course, be known what steps the Chancellor has so far taken to bring about an understanding with the other great powers.

The controlling consideration lies in the action of England. The decision of leading German statesmen depends first of all upon England's attaching herself to a bi-metallistic union. In German bi-metallistic circles the opinion prevails that if Germany really intends to solve the question of a standard and abolish agricultural and industrial penury, the following steps will forthwith have to be taken. First of all, there should be a preliminary conference or diplomatic understanding with France and the United States of North America, in order to settle upon some programme, on the lines of which an international conference could be convoked. The treaty concerning which the governments of the United States and France came to an agreement before the monetary conference at Paris in 1881, might serve as the basis for the preliminary conference. Then the question of the future relation between gold and silver, not being one of principle, would have to be treated as an open one.

The peculiar office of a preliminary conference or other exchange of views would be to consider measures that might seem sufficient to hasten England's entrance into a union.

If England joins an international bi-metallistic union, the solution of this problem cannot be difficult. In that event the relation, 1 : 15½, would also be soon attained, and maintained without the least disturbance.

But even without England's co-operation, the accomplishing of an international bi-metallism is possible, perhaps in a somewhat tardier manner. If Germany, France, and the United States acted together, these states would be in a position to solve this seemingly difficult problem; and powerful enough, too, to maintain the fixed relation between gold and silver. The exclusion of England would redound altogether to the advantage of the commercial relations and industrial exports of these three great powers; indeed, their advantage in these respects would be greater in that case than if England belonged to the union.

However, it is wholly useless at present to go into this question of "with or without England," inasmuch as the circles in Germany with whom the power of ultimate decision rests would

under no circumstances declare for a bi-metallistic union without England.

The economic condition of Germany calls loudly for a solution of the silver question; and this surely can be made possible only through an international bi-metallism. I shall not dwell upon our financial conditions, which are in reality much more unfavorable than they are officially represented to be. The economic necessity of a solution of the financial question here is grounded upon the agricultural situation, irrespective of the equal interests of our industries and trades. The lately established commercial-treaty policy has modified the agricultural taxes, while, at the same time, the prices of agricultural products have assumed, in the markets of the world, a sharp and presumably lasting tendency downwards. *The cost of the production of grain has for a considerable time been greater than its value in the market.* German agriculture, shaken as it is economically, can stand such a state of affairs only a short time longer. The possibility of bringing about a general economic revival lies essentially in the solution of the currency question by means of the international double-standard. However, our leading circles here have lacked, with few exceptions, a full understanding of the meaning and importance of the currency question as well as of the economic results of a gold-standard; and, above all, a sufficient recognition of the plight of our agriculture and the still greater dangers with which the near future menaces it.

A year ago I wrote as follows to one of your countrymen:

"It will scarcely be conceivable to you how that is possible in a country where agriculture plays so important a part. Prussia is the preponderating country in the German economic policy. And all the traditions of Prussia go to establish agriculture as something necessary, it is true, and scarcely dispensable, yet, within certain limits, a *quantité négligeable*. This is the leading conception among great masses of our officials. We have had only two periods during which the interests of agriculture enjoyed conspicuous consideration. One was during the reign of Frederick the Great after his wars, and the other under the aegis of Prince Bismarck, the period from 1879 to 1890. But even during the latter period the agrarian question did not receive any systematic treatment, and was only handled fragmentarily and mainly in the domain of the protective tariff. As matters stand here now our officials are, with few exceptions, at bottom, rather inimical than friendly towards agriculture. All circles, even the highest, are affected painfully by the present independent organizing of agriculture, and the prompt and decisive manner with which it looks after its own interests. There has always existed in the residence city a ring, in close touch, no doubt, with the 'High Finance,' which has systematically concealed from the view of

the most authoritative circles all influences that could lead them to a clear perception of existing conditions. Things were different only during the time from 1879 to 1890, thanks to the influence of Prince Bismarck, but even then not sufficiently so. The portrayal of these conditions is necessary for an appreciation of the course of things with us in Germany, and of the difficulties which beset the solution of the currency question in reference to an initiative by Germany. Many things would be different here, if those in high places possessed a full understanding of the economic condition of agriculture and of the consequences of the currency question in that domain."

One thing that I wrote of a year ago, has changed in a most agreeable fashion. The initiative of His Majesty, the Emperor, makes it unmistakable that he, together with the highest officials, is willing to personally investigate the agricultural conditions thoroughly and seriously; nor does he hesitate to listen to and embrace the views of those who are pronouncedly in favor of agriculture, and who express themselves accordingly. That will be important in solving this question, too. Of course, the influence of the press and of the great banks in Berlin is potent and should not be underrated. The saying of a prominent stock broker here has gained currency: "In this matter we govern. There can be no solution of it until we give our consent."

Although we must not undervalue the power of these circles, we still have a government in Germany which, if it seriously wants to do so, can accomplish anything that it may deem proper; and it will not be able to evade the decision, just as soon as England is ready to strike out in the common path.

One word in conclusion, concerning the United States of North America. In the Reichstag on February 15 last, I said:

"If there is destined to be no bi-metallism, we should wish the American conditions to remain as they are; although, in my opinion, they are untenable for America for any length of time. The golden treasure of America has dwindled, has sunk in such a way that it can no longer provide in gold for covering its currency. Every moment the gold reserves drop to the lowest ebb, and the Secretary of the Treasury is driven to have recourse to petty loans, which are, no doubt, pleasant enough to the gentlemen who furnish him with the loans, for I somehow imagine that those who supply the money, quickly recover it and then renew the game. I doubt whether it will be very different with the $65,000,000. That is a sum which is wholly inadequate for America. Should there be no Currency Union, one of two things will happen. Either America will address herself in all earnestness to the establishment of a currency and seek a loan of $500,000,000 in gold, in the European market,—but what of our gold reserves then; and what of the English Bank and of all the rest?—this alone shows how insufficient gold is, just as soon as America goes earnestly to work. Or,—and this might prove even more calamitous to us—America will renounce the coining of gold altogether and

go over to the coining of silver. Then we would be confronted with differences in value, which would threaten us much more seriously than the present conditions. Then there would really remain no other course than to close ourselves up hermetically against America, and afford America an opportunity to absorb the whole commerce with Asia by virtue of the parity of its silver currency to that of Asia. I believe that just because things are as they are in America, we should heed the warning, and not wait with our hands in our lap; we should take hold of those things before it is too late."

America could actually absorb the European gold reserves and hold them fast and thus force a decision of the currency question. But that is an event too remote to be anticipated.

Stupidity and ignorance are the best allies of gold currency in Germany, without taking into account the personal interests of a great many influential circles. The most incredible things are invented, spread abroad and made use of. North America in particular is exploited. North American silver mines, it is said, are inexhaustible—although the reverse is true, for it is well known that the richest North American mines are exhausted. German bi-metallists, it is asserted, conduct, without knowing it, the business affairs of American mine owners, and the like. They either overlook or else do not wish to see that America produces more gold than silver. And above all they forget that *there is not a single branch of agricultural production in North America which is not more important and more valuable than all its silver output combined.* It would contribute materially towards the clearing up of views here if American political economists would frequently publish comprehensive tables showing a comparison of the values of North American products.

COUNT VON MIRBACH.

II.—THE SILVER STANDARD IN MEXICO.

BY THE MEXICAN MINISTER.

I MUST begin by disclaiming any purpose of commenting in any manner, even by implication, on the monetary question in the United States, or any attempt to draw a comparison between Mexico and the United States, as it would be neither desirable nor proper for me to do so. This country is so far ahead of Mexico in material progress, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, wages, popular education, wealth, banking and banking

facilities, and so many other things, that such a comparison would be unfair, although in some regards Mexico has not suffered as much as this country during the present financial crisis. I shall, therefore, confine myself to stating the advantages and disadvantages produced in Mexico by the silver standard prevailing there, so that every reader of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW can draw his own conclusions.

The silver standard prevailing in Mexico was not accepted by choice. Mexico being the largest silver-producing country, two-thirds of the whole silver stock of the world having come out of its mines, silver has been our only currency for nearly 400 years. To change it for the gold standard would have caused general ruin, as we do not yet produce gold enough to base our currency on that metal, and as our exports are not yet sufficiently large to allow us to buy all the gold we need for that purpose. The high price of gold is a great incentive to gold mining, and if gold continues at the present high rate for some time, I am sure Mexico will before long be a large producer of that metal. We never had any paper currency, either national, State, or issued by banks. Two or three banks, indeed, have now issued notes, but they are not legal tender. They are convertible into silver coin at the holder's pleasure, and while they circulate freely in the large cities and for convenience' sake are preferred to the hard dollar, they are almost unknown in the small towns and in the country. The bank issues special notes for each place, which are redeemable only in that place, thus keeping up in effect the old system of charging a high premium for the exchange of money from one place to another, the item of profit to the banks corresponding with what used to be the charge for transporting silver money.

The advantages to Mexico of the silver basis are the following.

1st. The silver standard and currency encourages very materially, while other leading commercial nations have the single gold standard, the increase of exports of domestic products, because the expenses of producing them, wages, rents, taxes, etc., are paid for in silver, and therefore their cost as compared with their market value, is considerably less than that of similar articles produced or raised in single gold standard countries. When sold in gold markets, therefore, they bring very lucrative prices, as they are converted into silver, at a high rate of exchange. These conditions have caused a great development in the exportation of

some of our agricultural products, because they yield very large profit; for instance, coffee, which costs to produce it, all expenses included, on the average, not over ten cents a pound, is sold at about twenty cents in gold, in foreign markets. The exportation of other agricultural products which did not pay when gold and silver were at par, that is at the ratio of one to sixteen, is now remunerative, because there is returned to us in exchange more than we lose in the gold price of the article. Such is the case, for instance, with beans which at eight cents would not pay when silver and gold were at par, but now eight cents in gold make nearly sixteen cents in silver, and that is a lucrative price. Our exports for several years up to 1869 were about $20,000,000 a year; in the year 1872-1873, they amounted to $31,594,005.14; in 1888-1889 they swelled to $60,158,423.02; in 1891-1892 to $75,467,714.95, and in 1892-1893 to $87,509,207.

2d. The silver standard is a great stimulus in developing home manufactures, because foreign commodities have to be paid in gold, and, owing to the high rate of exchange, their price becomes so high that it pays well to manufacture some of them at home, our low wages also helping to bring about these results.

For these reasons we are increasing considerably our manufacturing plants, especially our cotton mills, smelters, etc., and we begin now to manufacture several articles that we used to buy from foreign countries, and all this, notwithstanding that the mountainous character of our country, the want of interior navigable water courses, and the scarcity of fuel, makes manufacturing very expensive in Mexico. But we are finding abundant coal deposits and, when our railroads tap our coal fields, that objection will be considerably diminished. One of our railroads, the "International," built by Mr. C. P. Huntington and his associates, has already reached a very large coalfield near Piedras Negras, which is already supplying some of our wants, and even those of some sections of the Southern Pacific system of this country, but of course it cannot supply the whole of Mexico. When that need is satisfied we will have to contend only with the increased expenses of transporting the raw material to the factories and the manufactured goods to the place of consumption, over a mountainous country with high grades and many sharp curves, unless some new means of transportation may be hereafter devised which will overcome those obstacles. Eventually

Mexico will utilize for manufacturing the many streams, almost torrents, coming down from the steep mountains which constitute a very large water power.

As it is now, some manufacturing plants of the United States are being taken to Mexico, as appears from the following extract of the annual report of Mr. W. G. Raoul, President of the Mexican National Railroad Company, for the year 1894 which has just come out.

"The most extensive and best equipped shops owned by the company are on the north side of the Rio Grande, in the United States, but the greater expense of operating them has caused the withdrawal of much of the work from them to the shops in Mexico. Our shops in Mexico are not adequate for the entire work of the road, and the removal of the Texas plant into Mexico becomes an economic necessity, if the peculiar trade and the industrial conditions now existing respectively in the two countries are to continue."

A like result has been obtained in other countries which are on a silver basis, such as Japan, China and India, the depreciation of silver or the high rates of exchange having forced those countries to manufacture staple goods for home consumption and in some cases even for export, and this fact begins to be sorely felt in England and other old manufacturing countries. *

3d. While the fall of silver and free coinage in Mexico have not given to the Mexican silver coins, when converted into foreign exchange or sold for gold, any value other than that of the silver bullion contained in the same, nevertheless, the purchasing power of the silver dollar is now, on the whole, as great in Mexico as it ever was.

It is rather puzzling and bewildering to some travellers who go from this country to Mexico to see that a United States silver dollar containing less silver bullion than a Mexican silver dollar was exchanged there for two Mexican silver dollars, when pure

*The following remarks contained in a paper read at a recent session of the Royal Colonial Institute in London, by the Hon. T. H. Whitehead of Hong Kong, China, which deals with the effects of the depreciation in the value of silver on the trade of Great Britain with the Orient, confirms my statement about the great stimulus that the low price of silver is to manufacturing in silver countries.

"In Oriental countries we are witnessing remarkable industrial progress and unequalled prosperity among their people, when simultaneously serious losses are attending similar industries in England; while under the present system it is highly probable that there will be a further fall in the present very low level of gold prices, which will still more prejudice the position of the British manufactures. What is also of unquestionable great concern in the Empire is that it may lead to the transference of a large part of our principal industries to silver-using countries. So long as the gold value of silver continues to be as it is now, liable to violent fluctuations, the more perilous must become the conditions of the principal British industries, and the more possible must it be to prevent disaster from overtaking them. British labor and gold capital can no longer compete on equal terms with Asiatic labor and silver capital, and the position of British industries is growing more critical every day."

silver was at about fifty-nine cents an ounce; but in such an exchange the Mexican silver dollar is sold for the price of the bullion it contains, while the United States silver dollar is the representative of a gold dollar, and is therefore merchandize bought to pay debts in the United States or Europe.

4th. The fact that foreign commodities have to be paid for in gold, makes them so high that it operates as a protective duty against them. By protectionists this would be counted as a very important advantage, although I myself do not attach very great importance to it in that sense, as I believe in low duties, except in special cases.

5th. The fact that every gold dollar is converted into two silver dollars, when sent to Mexico, encourages the investment in Mexico of foreign capital from the rich countries, which have the gold standard. When that capital is invested in producing commodities sold in gold markets, like coffee, for instance, the profits to investors are very large indeed.

6th. There is another very great advantage that Mexico has derived from the silver standard, although that may be peculiar to us. Before our railroads were built the only articles which we could export were silver and gold dollars—coining being then made compulsory by law—because no other product could pay the very high expense of transportation. The result was that to pay for our imports we had to export almost all of our annual output of silver, so that very little was left for our home circulation. Thus we were almost constantly suffering from a contraction of currency; money became very high, and the price of labor was very low. But now the conditions are reversed. The low price of silver abroad makes it unprofitable to export it, and its value at home makes it useful in all industries, and we send out our agricultural products to pay for our imports and for our gold obligations, keeping at home our silver and thus increasing our circulation, so that we now have an ample supply of money in our banks. That fact, of course, stimulates industry, maintains the prices and increases the demand for labor.

7th. Most of our millionaires and many other Mexicans having large fixed incomes preferred to live in Europe, and used to spend their money there, but the higher rate of exchange has reduced their incomes so materially that a great many of them have returned home, and now spend their incomes in Mexico.

The disadvantages brought to Mexico by the silver standard are the following.

1st. Importations are considerably reduced, because foreign commodities almost duplicate their price when sold for silver, and they are therefore beyond the reach of the middle classes.

2d. The constant fluctuation in the market price of silver contributes still more than the low price of that metal to reduce Mexican importations of foreign commodities, because it makes uncertain the value of these commodities when the time for payment arrives.

3d. The reduction of imports alluded to diminishes in proportion the import duties, which, until very recently, were in Mexico the largest source of the federal revenue.

4th. The national expenses are considerably increased by the payment in gold of the interest of the national debt held abroad, and other expenses of minor account, such as salaries of diplomatic and consular officials. As we have to buy exchange to pay that interest it is at the present rate actually increased from 6 per cent. to 12 per cent., when paid in gold. But we can now purchase exchange from our own people, drawn against their own agricultural exports, and they make some of the profit.

It would seem easy for Mexico to overcome these difficulties by decreeing the payment in gold of the whole or of a portion of its import duties; but such a scheme would establish two different kinds of currency in Mexico, and gold being more valuable would tend to depreciate our silver currency with disadvantage to all interests in the country. There is another serious objection to that plan; our import duties are already so high that they do not admit of any further increase. If we collected them in gold, we would have to reduce them to about fifty per cent. of the present rates, now payable in silver, and then we would have gained nothing while we would have increased the drawbacks of the fluctuations in the price of silver bullion; while if we left the import duties at or about their present rates, and made them payable in gold, we would practically duplicate them and they would become so burdensome as to afford great encouragement to smuggling, and so reduce very considerably their proceeds.

5th. To meet the reduction on the import duties and the increased expenses of the gold obligations, it is indispensable to increase the burdens of direct taxation to make up for both losses.

6th. Our railroads are similarly affected. They collect their freights in silver, but pay in gold the interest on their securities, and for foreign articles needed for their roads.

7th. The transportation of foreign commodities by railroads is much reduced, but the local traffic has increased in a way not only to compensate that loss but to leave a large surplus.

8th. While the price of the necessaries of life for the poor classes who do not consume foreign commodities, has not increased, unless in a small number of home products whose price is fixed by foreign gold markets, the living expenses of the middle and rich classes who use foreign commodities have been increased.

There are several other results produced in Mexico through our having a silver standard; but I have mentioned the most notable and important ones, and most of the others omitted by me are the results of those already pointed out.

In consequence of all these causes, we have fewer business failures than other countries; our internal traffic has greatly increased with much benefit to our railroads, which, with only one exception, have not gone into the hands of receivers.*

We do not suffer in Mexico from one of the principal causes of the present financial distress in other countries,—the low price of agricultural products. In fact, in some cases the price of domestic commodities has gone up considerably, when it is fixed by the value of the commodity in gold markets. This is the case

* The condition of our railroads appears very clearly from the following extract of Mr. Raoul's report to which I have already alluded:

"A comparison of the traffic with last year shows that with the exception of passengers, a loss has been suffered only on those classes that are affected by the condition of the exchange market between Mexico and gold standard countries. The local traffic, which fairly is a register of the internal trade, has made satisfactory progress—sufficient to offset the losses on the external traffic, and yield the increase shown in the general result."

The Mexican Northern Railroad paid for the year ending June 30, 1893, four quarterly dividends of 1½ per cent. each, and one extra dividend of 2 per cent., amounting altogether to $240,000.

The annual report of the Mexican International Railway Company, for the year ending December 31, 1894, presented by its President, Mr. C. P. Huntington, and dated at New York City on March 6, 1895, is not less satisfactory.

"The net results from the year's operations," says Mr. Huntington, "show an increase in the gross earnings of $118,187.46, or 5.76 per cent., and a decrease in operating expenses of $19,578.50, or 1.50 per cent., making a total gain of $137,765.96, or 18.38 per cent., over 1893. This is quite a gratifying showing, when it is considered that the general business depression in the United States, and the low price of silver have not been without their unfavorable effect upon the year's business."

The report of the Mexican Central Railway Company, Limited, for the year ending December 31, 1894, shows that the gross earnings were $8,426,025.28, and the operating expenses $5,459,675.13, leaving an increase of $120,762.51 in the net earnings in that year over those in the previous one. The local freight earnings in 1893 amounted to $3,838,952 98, an increase of $616,377.78, or, 18.83 per cent. over 1892. In 1894 they amounted to $4,697,433.53, an increase over 1893 of $808,480.55, or 20.79 per cent., an increase in the two years of $1,424,858.33, or 43.54 per cent.

The banks, too, yield good dividends. From the report of the Bank of London and Mexico for 1894, it appears that the dividend in that year was of 10 per cent., and that it is expected to pay in the present year a dividend of 15 per cent.

with coffee, for instance. As the largest portion of our crop is exported and commands cash, its price is fixed by its value in gold markets, and in consequence of this its price in Mexico has been almost duplicated with great advantage to the producers.

We have more stability of prices, wages, rents, etc. Although our wages are low, there has been in recent years a marked tendency to their increase. Our factories are not only in operation, but they are being greatly extended, and new plants and industries are being established. Instead of dismissing our laborers, we find occupation for them all, and we need to import them for the work to be done in some localities, and, as our laborers find occupation and increased wages, we have no strikes. Our silver mines have not stopped work, and we find them yet quite profitable. We have more ready money with which to transact our increased business; we offer greater inducements to foreign investors than formerly; and the country is undoubtedly more prosperous than it has ever been, although the silver standard is not the only cause of our prosperity. One of its principal causes is, undoubtedly, the building of railroads, but they could not have been so remunerative without the production and coinage of silver.

Summing up the effects produced in Mexico by the silver standard, I can say, with perfect correctness, that while it is a drawback and an inconvenience to have our currency depreciated when we have to use it abroad, either to pay for foreign merchandize or for the interest of our gold obligations, and while that depreciation increases our burdens to some extent, because our gold obligations and the price of foreign commodities are nearly duplicated, the advantages we derive from the use of silver money in all our transactions are so great, that I think they fully compensate if they do not overcome its disadvantages. Notwithstanding all this we would like to see silver commanding the same price as before it was demonetized in 1873, and we think that the world has to come back sooner or later to bimetallism, as the only way to have a common and more stable level of values and to avoid most of the financial trouble which the commercial nations of the world are now so keenly suffering.

M. ROMERO.

SOME THOUGHTS ON CANADA.

BY THE MARQUIS OF LORNE, K. T.; FORMERLY GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

CANADA and the States are united, not only by railroad systems, but by the generous feelings which ever reside in the breasts of manly neighbors. Canada is too peaceful and too quietly advancing on her own path of happy progress not to sympathize to the full with the quicker moving populations across the fresh water seas. In the troubles of the United States, a generation ago, many thousands of Canadian citizens fought for the North. In the homes of Canada, as in Illinois, many a hearth was desolated by the loss of a beloved member of the family through the Confederate bullets. Canadians share in the United States' prosperity, nourish no envy, and are content with the great territories which have been assigned to them by Providence to develop. They have enough to do at home, and have perfect confidence that they will be able to do that which destiny apportions to them. Their own progress has been very quiet. Some persons say that it has been so quiet that there has been no life in it. But they are mistaken. The settlers who have gone to that northern land have gone there to stay. They have gone there because they prefer its freer institutions, and like the certainty of its climate, its health-giving air, and freedom from political trouble, whether it be of race, of labor, of over-production, or of great contrast between rich and poor. They like it because it happens to be a land whose wealth is perhaps more evenly distributed than that of any great free community elsewhere. They prefer it because it has a glorious history connecting it with events which have given a dignity to the past. They see that the popular will finds immediate expression and effect through its constitution. They find that, although there are great autonomous provinces,

where local ambition and desires find full scope, the authority of the Federal and National Government is obeyed. They see that the central authority keeps in its own hand all military power, and that no local ambition has control of the militia. They have behind their national power the naval might of Britain, with her prestige and force to add to their own in case of danger, and her example and her friendly counsel to guide and assist them.

They are in alliance with, not in dependence on, the old country. They have themselves proved their own patriotism, and they have gained a place among the nations of the world. They make their own commercial arrangements in concert with the Imperial power. They have a position unique as it is enviable. In art, in industry, in literature, and in national life, whether shown by their success in great public works or by the ordered advance of their town and country populations, they have made immense progress since they united in the Dominion. They have triple signs of success in the variety of their territories. There are the eastern forests and farms, the central prairies, rich, and healthy, and full of coal; the western "slope," with its alps and woods, minerals, and the wondrously beautiful seaboard. What wonder if they see with equanimity that others do not grasp as yet the ideas they have realized in their possession of so much good? They can afford to labor and to wait, for each decade makes hope grow into assurance, and disperses doubt among themselves. In London there is now instituted an annual festival on the 1st of July, to commemorate the federation of the northern colonies, now the provinces of the Dominion. It was only two years ago that the first of these celebrations in the Imperial capital was held. Twenty-five years only had elapsed since that great instrument of union had been passed. At the last of these commemorations the present able High Commissioners of Canada to Great Britain were present, and among the guests was Lord Norton, now a man past eighty years of age, who had been in office in London when the first steps were taken to pass through the Imperial Parliament the Act of 1867, which formulated the constitution of the young Dominion. As Sir Charles Adderly, he had done all he could do in former days to assist the project. And now, looking back at that time, after an interval of twenty-seven years, he, a staunch Tory, was able to say how much he rejoiced in the new departure,

and how all that had been done in the making of an infant nation had been done at that nation's own wish, and by that nation's own representatives. By Canadians was Canada's constitution arranged, and by Canadians has it been perfected, and made to work with a smoothness and success unprecedented, where so many strange conditions had to be met, and so much that required self-restraint and power of self-government to be carried out.

Neighbors are sometimes supposed to be the last to see that which is being done near them, and, indeed, under their eyes; but we are sure that the good wishes of our American cousins are with us, for our task is similar to theirs, and the difference of the method is a difference that can lead to no estrangement, but, on the contrary, tend to the friendship between the two constitutional governments, which it is the desire and object of every Canadian to cherish and reinforce.

The Germans have a habit of averting misfortune by pronouncing the word "*unberufen*," or "let it not be called down on me," when they have been able to boast of good luck, and do not wish to share the bad. Let us also say "*unberufen*" and tap the table three times, as is the peculiar German method of making friends with good fortune, when we record that, as yet, Canada has had no marked experience of troubles between labor and capital. When, as at Montreal and Quebec, there has been some slight tendency in past days in that direction, the tendency has been rather imported by strangers from the south than by the action of her own sons. Undoubtedly the influence of the Roman Church in the Eastern Provinces, and notably in Quebec Province, has been to prevent such outbreaks. Nowhere does the Catholic priesthood exhibit a greater power, or use it better to further the ends of law and order, peace and religion. Yes, as yet there has been very little of the fierce feeling which in other lands has grown up between the man who works with his hands and the men who work with their brains. All will undoubtedly, in the "long run," come right where these contests occur, but how long will the "long run" be, and what mischief and misery may be done until the light of reason and reasonableness subdues the darkness of hate and envy? Alas, we cannot tell. The position of Canada has, in one respect, been very fortunate. She is more a rural than an urban nation. Her towns, in proportion to the landed population, are small, and

farmers do not "make hay" of capital, but are only too glad if capital comes to them to buy the hay after it is made, or will even give a promise to buy it while the crop is still on the ground. The Northern Provinces are communities of "Grangers," and Grangers must have railroads in good working order to transport their produce, or else they can't "get along" at all.

Yet a little movement against one curious form of "capital" has been participated in by workers of both Canada and the United States of late. Luckily, the central authorities on both sides of the line can in this case easily hold their own. I allude to the movement against the fur seals. These capitalists can hide away their treasure altogether if too roughly handled, and labor has determined to handle them so roughly that, like capitalists elsewhere, these marine wealth-bearers threatened to remove from their former haunts, if not from public life itself. The question put by the workers as to whether the problem of a fur seal's possessing its own skin was one that required the blunderbuss of the armed cruisers of three Powers and an international civil trial at Paris to settle, was, needless to say, mainly settled by the eloquence of an Irishman. Most of the sealers were Americans. Most of those who defended the seals were lawyers, and as no general railway strike could be brought to bear in favor of the enemies of the wealthy seals, they will still be allowed to propagate their species, although the word species has a suspicious likeness to "specie," which everyone knows means capital. The Americans contended that seals should be free in the open sea. But then they denied that the open sea was open sea, a contention so Hibernian that the Irishman had no difficulty in confuting it.

He was made Chief Justice of England, and the seals got a time in the year when they, like Irish landlords, should not be shot or killed at all, at all. This all reads like a fairy story, but it is an impartially told bit of history, and only noticed here because some people sought to make the affair a cause of quarrel between friends, that is, between Canadians, Americans, and British. There is plenty of room for all three on the sea, as on the land, and even on the great lakes. In those inland seas it is for the interest of both to have good salvage arrangements in case of wreck. Wherever there is chance of any disaster causing loss of life, the Canadian Government has issued orders which have for many

years prevented misunderstandings. These formerly arose more from the idea that on the northern side the arrangements for assisting vessels in distress were not efficient, than from any fact which could nourish apprehension.

Conciliation and arbitrament is practically always at hand, so long as the present intimate connection between Britain and her colonies exists. The authorities in "Downing Street" are sufficiently removed from the scene of local disagreement to be able to keep themselves unentangled by any mere accidental bitterness imparted into a dispute. Reference to them means the lapse of a little time to let the disputants sleep and think over the matter in quiet, and the friendly advice given "from home" is well received in the main, and if not always quite satisfactory to the colonists, is recognized as an honest attempt to adjust disputes, and to act as *amicus curiæ* in a manner likely to lead to friendly settlement. Would that trade disputes could find as efficient an intermediary—as respected a tribunal—as conciliatory a court of arbitration! The mere gain of time is much, when passion is excited; and, if the interval gained can be spent in reflection instead of inaction, the disputants would have little chance of coming to blows.

To any person who has followed the course of events, it must have been a matter of some surprise to see a great conference called together at Ottawa, and representatives from many colonies there assembled, the mother country being herself represented by special envoy. The Governor-General, who permanently during his five or six years' term of office, is the delegate of the old country, was not considered sufficient, and the Earl of Jersey, a former Governor of one of the Australian colonies, was sent to Ottawa as the British envoy. These facts of themselves show a marked change from the days when it was held in London that Westminster could legislate for Upper and Lower Canada. A still wider divergence from the ancient ideas of the rights of the northern country is, of course, seen when it is remembered how a century ago taxes for general defence were imposed in London and resisted by arms at Boston. But not only is it impossible now for Great Britain to impose any tax on the colonies, but it is also impossible for her to prevent them from taxing by customs duties her trade. Canada may impose any duties she pleases on British goods. Never before in the history of the world has a

parent state given up even the idea of a remonstrance on such a subject.

But it must be remembered that it is to the teaching of the most distinguished of all the British political economists, that Canada owes her defence of her system of imposing duties on imports for revenue, and even for the purpose of protecting and nursing her manufactures. Mill expressly declared that there were cases where such an expedient might be necessary to allow of the growth in a new country of manufactories. Whether defensible or not, by a purely philosophic argument, there is no doubt that every rising nation will naturally proceed to such imposts on goods not made at home, but which may be produced at home. A young country tries as soon as possible to be represented in all departments of national existence, and to have home-made articles in preference to those made out of the country. There is, therefore, little use in arguing the point. But one thing is arguable, and that is the contention of British economists that all that is produced under protection is produced at much heavier cost, and with a less satisfactory result. I remember Lord Kimberly declaring that Ontario now had to buy at increased price the plows she used at home, and that those made by her people were inferior to those she formerly bought at a cheaper rate from New York. But there was no doubt that a comparison of prices and a comparison of goods showed that after a very brief interval the Canadian manufacturer had turned out as good and as cheap an article as that formerly sent into the country from the States.

It was so with an article in another part of the Dominion. I do not know if the British Columbians were more fond of soap than the rest of their kinsfolk to the east or south of them. But anyway they used to buy all their soap at San Francisco. The change in the tariff cut them off from the 'Frisco soap, and the mountains, before the Canadian Pacific Railroad was made, from the soap lovers of the east. They set about to make their own soap, and very soon their soap cleansed, at the old price of the "foreign" soap, every hand in the Colony. I took special pains to verify this soap story, and it will wash! The truth is that things easily made and easily carried can be made at home in most countries as cheaply as they can be made anywhere. It is only where long transport adds to the price that the effect of protective duties is severely felt.

Now, it is quite possible that in time and for certain common purposes, Britain's colonies will ask her to reconsider her position, and to see if some articles cannot be added to a revenue list on which some small tax shall be laid. The money is wanted for common purposes, and if one section of our empire says that it is too much in love with the philosophers' stone of free trade ever to change it for the cash of mutual good, there a "question" will also arise, which will give rise to some valuable weighing of balances of advantage. I don't know whether any of the States of America will ever think it necessary not only to have their armed militia under their separate and "sovereign" control, but also to make their state frontiers the boundaries for different tariff arrangements. That is about the position of the British Empire at the present day. The sentiment for alliance is held to be so strong that it makes light of these little pecuniary matters, but they are serious if left to fructify into widely different fruits. You have the same with regard to local taxation in the States, and that local taxation maintains armed militia forces, so that you need not labor too much to see the similarity in the position of the two great English-speaking nations. But a likeness does not make the matter much better, and the United States is in advance of the British Empire in that it has common taxes for common purposes.

Now this conference at Ottawa was in some respects a remarkable development. There was something very new even in the locality where it was held. I remember my father coming back from a Cabinet council and telling us boys that the capital of the new Dominion of Canada had been fixed, and that the name of the town which was about to receive this unexpected honor was By Town or Ottawa. We tried to find the town in our maps of America, and failed to find it. The place was not considered worth notice. At the conference delegates from all Anglo-Saxondom, except the United States, came there to discuss mutual support, and how intercommunication had best be carried on by steamer and ocean telegraph lines, and, further, how best these communications could be defended, and how the funds could be raised to provide for that defence. Wide questions, indeed, opening up many subjects which, as the French say, "give to think!" There were Australians asking how they could co-operate in laying a cable that should bind together

the British-American Pacific coast with the Southern Island Continent. There were Africanders who knew that "Good Hope" rested with that "Cape" Government, which means to have domination in the future "from the Cape to Cairo." Big words, truly, but what is to prevent their realization? Already "The Cape" means a federation extending to the Zambesi, and although these States have with them the "negro question" in a more wholesome and aboriginal form than that which exists in America, the success of the Dutch race has proved that in mere power of multiplication the blacks will not have it all their own way in Southern Africa. But what were these opponents of Zulus and Kaffirs doing in the head-quarters of Legislation and Lumber Trade? They were sent by a very remarkable man, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who has lately been giving the old country politicians a "bit of his mind." Holding, as he did, he said, that the future government of this world was a question of tariff, he thought it a good opportunity to make a condition that the duties on British manufactures should not be higher than the duties at present imposed in the South African Customs Union. The best return a colony could make to the English people for their support, and help, and the protection that their navy furnished, would be to allow their manufactured goods to pass at a fair rate. Englishmen spent their whole time in Parliament on local matters, but the big question of the trade of the people they neglected. See the action of the United States, of France and of Russia, who have all been devising schemes for shutting out England by protective and prohibitive tariffs. Yet the extraordinary thing is that when the English people are offered the privilege that south of the Zambesi their goods shall be admitted forever on a fair basis, their rulers absolutely refuse it. Yet we know that the states south of the Zambesi will join in one system and that they will grant this right forever to British goods.

And as it is with the South African plans for co-operation, so it is with others hinted at, or formulated, by other colonies. England, as yet, sticks to her shibboleth of receiving everything without placing any duty on goods unless it be on tobacco or spirits. She treats all alike. Her children over sea have no advantage over the stranger. It is for her children at home only that she thinks. She declares, indeed, that the children over sea ought to

do as she does. But at the same time she confesses that they are old enough to know their own minds, and "what is more she can't prevent them from having opinions of their own, and acting on them." They in Canada, in Australia, and in the Cape stretch hands to the old mother and cry: "Treat us as your children, and give our goods some advantage in your market, and we will fight for you." As yet England turns a deaf ear to this cry. Perhaps some day she may find that she must purchase her distant children's active support at a higher price than that she would be obliged to pay now. A higher price? How is that possible? Ask the Free Traders, with Mr. Gladstone until lately at their head as Prime Minister, and now their retired but still consulted oracle. Foreign countries, says the oracle, would at once retaliate against England were she to place any duty on their goods heavier than that placed on England's own children. The bulk of England's trade, he continues, comes from abroad. Therefore, we must run no risk of offending the foreigner. To such fears it is useless to point out that the foreigner, like the Englishman, thinks only of what is best for himself. His duties are as high and only as high as he thinks it will be profitable to himself to have them.

The only way to raise such all-round selfishness into a sense of the necessity of union is to show that persistence in extreme dogma must bring isolation in times of danger as well as in times of peace. This will gradually be brought to the front, in all probability, by united pressure on the part of some of the children of the mother of nations, who, like the old lady in the nursery tale, has so many children she don't know what to do, and as she can't "whip them all soundly and send them to bed," she will probably have to put up with some of their ideas and "behave according." This is the chief meaning of this first Imperial Parliament, or Council of Ministers, held where the Algonquin and Iroquois used to fish beside the spray shot forth by the falls of the "Chaudière." There is not much chance that the modern fishermen there assembled will hook fish too large for them to handle. The good sense which has made these young nations so successful will be answered by the moderation always inherent in the statesmen "at home," however far they may see fit to drive dogma to "please the gallery" for a time, for the "gallery" is the source from which the young nations have come, and are even now being daily reinforced in numbers, and the crowd in that gallery can understand

their children better than the "swells in the boxes" or even the actors on the stage. The balance of advantage must always turn in favor of union, though it may cost some present sacrifice to secure ultimate good.

But we have digressed from the purely Canadian question into that with which it is indissolubly connected—the wider problem of the actions of the English-speaking races. There is little doubt that were it not for the school books which teach young America that Britain was a tyrant, we might have the wider Union to embrace America. Once old Lord Lindsay, himself a noted historian, was dilating to Lord Overton on the use of historical knowledge. "History!" said Lord Overton. "What is the use of history, Lindsay? It only keeps people apart by reviving recollections of enmity." I have often thought of how much truth there is in this. But if the great financier, Lord Overton, said this with some truth, could we not teach our boys another kind of history? Could we not make each school, through its history books, a means of showing how our race can be kept together by united finance arrangements? Could we not make boys see that strength is not gained by recollections of Old World and antique oppression, but that by arbitration, conciliation, and conferences, means may be found to write a new history of English-speaking people's advance, along roads which shall be illuminated by hope in the future instead of darkened by the forgettable enmities of the past?

LORNE.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

VI.—THE RENOVATION OF PARIS.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

THERE appears to be a kind of poetical justice in the enjoyment Americans derive from their stay in Paris, for according to Napoleon III. himself the idea of transforming the capital *en bloc* and at one time was suggested to him by one of their countrymen. Truly, all the rulers before Napoleon III. had attempted to improve the capital both architecturally and hygienically, but those improvements were conceived and executed piecemeal, with the result that the city, in the pre-Haussmannic days, was like Mr. Wilfer in *Our Mutual Friend;* it had never worn a complete new suit of clothes. It is doubtful whether Paris had any such ambition, even the proposals in olden times to endow it with a new monument, a public square, or a street, having always met with most strenuous opposition on the plea of expense. The Parisians of Louis XIV.'s reign lampooned and criticised that monarch and his architect Mansart, as their successors lampooned and criticised Napoleon III. and his Prefect of the Seine, with this difference, that the subjects of "*le Roi-Soleil*" merely looked at the financial consequences of the proposed reforms, while the subjects of Louis Napoleon professed to be swayed in their opposition by loftier considerations than those of money only. When Mansart got frightened at the enormous outlay involved in his royal master's plans, and more or less "muddled" in his own accounts, Louis XIV. told him to "go on building; if you run short of funds, I will advance the money; the foreigner is sure to reimburse us."

Napoleon III.'s faith in the foreigner's willingness to pay liberally for the attractions provided for him was probably as

strong as that of the Bourbon, but he did not possess the private wealth of the latter to back his faith. Nevertheless, he virtually took a leaf from the *grand monarque's* book, but slightly transposed the text. "Go on building," he said to Haussmann; "the foreigner will reimburse the funds expended, but you must ask the Parisians to advance them." The two Bonapartes who ruled over France never disguised their admiration for the Bourbons; in several instances they revived the latter's miscarried or uncompleted legislation. Some one having remarked to Berryer: "*Louis Napoléon veut faire le lit de Henri IV.;*" the eminent barrister replied: "*Au moins il ne lui manquera pas de paillasses.*"* Népomucène Lemercier, the greatest dramatist of the First Empire and the sometime friend of Napoleon I., was more direct, though perhaps less scathing in his strictures on the Emperor's imitation of his predecessors, especially in matters of ceremonial. "*Vous vous amusez à refaire le lit des Bourbon; vous n'y coucherez pas,*" he told him to his face. Lemercier's ire had been provoked by the golden bees on the Imperial mantle of the French Cæsar. He thought they were an imitation of the golden lilies of the *ancien régime;* while in fact, the golden lilies were an imitation of the golden bees on the mantles of the Frankish kings. But the bees had been forgotten for centuries, until a French *stadtholder* of the Southern Netherlands unearthed one of those cloaks at Tournay and presented it to Louis XIV. Napoleon I. found it in a cupboard in the Tuileries, and adopted the bees to oust the lilies.

"The voice of the people may be the voice of God," said Napoleon III. one day to my grand-uncle when alluding to the Parisians' criticisms on his transformation of their city; "the voice of the people may be the voice of God, but the ditties the people yell, rather than sing, are assuredly composed by Satan. When a ruler does nothing for them they shout about *un roi fainéant;* when a ruler attempts to do something for them, they misinterpret his motives, unless they invent some which are altogether foreign to his thoughts. At this present moment the opponents of my plans have adopted the cry that I am attempting to do too much at once, and that this attempt is prompted by my wish to hold all Paris in the palm of my hand by means of broad thoroughfares, in which large masses of troops can move freely and

* *Paillasse* means both a pallet and a clown, or mountebank.

cannon play effectually. Another section of society accuses me of wishing to reduce Paris to a mere city of pleasure, and make it the resort of all the profligates and idlers—titled and untitled, rich and poor, honest and dishonest—of the whole world. That, according to the last-named critics, is my method for stifling the nation's aspirations towards a higher standard of political liberty. If I had adopted Louis XIV.'s and my uncle's system of improving the capital bit by bit, the outcry and objections would have been just the same, though different reasons might have been alleged for them. You who have read the memoirs dealing with the reign of Louis XIV. and the First Empire know this as well as I do. But no shouting nor objections will prevent me from carrying out my plans wholesale. I made up my mind to that effect long ago. You asked me just now for a government situation for one of your *protégés* who is possessed of considerable talent, but if he has talent why does he not use it properly, instead of wasting it in a government office at the rate of 1,200 francs a year?" asked the Emperor, apparently going off at a tangent.

For a moment or so my uncle was at a loss for an answer, for he had asked himself the same question many a time in connection with the various candidates he had recommended to his Majesty.

"I suppose, sire," he said, at last, "that in spite of his talents, he is not clever." "Put it that way, if you like," remarked the Emperor; "I should say because he has got no imagination; for cleverness and imagination may in this instance be synonymous. From your description of the young fellow, I fancy he must be like a young fellow I met when I was in the United States—alike in every respect save in the possession of a strong imagination. Your young friend knows geometry, mathematics, surveying, and the rest; he has an inkling of architecture; and all that knowledge, which argues a considerable application on his part during his college days, he wishes to place at the disposal of the government in exchange for a stool and a salary of 1,200 francs at the *Ministère des Travaux Publics* (Board of Works). Well, the young American to whom I refer, and to whom I owe the idea of the wholesale transformation I am attempting, knew all these, though probably not so well as your young friend. But he did not apply to the United States Public Survey Office to help him

to get a crust of bread on a stipend which would have provoked the scorn of nine-tenths of the working men in America. He wanted to live, not to vegetate. He was bent on making a fortune; and a twelve-month after my first meeting with him he was worth a couple of millions of dollars. He was poor and looked poor, so poor as to be frequently behindhand with the weekly payment at the boarding house in New York where we both stayed. But he never lost heart. One day he came in, an hour late for dinner, but with a big roll of paper under his arm. 'I am very sorry to be late, but I have got hold of my fortune to-day,' he said in the way of apology, pointing to the papers, which turned out to be the complete plans of a city for 40,000 inhabitants with its churches, its public squares, its monuments, etc., etc., including even an exchange. It looked like a fairy city, but the plans were nevertheless carefully worked out; it was the city of the future, such as I intend to have in France, if I live long enough. The young fellow had, however, done more than merely to draw an attractive city on paper; he had bought the site of it—of course conditionally; entered into contracts with builders, sanitary engineers, marble masons and landscape gardeners, and provided with those documents, applied to a couple of big bankers with a keen eye for possibilities. They were going to form a syndicate and the works were to be begun at once. That same evening I had a long conversation with the young fellow. 'So your town will rise like Thebes at the sound of Amphion's lyre?' I asked smilingly, for all this was very new to me. 'Mythology may be reduced to practice sometime,' he answered, 'but I do not suppose we shall be as magical as all that. One thing, however, is very certain. The whole of my plans will be started on the same day, and if possible will be completed within a few weeks of one another. We are not going to follow the example of Europe and build a street or half-a-street of houses at a time.'" Then the Emperor sat still for a moment or two. "'You are considerably older than I am,' he said at last to my uncle; "'yet you may outlive me. When in days to come people tell you that Napoleon III. transformed Paris, you in your turn may tell them that he owed the idea to an American of whom Europe has probably never heard; for on the evening to which I refer, I made up my mind to do what I am doing, if ever I got the chance."

The Emperor was right; in spite of the fierce outcry against

his plans everybody took advantage of them to line his own pockets. I am old enough to remember all this; for though I was not thirteen when I came to Paris, at which period the transformation of the capital was virtually in its first stages, it never ceased during the reign of Napoleon III., and as it went on, fraudulent speculation and corruption of every kind in connection with that transformation became more and more rife. With the exception of the Emperor himself, Fleury, Princesse Mathilde, and perhaps Haussmann, there was not a single person at the Tuileries, whether male or female, and from the highest to the lowest, who did not benefit materially and to a larger or smaller extent by the facilities afforded to them by their positions for surprising, worming out and intercepting early news of Haussmann's projects. Of course, the knowledge thus acquired had to be used cautiously and according to the possessor's means and opportunities. Few persons had the moneys wherewith to buy house property or land in the doomed quarters, and when they had such funds, they had to proceed warily, lest a show of too great anxiety should "let the cat out of the bag."

The construction of the Pont de l'Alma (albeit not under that name) was included from the very beginning in the Emperor's and Haussmann's plans. The entire transformation of the village of Chaillot, which for two hundred years previously had enjoyed the title of *faubourg*, had, however, not been decided upon publicly—although one moment's reflection on the part of those who did think must have shown them that logically, practically, and artistically the one measure would entail the other. The Pont de l'Alma was finished about the beginning of 1856, for I remember that I was taken to see it within a few months of my arrival in Paris. And yet, a couple of week's previously, my elder grand-uncle, coming home one day from the Tuileries, told his brother that the Empress had bought the mansion of Count Lauriston for her mother at a cost of three millions of francs. The fact of such a purchase, involving an outlay which must have appeared enormous to most people, especially in those days when hundreds and thousands of pounds were not mentioned in conversation with the unconcern of to day, was calculated to impress itself upon the mind of a lad of thirteen and particularly sharp for his age. Nevertheless, he would probably have forgotten all about it, but for the comments to which the purchase

gave rise during the next week, which comments were revived about a twelvemonth or eighteen months later when the pickaxe began to do its work in Chaillot. The most lenient conclusion to those comments as affecting the purchaser herself was a consensus of opinion "that she was very clever; as clever as Louis Philippe who invented European complications—in order to contradict the reports, having meanwhile profited by the fall of public securities and their almost immediate restoration to public confidence."

I am not prepared to say whether the compliment to the Empress was genuine or not, but the transaction was unquestionably a profitable one. It would be difficult to compute the present value of the property off-hand; it is certainly worth four times the amount of its purchase-price forty years ago. The site of the erstwhile mansion of Count Lauriston and its immense gardens, which were but a small part of the estate of the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, have all been built on; the old-world village of Chaillot has become the very modern Quartier Marbœuf; the transformation took many years, but the Empress, as far as I am aware, did not part with her land. A mere ground lease for building purposes is a very unusual thing in France, so we may take it that the palatial dwellings which have been erected on the site of the Comtesse de Montijo's former town residence are part and parcel of the property.

"It is a decent provision for a rainy day," said my grand-uncle, in the latter years of the Second Empire, when, in spite of his personal affection for the Emperor, or just because of that affection, he began to doubt the stability of the Empire. "A decent provision for a rainy day," repeated Alexandre Dumas, the Elder, who happened to be seated by his side, and who neither liked the dynasty nor believed in its duration; "say an ark for the coming flood, and you will be nearer the mark." And forthwith there was a positive flood on his part of historical and literary anecdote in connection with the slowly rising Quartier Marbœuf. I feel perfectly certain that not one of those anecdotes has ever been published, and I should like to give them all, but the space at my disposal has been overstepped more than once, and I must not transgress again. At the time of this interesting and impromptu lecture—for it was nothing less, seeing that it lasted for nearly an hour—I was over twenty, and though already then fully

confident of my memory, had begun to take notes. I have these by me now, and they would make two or three chapters. As it is, I must confine myself to an extract.

"It is very curious," began Dumas, "that as early as 1842 or 1843 Balzac foresaw the eventual transformation of the village of Chaillot into a fashionable quarter. As usual, he conceived a vast scheme for making money in connection with it by buying up the whole of the land. Equally as a matter of course, no one would embark in the enterprise. They treated the project, as they were in the habit of treating all Balzac's plans, as purely visionary. Visionary they no doubt were, including as they did, the publication of a gigantic edition of Balzac's works in separate volumes, each volume to have attached to it a ticket in a lottery, the prize in which was to be a plot of ground or a mansion. It would take too long to explain the whole of the complex project, but the presentiment with regard to the destiny of Chaillot was right enough. At any rate, one man to whom that presentiment had been communicated, believed in it and almost immediately acted upon the belief—namely, Emile de Girardin. In less than a twelvemonth afterwards he bought from M. May, the chaplin to the English Embassy, the former mansion of the Count de Choiseul-Gouffier, in the grounds of which there stood at that time a Protestant place of worship.

The scheme conceived by Balzac for buying up a whole neighborhood was even beyond the private resources of so highly-placed a personage as the Empress Eugénie ; to form syndicates or limited companies to that effect, would have probably defeated its own purpose, for it would have let too many people into secrets which, I repeat, had in the majority of cases been unfairly got hold of. So the favored recipients of those secrets or merely clever eavesdroppers, instead of combining, determined to work each on his own account. Most of them were unable to raise sufficient funds wherewith to buy the smallest bit of house property ; they merely sold their knowledge to the leaseholder of the dwelling, and he in his turn hastened to renew his lease. Of course, he was careful to keep his own counsel, lest the landlord, having too many applications for renewals at one time, should become suspicious and raise the rents. Repeated in six or seven different quarters, although with but one tenant in each, the sale of such information frequently yielded the considerable

sum of between 200,000 and 300,000 francs to the vendor. I am not exaggerating in computing the moneys thus obtained at over one million sterling.

Practically this money came out of the coffers of the Paris Municipality, for it need scarcely be said that the lessees in their subsequent claims for compensation did not forget to reckon the sums disbursed in the purchase of their information, and do what they would the Municipality were found in the end powerless to resist those claims. The original intention on their part had been to let the majority of leases "fall in" before commencing operations in this or that quarter. Under such conditions the ground alone would have had to be paid for. The lessees, with their fresh leases locked in their desks, simply sneered at the Municipality's announced intention to exercise patience. They believed the Civic Fathers to be ignorant of the negotiations they (the lessees) had just concluded with their superior landlords. The Municipality were not as ignorant as the lessees thought them, and in spite of the obstacles thrown in their way repeated their intention to wait, although the period of waiting might be prolonged. Thereupon the lessees forced the Municipality's hand. They set up claims to the effect "that the intention to evict them at the expiration of their leases constituted an act of actual eviction entitling them to damages.* And preposterous though the contention seemed and seems, its validity was finally admitted by the highest tribunal in France.

This decision paved the way for a system of wholesale exaction and jobbery, the like of which it would be difficult to find in the annals of any modern community in Europe. Equally difficult would it be to find parallels to some of the claims for compensation except in the librettos of Mr. Gilbert and kindred writers. To begin with, there was the claim of the owner of the ground and dwelling, or of the ground only through which the new thoroughfares were to run. He was simply extortionate in virtue of his ownership. One case in point must suffice. One of those owners had as good as sold a plot of ground to a firm of hydraulic engineers for 75,000 francs, which sum he professed himself glad to accept. Pending the signing of the documents, he got wind of M. Haussmann's project of cutting a new thor-

* I have condensed the claim into non-legal language, but taken care to preserve the spirit of the plea.

oughfare across what was still his property. He declined to ratify his bargain with the engineers, and eventually claimed 1,800,000 francs. The valuation-jury awarded him 950,000 francs. Then there was the claim of the principal tenant, who, as a rule, occupied the ground floor part of the premises, including the shop. He could not claim compensation for being disturbed in his actual tenancy, inasmuch as the Municipality had announced their intention not to disturb him; nevertheless, he claimed in virtue of the decision of the Court of Cassation, to which I alluded just now; and moreover magnified his claim on the plea of the prospective harm his heirs and successors would suffer. "But," objected the leading counsel for the Municipality, "if my instructions are correct, the claimant's lease which has just been renewed will not expire for another twelve years; the claimant is close upon seventy, his wife is but a few years younger. They will scarcely remain in business until they are eighty; and although they are unquestionably entitled to damages in virtue of the judgment of the Court of Cassation that judgment makes no provision for the hypothetical injury done to heirs or mere business successors. Besides, the former in this instance do not exist at all, seeing that the claimant is childless, and will in all probability remain so at his advanced age." To which the claimant's counsel made rejoinder: "My learned brother should not take it for granted that my client will go childless to his grave, because my client himself is far from cherishing such convictions; he belongs to the Hebrew race, and the miracle that was vouchsafed to Abraham and Sarah may be repeated in his favor, unless my learned brother wishes to imply that the age of miracles is past."

Finally, there was a category of tenants, mostly occupants of sets of apartments who claimed compensation on purely sentimental grounds. To recapitulate their alleged grievances one by one would lead me too far afield; one gentleman pleaded that his invalid daughter could see, from the windows of the apartment from which he was to be dislodged, the steeple of the church where her mother worshipped when a girl. The majority indulged in "tall talk" about "the roofs that had sheltered their fathers and the spot where their children's cradle stood." And though in reality three-fourths of those who talked thus had not even been born in Paris—for barely one-third of the Paris popu-

lation are natives of the capital—the valuation-jury generally admitted their claims; ostensibly in order "to teach the government a lesson;" in reality because each of their decisions created a precedent by which they in their turn hoped to benefit at some future time.

This much about the doings of the valuation jury and claimants while they were both left to their own devices, expectations of immediate or contingent spoil, and so-called political independence. The latter feeling, however, was soon raised to the boiling-point by newspaper articles and pamphlets. Of one of these pamphlets I would say a few words, inasmuch as it was the work of the late Jules Ferry, at that time an obscure, and probably deservedly obscure, barrister, like so many other shining lights of the Third Republic that was to be. It was the most widely circulated; I doubt, however, whether throughout the whole of France there were a hundred people who read it from beginning to end, most people giving up the attempt after half a dozen pages, for it was dull to a degree, and what was worse, dull without being convincing, and, as the Emperor said, "dull under false pretenses." Its great sale was due to its clever title, a perversion of the title of the French version of Hoffmann's *Weird Tales—Les Contes Fantastiques d'Hoffmann.* M. Ferry had altered this into *Les Comtes Fantastiques d'Haussmann;* but the happy thought was due to two of Dufaure's secretaries, MM. Duval and Delprat, and M. Ferry's friends, who had hit upon it during a conversation at an Orleanist's social gathering, and made a present of the idea to the future Prime Minister, who died as President of the Senate. "After all," remarked Napoleon III., when he had read the *brochure,* "I am glad that M. Ferry's pamphlet is so dull; if it had been as brilliant as its title, M. Ferry would be in the painful position of having to bring an action for libel against his face and appearance." The remark was spiteful, but absolutely just. In those days Ferry was a cantankerous likeness of Offenbach. Later on the likeness grew less apparent, and the cantankerousness more. I used to meet him frequently on the boulevards in company with Hérold, the future Prefect of the Seine under the Third Republic, and the son of the celebrated composer of *Zampa* and *Le Pré aux Clercs,* who had been a friend of my grand-uncle. I liked Hérold, who had one of the most wonderful memories I have

ever met with, but I always avoided him when Ferry was with him. My grand-uncle, seeing them together one day, exclaimed, "Here goes Zampa's heir in custody of a gendarme."

M. Ferry charged Haussmann with having purposely underrated the cost of his proposed improvements. "That is nominally true," said the Emperor, "but in reality Haussmann has not underrated the cost of the improvements, he has only underrated the greed of the Paris *bourgeois*, just as he would have underrated M. Ferry's impudence if he had attempted to transform him into a fair critic and a gentleman." The Emperor was right once more; the greed of the Paris tradesman and *bourgeois* burdened the budget of the capital with sixteen millions sterling in as many years, and this in addition to the reasonable indemnities which might have been claimed in virtue of the judgment of the Court of Cassation. At least 15 per cent. of these moneys stuck to the fingers of more or less unscrupulous lawyers, retained by shady and still more unscrupulous agencies, which for a minimum commission of 10 per cent. on all the sums wrung from the Municipality, set the machinery of the law in motion in behalf of the smallest and utterly unimportant shop-keepers—such as dairymen, fruiterers, greengrocers, coal-sellers, etc.—all of whom, but for those agents' instigation, would have removed to adjacent streets or adjacent premises without losing their customers. The organization of those agencies was little short of perfect; their recruiting of fraudulent auxiliaries strategic to a degree. One of those pseudo *hommes d'affaires*, with the successors of whom Paris swarms even at present, managed to get hold of about ten quires of old paper bearing the government stamp. Each of the sheets served for the making of a lease supposed to have been granted in 1850. He himself never put pen to paper; he simply sold each of the sheets to the various agencies in need of them at the rate of 10,000 francs apiece. The £100,000 sterling thus earned were all lost in Stock Exchange speculations, and after the fall of the Empire he boasted of what he had done. When the Commune exploded, he came to London and set up business as a wine-merchant; he is now leading a miserable and precarious existence in another capital of Europe.

Ante-dated leases, made with the connivance of both signatories to such documents, were, after all, but one wheel in the huge mechanism of fraud. The agencies provided false inventories,

false balance-sheets, false sets of account-books, false stock in the shape of blocks of wood, neatly wrapped up and suitably labelled; they repainted and redecorated the shops of their clients; and for many weeks before and after the time appointed for the regulation visit of the valuation jury, the establishment was crowded with customers from morn till night, which sham customers were attended to by equally sham assistants, hired at the rate of three francs per day. In fact, no stage-manager of genius ever arranged his scenic effects with greater forethought than they.

It would be rash to pretend that all the lawyers those agencies employed were their accomplices; there were some honorable exceptions, and they were dupes. One of the latter was pleading one day in behalf of a grocer in a moderate way of business. Confidently flourishing the day-book of his client—for the agency frequently left the choice of a barrister to the claimant himself—he began to enumerate the customers, and asked for considerable damages. The counsel for the City of Paris interrupted him. "My learned brother need not trouble himself," he said; "I know that day-book by heart, it is the grocers' day-book; it has done duty already several times." As a matter of course, the "learned brother" grew very indignant, and proceeded to refute the allegation. "I am sorry to insist," replied his opponent, "but if you will turn to page 73, you will find my initials." The bare fact was this. During a previous trial, the amounts inscribed in that day-book, and quoted in support of an exorbitant claim, had struck the counsel for the City of Paris as being too exaggerated. A vague suspicion of the truth had dawned upon him then, and he had asked to look at the day-book itself, and while pretending to add up figures had quickly initialed the page. He felt almost convinced that he would meet with that account book again. But the claimant got his damages.

On the morning after this decision, the Emperor, contrary to his habit, was up betimes, and when Fleury went in to have his usual chat he found him dressed and ready to go out. A few minutes later, Haussmann, who had evidently been sent for, made his appearance. "You and I are going for a walk, *mon cher préfet*," was Napoleon's greeting. "I am afraid I only know my Parisian subjects theoretically, and I wish to get a little more practical knowledge of them. I will take another leaf from my uncle's book; he used to go for walks in the morning with

Duroc, and he told my mother that one of those strolls was worth a hundred reports from Fouché. That was after he had been plainly given to understand that a ruler must pay through the nose for any and everything he wants for his personal use and gratification, and a still more extravagant price if the object he desires be intended for the benefit of the nation at large. I will tell you how it happened. He and Duroc were walking along one early morn, when in the window of a very small *bric-à-brac* shop my uncle noticed a bronze statuette, the companion of which was in the Louvre. 'What is the price of this bronze?' he asked of the dealer, who was perched aloft on a ladder, dusting the front of his place. 'Don't worry me,' growled the man, without troubling to look down or come down; 'you will find it too high for your pockets.' My uncle, who was in an amiable mood just then, insisted. 'Well, suppose I say four hundred francs, what then?' was the grudging answer. 'Then I should take it,' shouted my uncle; for the dealer had not stirred. This time he looked down and caught sight of my uncle's face. He descended immediately, but gave no further sign of having recognized him. His tone, however, altered. 'I said "suppose," monsieur; I was only joking; in reality it is two thousand francs.' 'Very well,' remarked the Emperor, 'I will take it at that.' 'I am afraid I cannot let you have it,' objected the man. 'A gentleman who saw it a few days ago told me that its companion statuette is in the Louvre, and if the authorities have set their minds on having it, I will not part with it for less than five thousand francs.' 'Do you know who I am?' said my uncle. The man stammered and turned pale. 'I see you do, and I mean to make you stick to your bargain. There is no more reason why you should rob the nation at large than why you should rob a private individual. I mean to have it at the price you asked me.'

"My uncle had the statuette, but I am not of my uncle's metal. I cannot force the Parisians to sell their houses at the price they would take from a private individual; but I must find a way of meeting craft and greed. Contact with the Parisian may suggest one. That is why I wish you to go for a walk."

ALBERT N. VANDAM.

(To be Continued.)

NORDAU'S THEORY OF DEGENERATION.

I.—A PAINTER'S VIEW.

BY KENYON COX.

THE scientific value of Max Nordau's book, *Degeneration*, scientific men may determine. I can only give the impressions of an unscientific person on that part of the work which deals with his own specialty.

A painter with classical tendencies—one who admires Raphael and still respects even Gérôme—is likely to open Nordau's volume with some anticipations of enjoyment. A scientific demonstration of the mental unsoundness of the "Impressionists" and the "*Rose Croix*" appeals to him as perhaps plausible and not undesirable, and "degenerate," "hysteric," "mattoid" are beautiful names to hurl at the artists of the "Yellow Book" or the sensation hunters of the *Champs de Mars*. If it can be proved that tendencies in painting which seem to him morbid and unhealthy are really the result of disease, his cause is gained. He, therefore, begins to read Nordau's book with sympathetic attention and perfect willingness to be convinced. The sympathy does not last long. One may be a classicist and out of touch with much that passes for art to-day, but one is still an artist and is shocked to find that the "great majority of the middle and lower classes" are declared to possess all that is left of mental soundness in a decaying age and that this soundness is said to show itself in the fact that "the Philistine or the Proletarian still finds undiluted satisfaction in the old and oldest forms of art . . . he contemplates gladly chromos of paintings depicting Munich beer-houses and rustic taverns, and passes the open-air painters without a glance." If "the grateful *clientèle* of the chromo" is to be the judge of sanity we artists are all in the same boat together. The argument is proving altogether too much for our comfort

and it behooves us to keep a sharp watch on the reasoning which leads to so unpleasant a conclusion. The noble and austere art of Puvis de Chavannes is set down as the work of a degenerate beside that of the "stipplers" or the symbolists. What is the argument and what are the mental characteristics of the man who would have us accept so preposterous a result?

The characteristics of Mr. Nordau which strike one most forcibly are, in the order in which one perceives them, these: violence of language, arrogance, inaccuracy, inconsistency, lack of humor, and total inability to comprehend art. The first two characteristics are so evident everywhere, from the first page to the last, that it is hardly necessary to point out special instances of them. The fragments which I shall cite for other purposes will supply more than a sufficiency of examples of violence. The crowning example of arrogance I reserve for the last. Let me then take up his other traits one by one, and justify by quotations what Mr. Nordau would call my "diagnosis."

The school of painting on which he expends the greatest amount of space is the English Pre-Raphaelite school. This is somewhat like slaying the dead, but no matter. His account of the formation and doctrines of that school is full of misstatements.

"In the year 1843 . . . Ruskin began to publish the feverish studies on art which were subsequently collected under the title of *Modern Painters.*" (P. 78).

Modern Painters was not a collection of studies "feverish" or otherwise.

"The Pre-Raphaelites, who got all their leading principles from Ruskin." (P. 81).

This has been disproved again and again. Ruskin took up the movement and explained it after it was started, and his account of its doctrines was never accepted by the leaders.

"They, however, raised it to the position of a fundamental principle, that in order to express devotion and noble feeling the artist must be defective in form." (P. 81).

This nonsense is Nordau's own. No such principle was ever announced by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood as that artists should be deformed, or even (which is what he means to say) that they should be unable to draw.

"His (Rossetti's) father gave him the name of the great poet at his entrance into the world, etc." (P. 86).

His father did nothing of the kind. In 1847 Rossetti still signed himself "Gabriel Chas. Rossetti."* He adopted the "Dante" later, and all Nordau's argument of the influence of his name upon his character falls to the ground.

Apparently our author can be accurate in nothing. He speaks of the "P. R. B. exhibition" in 1849 as if it were a separate exhibition of the Brotherhood alone (p. 70) and states twice that Rossetti "soon exchanged the brush for the pen." He cannot even describe a picture correctly, for he says that the figure of Christ in Holman Hunt's "Shadow of the Cross" "is standing in the Oriental *attitude of prayer* . . . the shadow of his body falling *on the ground*" (p. 85). Both the statements I have italicized are untrue.

Now for his inconsistency. Among the proofs he relies on for his statement that "Ruskin's theory is in itself delirious," and that Ruskin is a "degenerate," are the well known contradictions of that author. He takes up one of them and shows that Ruskin is absurd in that he demands of the painter on one page the blindest copying of nature, while on another he admits the existence of the typical or ideal form which it is the business of the painter to recognize and reproduce. Will it be believed that Nordau proceeds to fall into the same contradiction himself?

"Only one of these mutually exclusive statements can be true," says he, on page 83. "Unquestionably it is the former." And he proceeds to make his own that doctrine of absolute fidelity to fact, which is the worst feature of Ruskin's teaching. "The ideal form is an assumption. . . . To exclude individual features from a phenomenon as unessential and accidental, and to retain others as intrinsic and necessary, is to reduce it to an abstract idea. The work of art, however, is not to abstract, but to individualize." Yet on p. 333, where he is trying to prove something else, he says: "Next, the work of art grants an insight into the laws of which the phenomenon is the expression; for the artist, in his creation, separates the essential from the accidental . . . divines the idea behind the structure . . . and discloses it in his work to the spectator." It is not often that any one can be so superbly inconsistent as this; but the way in which diametrically opposite symptoms prove the same disease seems strange to the unscientific mind. "Red," says our author,

*William Bell Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, etc., vol. 1, p. 244.

"is dynamogenous, hence it is intelligible that hysterical painters revel in red. . . . Violet is conversely enervating and inhibitive. . . . This suggests that painters suffering from hysteria . . . will be inclined to cover their pictures uniformly with" violet. Blue and yellow are "the very two colors the sensations of which in hysterical amblyopia endure the longest," so that a fondness for them is also a sign of degeneration. Do not imagine, however, that the love of neutral tints is any better. The "whitewash of Puvis de Chavannes," the "problematical vapor, reeking as if with a cloud of incense," of Carrière, or the "ditchwater and dissolved clay" of Raffaelli, are signs of an even more completely diseased state than are the "grass-green hair" and "faces of sulphur-yellow"—the "revolutionary debauch of color"—of Besnard.

Mr. Nordau's lack of humor is shown again and again in his fury at "witticisms." One of the great signs of mental degeneration, according to him, is the tendency to perpetrate these.

Nordau's insensibility to art is shown in many ways. He never praises any artist, be he poet, painter or musician, except those whose reputation is so firmly established as to be beyond all cavil. Shakespeare and Goethe and Beethoven he says he admires, but there is no word to show that he has ever cared for anything in art except what a man may not despise in the face of the world without being a self-confessed barbarian. What he does praise or admire in art is almost always successful imitation. In painting he sees "a sensuously agreeable impression of beautiful single colors (!), and happily combined harmonies of color," but there is no sign that beauty of line or fine composition has ever appeared to him to exist. "An illusion of reality together with the consciousness that it is an illusion" are "the higher and more intellectual pleasures" to be derived from the contemplation of works of art (p. 80). "Sane artists," he says, "as a general rule will produce works which are so-called realistic," and "artists unhealthily emotional" or "hysterical, neurasthenic, and degenerate subjects, and every kind of lunatic" will produce "works so-called idealistic." The claim that "artistic activity is the highest of which the human mind is capable" makes him furious. "Why?" he says. "Because the amount of artistic technique involved is difficult? If that is to be the decisive point, then, to be logical, the Æsthetes must place the acrobat higher

than the artist of their species, since it is much more difficult to learn the art of the trapezist than the rhyming and daubing which constitutes the 'art' of the Æsthetes." The "monarchical state" is "atavistic" when it gives the highest place to the soldier, but it is very right when it gives the next highest to the scholar who we are triumphantly told, "as professor, academician, counsellor, is a constituent part of the governmental machine, and honors and dignities fall far more to his lot than to the poet and artist." It is true that "even persons of good and serious minds" place some artists "on a level with, or even above, the man of science," but this is because "art is equally a source of knowledge" (p. 333). Finally, he prophesies in this way: "It is fair to conclude that after some centuries art and poetry will have become pure atavisms, and will no longer be cultivated, except by the most emotional portion of humanity —by women, by the young, perhaps even by children" (p. 543). If his arguments would prove all art a disease so much the worse for art—"that would still prove nothing against the correctness of his critical method" (p. 552), and he would "raise no objection to this conclusion" (p. 553). And he has the objector on the hip, for if you chance to admire anything "the madness of which is at the first glance apparent to every rational being" (*i. e.* to the author), you are as mad as the artist you admire. The unanswerable argument, the key to the whole book and to the author's state of mind, is to be found on page 123. "We find in every lunatic and imbecile the conviction that the rational minds who discern and judge him are blockheads.'"

What can one answer to a champion thus armed in triple brass? There is nothing for it but to turn his statement end for end and see how it reads. "We find in every blockhead the conviction that the artist whom he cannot understand is a lunatic or an imbecile." Is it not as convincing so? What "diagnosis" Mr. Nordau would make of another who showed such "stigmata" as his own we need not guess. To me his symptoms are easily read. Abusiveness, arrogance, inaccuracy, inconsistency, lack of humor, insensibility to art, what are all these but the signs of Philistinism? In his preface he extols his own courage, saying, "I have no doubt as to the consequences to myself of my initiative." To attack the Church or the State is "nothing venturesome. . . . But grievous is the fate of him who has the

audacity to characterize æsthetic fashions as forms of mental decay." Pshaw! my dear sir, you are fighting in the safest and most popular of causes. It may be true that the "author or artist attacked," with not unnatural asperity, "never pardons a man for recognizing in him a lunatic or a charlatan." But who cares what *he* thinks? "The great majority of the middle and lower classes" are with you. If any one speaks for the poor devil, call *him* a lunatic too and the trick is done. Your predecessor is thus mentioned in the First Book of Samuel:

"And there went out a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath, of Gath, whose height was six cubits and a span. And he had an helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail; and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass. And he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders. . . . And he stood and cried . . . Am not I a Philistine?" And there are no Davids now, like the *frondeur* of old, to bring down the giant with a pebble-stone.

KENYON COX.

II.—A MUSICIAN'S RETORT.

BY ANTON SEIDL.

THE reading of Max Nordau's book at first filled me with disgust. As I progressed with it, however, I became convinced that it was not the work of a pessimist, striving to be sensational, but of a man of unbalanced mind, like one of those unfortunates frequently met with in lunatic asylums, who appear while you converse with them to be perfectly rational, but suddenly spring ideas at you that clearly demonstrate that their intellect is unsettled. Such an apparently sane person tells you, with an air of importance and pity, that every inmate of the institution, except himself, is crazy; while he is the craziest of them all.

How greatly distorted the mental faculties of Mr. Nordau are, he betrays on the second page of his scurrilous chapter on Wagner, where, in order to substantiate his silly accusations, he refers to Mr. Praeger's biography of the great musician—a book which, after having been branded by some of our most noted and conscientious critics as a network of ridiculous assertions and

infamous misrepresentations, was withdrawn from the market by its publishers. But this discredited book, with its false dates, its false quotations, and incomprehensible inferences, is accepted by Mr. Nordau as a trustworthy source of information.

Mr. Nordau proceeds to fable of "dancing and howling dervishes," who, in the *Bayreuther Blaetter*, burn incense before their fetish, Wagner. Every branch of art has its organs for promoting its interests. Wagner also perceived the necessity of speaking to the cultured world, not only by means of his music and his works, but also through the press.

Nordau's short explanation of the principle of Wagner's art might have been written by a caged-up lunatic! Take, for instance, expressions and conclusions such as these: that the architecture of Cologne Cathedral impresses one without the by-work of a dramatic performance; or that the Pastoral Symphony impresses one without explanatory words; or that Faust's depth and beauty can gain nothing by adding music to it.

Well, I believe one can safely say that the grandeur of the architecture of Cologne Cathedral impresses one a thousandfold more when seen during high-mass, when the magnificent edifice is filled with the delicious fumes of incense and resplendent with myriads of lights! Furthermore it is a well-known fact that, in all theatres of high rank, the lack of music during productions of "Faust" was deeply felt, and that was why most of them introduced music during such performances with more or less success. And then if Beethoven in the "Partitur" of his "Pastoral Symphony" had not given a few hints in regard to his ideas or intentions concerning his music, I wonder how many different versions there would now be in existence. Perhaps, for instance, Mr. Nordau might have mistaken the manifestations of rapture on the arrival at the idyllic country-place for the merry bustle in the market-place of a town.

In imitation of Mr. Praeger, Mr. Nordau revels in unintelligible and absurd perversions. He speaks of Schopenhauer as condemning "grand opera," but he avoids mention of the fact that Wagner himself pronounces the so-called "grand opera" to be humbug. Mr. Nordau either deliberately confounds Meyerbeer's "grand opera" with Wagner's musical drama, or he proves himself incompetent to understand or criticise Wagner's works.

This writer upbraids Wagner for his bombastic style of

writing, and cites a few of Wagner's expressions, which he declares to be incomprehensible. But let us take a glance at Mr. Nordau's own style of writing. How, for instance, is this: "What Wagner takes for evolution (speaking about 'Art-work of the Future') is retrogression, and a return to a primeval human, nay, to a *pre-human stage?*"

It is not to be wondered at that Mr. Nordau, in vieing with Mr. Praeger, sees in all those who occupy themselves with Wagner, who impersonate or sing his characters, who play his music, or read his works, degenerate beings. He even strives to prove, by words patched together, that Wagner was an anarchist! Does not this show that Nordau is ripe for the insane asylum, if only in the capacity of cicerone?

Wagner is declared to be erratic, because he sings ever the praise of woman. What then were Schiller, Goethe, Beethoven and many others who did the same thing?

He speaks further of the shameless sensuality of Wagner's poems and cites Hanslick. A nice fraternity indeed! He vilifies the German public who listened to the first act of "Walkuere" without blushing just as if Parisians, New Yorkers, Londoners and St. Petersburghers, had not become enthusiastic over this musical drama! Nordau, the writer of the book "Degeneration," as preacher of morals!

The elaborations on Wagner's "Redemption" idea are indeed the most rancorous and unreasonable portion of the chapter. Here he brings Mr. Nietsche forward as witness, a man who is known to have been mentally deranged for years. Well, who does not detect in that the action of the lunatic, who shows the unsuspicious visitor about the asylum, telling him that everybody in the institution, doctors included, himself only excepted, is crazy, until the visitor suddenly discovers to his horror a dangerous maniac in his cicerone.

Mr. Nordau's Praegeristic treatment displays itself also in another instance. He cites Nietsche as a competent critic of Wagner's dramatic poetry, but rejects Nietsche as of imbecile judgment in criticizing Wagner the musician. That is called consistency! And Nordau charges Wagner with inconsistency!

All that Nordau prates about Wagner's music proves clearly that he understands it no more than a policeman does the art of casting a bell. It is true there are many others who share this

stupidity with him; but he is altogether asinine when he declares that one may go to Bayreuth only when one knows all the "leit-motifs" by heart. According to his own confession, he does not know them himself, and yet he sits in judgment on them. This kind of action is more than moral degeneration.

Nordau is seeking the laurels of an Erostratus. There are persons who can accomplish nothing of their own, and these imagine that it may be very lucrative to demolish whatever great and beautiful thing has been created by others, so that attention may be attracted to themselves.

ANTON SEIDL.

III.—AS TO AGE-END LITERATURE.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

IF the book called *Degeneration*, by Max Nordau, has challenged successfully the attention of cultivated readers in many civilized countries, it is, of course, because he has tried to satisfy a craving of the perplexed public mind by suggesting a cause of certain phenomena, which, in these dying years of the Nineteenth Century, are widespread, patent, and regrettable. Moreover, he has not only propounded a possible cause, but one that is physiological, for which, therefore, the sufferers need not hold themselves morally responsible, and from whose maleficent effect they may hope to recover, when organized society shall have better adjusted itself to the new conditions produced by the multiplex employment of steam and electricity in human affairs. A moment's reflection, however, will demonstrate that this cause is inadequate to account for the effect ascribed to ti. The introduction of the railway, the steamship, the telegraph and the telephone, with the consequent amplification of markets, agglomeration of capital, and intensification of directing intellect, are matters that concern, almost exclusively, the commercial and industrial classes, to which the age-end literature, which Mr. Nordau makes the subject of discussion, never appeals, and by which it is seldom, if ever, read. It cannot be truthfully said that the upper ten thousand, of whom alone, even in France, the author of *Degeneration*, as he confesses, speaks, have been subjected to much, if any, extra cerebral strain through the application of steam and electricity to

social purposes. As a matter of fact, the brain tissues and nervous system of the affluent, leisurely, or idle class are taxed less than they were a hundred, or even fifty, years ago. Brilliant conversation has gone out of fashion; people send by wire messages which formerly would have been couched in conventional epistles; unlike merchants and manufacturers, whose correspondence is undoubtedly much larger, yet who have not in the least degenerated, the upper ten thousand write fewer letters and shorter ones; and when they read, peruse more newspapers and fewer books. Few persons probably would contend that the scanning of an average newspaper imposes more wear and tear upon the gray matter of the brain than does the digestion of a printed volume. It seems clear, then, that since the class specially addressed by the literature reviewed with so much pungency by Max Nordau cannot be regarded as in any sense the victim of the gradual applications of science during the last half century, we must seek elsewhere for the cause of the literary phenomena characteristic of our day, and by us designated, half sadly and half scoffingly, as *fin de siécle*.

I.

Nothing delights unoccupied persons like the belief that, while commonly misunderstood, they are deeply worthy of being comprehended; and nothing pleases the idle class at any given epoch like the assurance that they have been placed by circumstances in a unique position, strangely agitated and profoundly interesting. Alive to this fact, and determined to produce a popular book, Mr. Nordau studiously refrained from doing what he was of course fully competent to do, namely, pointing out that there is nothing new in the attitude of certain morbid outgrowths of our age-end literature toward religion and morality; that the phenomenon, instead of being unique, is periodic, and, in truth, familiar to even the casual student of history. It is a phenomenon inseparable from a widely prevalent decay of faith. It was characteristic of the first century of our era throughout the Mediterranean world, and conspicuously in the city of Rome; it was recognizable during the last half of the twelfth century in all countries using the Provençal tongue; it was observed and denounced in Italy, where, in the first half of the sixteenth century, the Renaissance became decadent; it was not only visible

but intrusive and obnoxious in France when the *ancien régime* was moribund. The Latin literature that glorified the indulgence of the senses and acknowledged no subordination of pleasure to duty, the literature that began with Catullus and Ovid, and that reached perhaps its lowest depth in Petronius Arbiter, bore unconscious but conclusive witness to the fact that belief in the old Roman and Greek gods was dead, and that the conversion of Constantine to the religion preached by the disciples of Jesus was yet distant. The songs of the Provençal troubadours and the fundamental rules of life laid down by the courts of love, whereof the minstrels were the inspirers and reporters, if not the lawgivers, testify to the inoculation of Christianity with infidel and Manichæan tenets, and to a pervasive corruption, so far as the higher orders were concerned, which probably has not been equalled since the groves of Daphne were closed at Antioch. What shall one say of the literature of renascent Italy from the time of Boccaccio to the the purification and regeneration of Catholicism under the successors of Leo X? It was an epoch during which even Popes were accused of being free-thinkers, while artists and nobles were to a very large extent infected with the suspicion, if not conviction, that an overruling Providence and a life beyond the grave were fables. That part of the work produced by Italian men of letters in the Renaissance which is still current is sufficiently tainted, but there was another part which has been long since veiled from sight and buried in the crypts of libraries. Products of a decline of faith, those books betrayed the tendency, as yet unavowed if not unconscious, of a materialistic and egoistic philosophy to divorce art entirely from altruistic ethics. If now we pass to the last half century of the *ancien régime* in France, we find the skepticism of the upper classes regarding duties to God reflected in the writings of Voltaire, and their disregard of duties and decencies toward fellow beings mirrored in scores of novels, from the artistic though immoral pages of the Abbé Prévost to the salacious narratives of Crébillon Fils, Louvet and the Marquis de Sade, by the side of which the ruthless self-dissection of Rousseau seems sane, robust and wholesome.

II.

THUS we see that Nordau's book, striking as it is, is but another example of the maxim that there is nothing new under

the sun. Godlessness and vice are as old as Sodom, and if the cities of the plain possessed a literature, and it were extant, we should undoubtedly find in it a warrant for their holocaust. It is plain enough that all the previous outbreaks of viciousness in literature were not ascribable to physical degeneration ; were not due to any physiological or social, much less mechanical agency, but should be attributed, simply and purely, to a moral cause. It is probable that the world never saw a more tremendous transformation of man's social energies than took place in the countries bordering the Mediterranean under the benignant influence of the Roman peace. Not to this surely can be imputed the abhorrent influx of impiety, malevolence and lubricity, which cursed the realm of the Cæsars during the first century of our era. To what can we reasonably charge it but to the fact that the minds of men, no longer preoccupied with war, were awakened to the disappearance of their ancient religious beliefs under the corrosive impact of the Attic schools of philosophy, and especially of the school which found in Lucretius an eloquent expounder ? So, too, with the rotten-ripeness of the Provençal-speaking countries towards the close of the twelfth century ; this is not traceable, though it has been traced, to the lucrative position of those lands in the track of the onset of the Western nations against the Saracens in Palestine. No doubt, the Provençals derived wealth and luxury from their geographical situation, but the moral disintegration detected in their literature came from contact with the Oriental ideas brought back by the Crusaders, or transmitted through Saracenic Spain, and which obscured the distinction between good and evil, and obliterated the belief in God and immortality. Again, the epoch of the Renaissance underwent a mechanical influence, comparable for diffusion and magnitude to that of steam and electricity ; we refer, of course, to that exercised by the invention of printing. It would be preposterous, however, to charge the immorality of that age, so conspicuous in its literature, to the use of movable types. The mischievous agency was the absorption of pagan ideas through a sudden and indiscriminate revival of learning. We note, finally, that throughout a large part of the eighteenth century the physical and intellectual energies of France were subjected to the exhausting strain of the duel with England for ascendancy in the New World and in India ; yet of the severe cerebral tension

wrought by the national hunger for political and territorial aggrandizement we find scarcely a sign in contemporary French literature. What exudes from it at every pore is the contempt for religion and traditional morality which must have begun to permeate society before it found exemplars and promoters in Voltaire and the Encyclopedists.

As regards the power of accommodating itself to mere changes of physical or social environment, mankind is still young and vigorous. From this point of view, at all events, the race shows no sign of decrepitude. There is not a jot of evidence that now, or ever, have men failed to adjust swiftly to their cerebral capacity the innumerable applications of the conquests over nature's forces which they themselves have made. It is not the mind, but the heart, that at certain conjunctures wavers. At these crises, when the old religions that aimed to regulate the attitude of man to his Maker, and that gave a sanction and an incentive to right conduct, seem shaken or undermined, the struggle between selfishness and self-sacrifice recurs under conditions trying to all except the sanest and the sweetest natures, and to those, happily the vast majority, who are nailed to altruistic habits by the rivets of hard, daily toil. It is through a crisis of that kind that we are now passing. The rich and cultivated class, to which, mainly, the makers of poetry and artistic fiction address themselves, has as yet failed to put the new wine of science into the old bottles of faith; it has succeeded but imperfectly in absorbing and assimilating Darwinism and the evolutionary philosophy; and it has thus far miscarried in the attempt to adjust and reconcile the teachings of the physicists to the traditional beliefs concerning the relation of man to the Deity and his duty to his fellow-creatures. Especially was such a miscarriage to be looked for in France, which had never fully extirpated the skepticism and cynicism with which it had been saturated in the eighteenth century. It will not seem strange that the work of adaptation and accommodation should have been everywhere slow, tentative, and hitherto unfruitful on the part of the upper ten thousand, whom Nordau has in mind, when we recall that the weakest part of Mr. Herbert Spencer's monumental work, the *Synthetic Philosophy*, is admitted to be the Data of Ethics. When the minds of well educated persons are in a state of fluctuation and unrest, of doubt drifting to despair

or to indifference; when not only the fool saith in his heart "There is no God," but the wise man presumes not to rebuke his folly; it is not suprising that lyrical and epical compositions—the novel is, of course, the modern epic—should evince a like recklessness and license, and be spotted all over with signs of divagation from standards of morality once accepted, and even from former canons of taste. This end-of-the-century outgush, however, of impiety and vice in literature, differs from similar antecedent phenomena in this, that in our day the principal transgressors of moral laws in artistic writing seek to justify themselves by a philosophic axiom, whereby a multitude of readers, naturally cleanly and even squeamish, have allowed themselves to be imposed upon. We allude to the axiom of "art for art's sake," the theory that art has nothing to do with morals, a dogma formulated by Kant and Lessing, but debased to uses which it would have given them a nightmare to foresee, by the long and loathsome series of æsthetes, decadents and diabolists.

III.

MAX NORDAU himself seems beset with a misgiving lest the corner-stone of his book, the assumption of physical degeneration, affecting the higher classes and their literary purveyors, if not the whole body of civilized mankind, should prove to be unsound. Accordingly he puts forward a secondary explanation of the indisputable fact that literature glaringly immoral is now much more widely circulated, if not any more respectably championed, than it was in the preceding periods named. He very properly ascribes the fact, partly to the multiplication of readers and the greatly improved facilities for publication, but largely also to the currency of the dogma above mentioned, the dogma of art for art. The chapters in which he attacks this axiom are the strongest and most admirable portions of his brilliant book. He does not, indeed, attempt to treat fully of the relation of the beautiful to morals, for he perceives that, to do this, it would be needful to expound the whole science of æsthetics. Yet he demonstrates that art is not practised for itself alone, but that it has a double aim, subjective and objective, to wit, first, the satisfaction of an organic want of the artist, and, secondly, the influencing of his fellow-creatures. It follows that to art are applicable the principles by which every other human activity, pursuing the

same ends, is judged, *i. e.*, the principles of law and of morality. We are reminded that the Middle Ages had places of sanctuary, where criminals could not be molested for their misdemeanors. Modern law has done away with this institution, and ought art to be at present the only asylum to which criminals may fly with a prospect of escaping punishment? Shall they be suffered to satisfy in the so-called "temple" of art, instincts which the policeman prevents them from appeasing in the street? Passing over what is said regarding painting and sculpture, with which we are here not specially concerned, we note that a sharp distinction is drawn between poetry and prose-fiction on the one hand, and the pictorial and plastic arts on the other. The oral or written word can hardly in itself produce an effect of sensuous beauty by its auditory or visual image, even if it presents itself rhythmically regulated and rendered musical by the tinkling of rhyme. It must operate almost solely by its content, by the thoughts or emotions it communicates. In the case of words, therefore, the impression can no longer be a composite one, partly pleasing, partly unpleasing, as at the sight of a finely painted representation of a repulsive incident; the effect of such an incident, verbally described, must be purely disagreeable. The unconscientious and non-tragical, or falsely tragical, portrayals of vice and crime in literature have no doubt their public, the public of the gaols; but a healthy mind feels itself violently repelled by works of this kind, and finds itself incapable of receiving an æsthetic impression from them, be their form never so conformable to the approved rules of art. Everything depends, however, upon a writer's point of view, and on the emotions with which he regards his subject, and which the reader is intended to share. When a work betrays indifference on the author's part to the evil or ugliness depicted; nay betrays, even a predilection for it; then the abhorrence provoked by the composition is intensified by all the disgust which the author's aberration of instinct excites in us. It is far otherwise when a poem or a novel allows us to recognize the upright moral purpose of an author, and reveals to us his well-directed sympathetic emotion. The effect of such writings, whatever their theme, is cleansing, invigorating, ennobling. No honest man or woman, for instance, can doubt the morality of the author's emotions and intentions, when he reads the murder scene in Dostoïevsky's "Raskolnikoff," or watches the disastrous entangle-

ments that form the pivots of Mr. Hardy's "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," of Mr. Caine's "Manxman," and of the singularly pathetic story lately published in this country, "Poppaea," by Julien Gordon. Novels written in this high-minded way fulfill in their relatively modest fashion the conditions which Aristotle laid down for the composition of tragedies. No matter, so he thought, how deplorable the incident selected for a subject, provided it be so treated as thoroughly to purge the passions by a touching or appalling example; provided, in other words, the wholesome emotions of fear and pity be excited; dread of the doom of the evil-doer, compassion for the victim of misfortune, pity for those who err. It is creditable to Mr. Nordau that he carefully discriminates between works of fiction written in this exemplary spirit, and those which evince on the author's part a callous indifference, or a morbid attraction, to the derelictions portrayed.

IV.

It seems evident that the phase through which literature is passing in these closing years of the century is transitory, like the unsettled state of the public conscience which it reflects. We must put a stop to the invasion of books and newspapers by diabolists, and to the intrusion of anarchists in politics, or organized human society must cease to exist. The natural presumption that in such a crisis the social system will contrive to right itself and purge itself by a violent reaction is confirmed by the observation of what has uniformly happened at similar conjunctures in the past. It is plain, for instance, that the Roman commonwealth must have collapsed prematurely from moral gangrene and social incoherence had the views and lives of the ruling class remained what they had been from the accession of Tiberius to the death of Domitian. But Rome had still a mission to fulfill, and felt an irresistible impulse to moral rehabilitation. In the place of the old ethical standards and religious sanctions then contemned, her citizens sought new ones, and found them in the Stoic philosophy, based as it was on the idea of universal law in nature and of ever-binding duty among men. The consequent regeneration of the State is disclosed not only in the amendments of the civil law respecting slavery, and in the writings of Marcus Aurelius, but also in the exquisitely idealized tale of Psyche, so oddly inserted in a narrative, which,

as regards the prevailing moral tone, might have been penned by a Paris decadent of our own day. So, too, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the heart and conscience of Western Europe perceived that the Church and civil society were alike imperilled by the carnival of lust and blasphemy enacted in the Provençal-speaking lands ; and to them, accordingly, was applied the rough, but needful, surgery of the Albigensian Crusade. Thenceforward the troubadours ceased to sing; but men lost nothing from restriction to the relatively pure and high ideals embodied by trouvéres and minnesingers in such epics as the "Song of Roland," the "Niebelungen Lied," and the "Morte d'Arthur." Still more familiar is the tremendous internal reform of Catholicism in the last half of the sixteenth century, a reform to which no intelligent Protestant denies that the Society of Jesus most signally contributed. That impressive upburst toward regeneration found a literary type in Tasso, who chose a crusade for the subject of his "Jerusalem Delivered," and infused religious fervor into the conception of his hero. Then, again, amid the waning days of the French *ancien régime*, and while Voltaire and the Encyclopedists were the dictators of opinion, the necessity of discovering a substitute for the faith overthrown became patent to Rousseau, who turned gropingly to nature for laws that she has never promulgated, and strove to deduce the rights of man from the status of an imaginary tenant of an Arcadian dreamland. We need only recur in passing to the subsequent vehement recoil of, at least, a part of the French people from the impiety and vice which had whelmed the revolutionary epoch, a recoil disclosed in the philosophical, historical, and controversial writings of De Maistre, Joubert, Lamennais, and Montalembert, and no less clearly in the artistic compositions of Chateaubriand and Lamartine.

Thus we see that at every preceding period more or less analagous to ours, the decay of faith and the resultant relaxation of all moral ties—a decay and relaxation always reflected in the contemporary literature—have sooner or later roused men to the consciousness of a grave social danger, and awakened them to the fact that the concepts of altruistic ethics lie at the root of all humane civilization. If the old sanctions of duty and unselfishness cannot be re-established, new and effective ones must be secured or no organized society of a benign and lofty type can stand. Mr.

Nordau's book is itself a symptom of the wide-spread indignation and disgust which precede a purifying and a hygienic reaction. Nor are there lacking other signs no less unmistakable, nay, perhaps, much more significant. We refer to the somewhat cold and dry, but lucid, exact and cogent criticism of M. Brunetière, who if he does not entirely repudiate for France the doctrine of art for art's sake, exposes to scorn and ridicule its extravagant, vagrant and disgraceful applications. And what but a good omen can we read in the almost simultaneous publication of such books as those of Mr. Benjamin Kidd, of Prof. Henry Drummond and Mr. A. J. Balfour, in which the fundamental relations to conduct and progress, of science on the one hand and religion on the other, are re-examined from the view-point of the vital necessities of mankind.

There is ground for hope, if not for belief, that the twentieth century will witness a bracing revival of idealism, or at least of an eclectic realism that will differ from it only in name. When Mr. Nordau, with so much ingenuity, and with such undeniable breadth of culture, strives to find in physical regeneration the remedy for the lamentable divagations of our age-end literature, whereas the cure is only to be found in a change of spiritual conditions, he reminds one of the mediæval pilgrims who

> "went so far to seek
> In Golgotha Him dead that lives in Heaven."

M. W. HAZELTINE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE MODERN WOMAN AND MARRIAGE.

CRITICISM of the marriage relation is in the air.

The stage concerns itself almost exclusively with that topic for the moment, Ibsen having struck the key to which all the playwrights are pitching their chorus of echo. Every book-stall is heavy with similar discussions in dialogue, carried on by the puppets of fiction.

In what has all this turmoil had its origin; what is the significance of this criticism; and what is the general attitude of woman towards the matter?

Howells, with only humorous apology, admits of his sex that "after 1,800 years man is only imperfectly monogamous."

That even this imperfect measure of self-denial and fidelity has been reached is almost solely due to the untiring effort of the woman of the past.

The root of family life is not mutual affection between man and woman, because that, alas!—whether it be founded on physical attraction or mental affinity—is subject to change. Age withers, and custom stales it: circumstance blights it, a diversity of spiritual growth rends it apart, and no man or woman can say with certainty that it will endure for a life-time. But the fluctuations to which wedded love is subject are unknown to the abnegating instinct of parenthood. Mutual affection for the offspring will hold together the most opposite natures; it will rivet for all existence two lives that must otherwise inevitably spring asunder by instinctive repulsion.

Love of offspring is in man a cultivated emotion; in woman an instinct. There are women lacking the instinct as there are calves born with two heads, but for purposes of generalization these exceptions may be ignored. In many of the lower orders of life the female is obliged to protect the young from the enmity of the male parent. The alligator finds no meal so refreshing as a light lunch off his newly hatched children, and the male swine shares his epicurean taste for tender offspring. The stallion is a dangerous companion for the mare with colt at foot, though it be of his own get, and many species of males appear to experience a similar jealousy of the young while absorbing the attentions of the female. Speaking generally of the animal world the young are obliged to look to the mother entirely for food and care during the period of helplessness. With savage man of the lower grade the paternal instinct is still faint and rudimentary, and even where the woman has, through long ages of endeavor, succeeded in cultivating in the heart of the other parent a fair imitation of her own affection, this affection being a cultivated emotion and not an instinct, frequently breaks down under stress of misbehavior or frowardness on the part of the child.

To this end then—that end "toward which the whole creation moves"—

to effect this result of an equal care and affection for the offspring, all the energies of women have been bent for ages.

She has fought polygamy with incessant hatred; not only for its injury to herself but for its constant menace to her children. The secret strings of the woman's heart are wrapped about the fruit of her own flesh, but the desire of the man is to the woman, and this desire she has used as a lever to work her will—not consciously, perhaps, not with reasoned forethought, but with the iron tenacity of blind instinct. Reasoned will may be baffled or deflected, but water can by no means be induced to run up hill; and so while woman has been apparently as fluidly yielding as water—to be led here and driven there according to the will of her master—she has stuck to her own ends with a silent persistency that has always tired out opposition at last. She has, like Charity, suffered all things, endured all things; she has been all things to all men. She has yielded all outward show of authority; she has submitted to be scoffed at as an inferior creation, to be sneered at for feebleness and shallow-mindedness, to be laughed at for chattering inconsequence, and to be regarded as a toy and trifle to amuse man's leisure hours, or as a dull drudge for his convenience, for ends are not achieved by talking about them. All the ages of masculine discussion of the Eternal Feminine show no reply from her, but to-day the world is a woman's world. Civilization has, under the unrelaxing pressure of endless generations of her persistent will, been bent to her ends. Polygamy is routed, and the errant fancy of the male tamed to yield itself to a single yoke. She has "with bare and bloody feet climbed the steep road of wide empire," but to-day she stands at the top—mistress of the world. Man, with his talents, his strength, and his selfishness, has been tamed to her hand. The sensual, dominant brute with whom she began what Max Nordau calls "the toilsome, slow ascent of the long curve leading up to civilization," stands beside her to-day, hat in hand, her lover—husband; tender, faithful, courteous, and indulgent.

This is the conquest that has been made, the crown and throne achieved by the silent, uneducated woman of the past.

Monogamous marriage is the foundation stone on which has been built her power; a power which, while it has enured to her own benefit, has not been exercised for selfish ends. She has raised the relation between man and herself from a mere contract of sensuality or convenience to a spiritual sacrament within whose limits the purest and most exalted of human emotions find play. For the coarse indulgence and bitter enmities of polygamy has been substituted the happiest of bonds, in which the higher natures find room for the subtlest and completest felicities, and within which the man, the woman and the child form a holy trinity of mutual love and well-being.

To this jewel, so hardly won, so long toiled for, it would be natural to suppose that woman would cling with all the force of her nature; all the more as education broadened her capacity for reflection and deepened her consciousness of self. On the contrary, the little learning she has so far acquired seems, as usual, a dangerous thing, and with the development of self-consciousness the keen, unerring *flair* of her instinct for the one thing needful has been blunted and enfeebled. It is not necessary to give undue weight to the blatant and empty-headed crew who announce marriage to be a failure, and that women are tired of, and will no longer submit to, child-bearing. There are crowing hens in all barnyards, and their loud antics

never materially affect the supply of eggs—but there are other voices more potent and more threatening than these.

A certain class of optimists always pooh-pooh suggestions of possible change, or danger to an existing comfortable state of things, and these will refuse to admit that the modern woman may be risking anything serious, or turning her feet in the wrong direction. But those sensitive to feel and observant to note the mind of their generation will be aware that it is not only the half-baked, shrieking sisterhood who decry the result of so much patient endeavor and self-sacrifice. The theory that marriage is a heavy bond, cramping the capacities of the sex, appears in the most unexpected quarters, held by women of ability and education. That loud cry for "the development of her individuality"—only a euphemistic phrase for the cruel and profligate modern creed, "Every thing pleasant is yours by right: you have no duties"—has an ever increasing chorus of applause among women.

Wonderful, that while knowledge comes, wisdom lingers. Wonderful, that what women have suffered so long to win, once won they should cease to prize; that education should not teach woman that man was by nature very far removed from the gentle domestic animal she knows to-day. However the modern woman may swagger about her individuality, may talk of her "spiritual needs," and deplore the stupid tyranny of man who demands sacrifices from her in return for his tenderness, protection and support, the *fact* is not changed, that however much she may be man's intellectual equal, or spiritual superior, the exigencies of motherhood put her at his mercy. She can not be entirely self-dependent except at the cost of the welfare of the offspring. The Factory Acts are a recognition of the right of the child to its mother's health and vitality. Woman simply may not eat her cake and have it too. Using all her energies for her own needs she can not give vigor to her children. If she employ for her own ends her store of life she robs the child. To adequately supply the new generation with health, brains and nerve force she must husband her resources and yield herself to the generosity and tenderness of the man and trust to his care. That he has not always been generous and tender, that he is not always so even now, does not alter the general fact.

This enmity to and destructive criticism of that fair temple of life called marriage—built by women's hands out of women's hearts—seems like a madness. If women pluck down its shrines, man will not be long in refusing to worship there. There might be something, perhaps, to admire in the self-denial and courage of a sex which should say: "We will destroy even this holy sanctuary, built by the ages, in which we are honored priestesses, which contains all our luxuries, our securities, all our comforts; we will go out and face the world and toil like the rest, only that we may be free!" if it were not that women are not and never can be free. They are all under bonds to the new generation.

If she were alone, she might choose to make herself homeless—but how of the little children?

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

POOR CITY BOYS IN THE COUNTRY.

THE average poor city boy thinks of the country as a place where he can do with the fullest freedom what he best likes to do in the city—more specifically as a place where he can play all the ball he pleases, as he pleases,

without being "pinched by the cops." That he can do other things, quite different from those he does in the city, does not occur to him.

For two successive years I have spent ten days in the country with a party of about a dozen such boys (ages twelve to fifteen), and I have been surprised beyond measure at their surprise in lighting upon such pastimes as climbing trees, swinging on birches, going barefoot, driving and riding on horses, berrying, nutting, graping, frogging, snaring, hunting, tumbling on the hay in the loft and field, exploring the courses of brooks, collecting insects, minerals, birds' nests and eggs, gathering sweet fern, making whistles, cucumber boats and jack-'o-lanterns, and the thousand and one other things which the country boy regards as an essential part of life.

Staying in the country develops much the same ability in the city boy as foreign travel does in the adult, namely that of taking a new point of view, of understanding and sympathizing with an entirely new kind of life. It takes time, however, to get to see things in their right relations. At first everything is condemned that differs in the slightest detail from city usage. Fishing, swimming and rowing in fresh water, though indulged in readily enough, are spoken of with contempt. The absence of theaters, electric cars, candy stores, tobacco stores, peanut stands and the daily papers (prized for their news of regattas, races, baseball games and boxing matches) is bitterly deplored. Even the pageantry of funerals is missed. "How many hacks be they at funerals out here?" inquired one of the brightest of my boys, and his fine scorn on being told that there were none, because the farmers used their own teams, was worth going very far to see. "Teams for hacks!" was all he said, but there were volumes in his voice. Fresh air at night is so new and eerie a thing that the boys keep every window shut in the hottest weather rather than breathe it. They get homesick with the windows open. They are as little able to appreciate fresh vegetables, and have a comical abhorrence of milk just from the cow.

Their terror of the dark reaches a point that is almost incredible. They do not dare to walk after sunset, though there be a dozen of them together, for fear of tramps, nor to go to bed without a light for fear of ghosts, "skilligans" they call them. One night, I had to use a hammer, between nine and ten o'clock, to repair a bed in a room under a chamber in which four of the boys were sleeping. The next morning, the four had a harrowing tale to tell of "skilligans" pounding continuously on their door, and every now and then crashing against it with something that sounded like a sledge-hammer.

One boy was curiously timid about drinking well water. He had read a story somewhere of a murdered man's body being discovered in a well from which people were in the habit of drinking. "How 'd yer know this here 's good water? The taste haint no sign," he would say. "Yer can't tell. There might be a dead body in this well, as easy as any other well."

All are powerless to estimate distance. Half a mile on a lonely wood road really seems to them three or four miles, and they flatly refuse to walk as far as they walk every day in the city. It is not that they get physically tired. The lonesome monotony tires them mentally. When they have learned that the sights of a country road are as many and varied as those of a city thoroughfare, it is different with them.

As regards morals, they find it very hard to believe that anything can be wrong where there are no "cops" to inflict punishment.

A sojourn in the country teaches a myriad of facts of natural history, and, because of the zest novelty gives, the city boy in the country comes, in a little

while, to vie with Whittier's "Barefoot Boy" as a scientist. He has knowledge:

"Of the wild bee's morning chase,
Of the wild-flower's time and place;
Flight of fowl and habitude
Of the tenants of the wood;
How the tortoise bears his shell,
How the wood-chuck digs his cell,
And the ground-mole sinks his well;
How the robin feeds her young,
How the oriole's nest is hung;
Where the whitest lilies blow,
Where the freshest berries grow,
Where the ground-nut trails its vine,
Where the wood-grape's clusters shine;
Of the black wasp's cunning way,
Mason of his walls of clay,
And the architectural plans
Of gray hornet artisans."

If this rather discursive knowledge is not recognized as science by the savants it is at least the result of honest laboratory work, and is far more useful to the average individual than better ordered book-conned erudition. If our public schools have left children to believe that milk is made by machinery, that buttercups are the first flowers of spring, that most wild plants are poisonous, that growing Indian corn is the banana, and that the rooster's crow is the bleat of a nanny-goat;* then it is well that the school-curriculum should be supplemented by just such a natural history course as ten days in the country give. The habit of quick, careful observation can in no other way be so easily produced.

Furthermore, this studying of nature sometimes induces a genuine love of nature, that continues a wholesome influence in the life of the boy long after his return to the city. In fact, this love, if fostered, may permanently modify for good, not only his life, but (after marriage) that of his family.

Every charity has its seamy side; some charities have little else. It is true that the charity of sending children into the country affords the "sponges" the most glorious opportunity of the year for begging clothes; that some parents are influenced by it to neglect parental duties through having that done for them which, with a little extra effort, they might do themselves; that others are emboldened by it to insolence, even to asserting that they, in letting their children go into the country, are the parties conferring the favor—a notion only too readily taken up by the children; that once the boys are in the country there is an ideal opportunity for mischief-plotting and bullying; that comparatively good boys may play, eat, and sleep with far rougher boys than they are in the habit of associating with in the city; that all the boys are liable to corruption from association with low farm-help, and to bad treatment at the hands of brutal or stingy farmers and farmers' wives. To a certain extent, all these disagreeable things are inevitable. But they have been minimized by the scrupulous care of certain societies, and they are more than made up for by the educational influence of country life already dwelt on, not to mention the purely physical benefit, which every one recognizes.

ALVAN F. SANBORN.

* All these are actual instances of city children's ignorance.

HARNESSING THE SUN.

WHEN we sit in front of a coal fire and enjoy its generous warmth, do we realize that the heat and light of the burning coal are really sunshine that has been stored up for ages? Such is the fact. Centuries ago the sun shone on the earth and plants and trees grew, fell and grew again; they were covered by geologic deposits, and acted upon by great heat and pressure, until in the course of years or ages these broad layers of organic matter were transformed into coal. The coal thus represents the work done by the sunshine years ago, and when it is burnt the imprisoned solar energy is loosened again.

Our system of power-production depends upon this presence of energy. But coal is a wasteful source of energy. Even the best engines do not utilize over 10 per cent. of the calculated energy of the heat of coal. And, besides this, it is an inconvenient thing in many ways; it has to be mined, freighted, and stored. Can we not find some more economical way of using the sun's energy?

During the last few years the great progress in electrical science has enabled man to utilize the solar heat in a thriftier way. During its day's work the sun draws up a large amount of water from the oceans and the damp earth. By the action of its rays plant life flourishes, and plants draw from the ground and evaporate into the air large amounts of water. Thus an oak tree of average size, with 700,000 leaves, lifts from the earth into the air about one hundred and twenty-three tons of water during the five months it displays its foliage. This evaporated water, sooner or later, falls as rain, and by the action of gravity begins to flow downward. Thus the great rivers are fed. Round and round incessantly goes the water lifted by the tireless sun to fall when deserted by him, and again to be lifted, and again to fall and run seaward, as long as it may exist upon this earth.

In running downward water produces power, and the utilization of this power by water-wheels is one of the oldest of human ideas. But such a utilization was merely local; it could not be transmitted to a distance, and, as great falling bodies of water were not near large cities, these tremendous sources of power could not be rendered available. But now the Falls of Niagara are being utilized to run immense turbines, and these again to run dynamos, and the current thus produced can be sent by wire to distances which are continually increasing with the improvement of the means for conducting the power.

As the Sun makes no charge for pouring water into the upper end of the Niagara River, wastage of power is less serious than wastage of coal.

Still another opportunity of the same sort is not taken advantage of as yet. The Moon pulls the seas after her until the land stops their motion, and tides are the result. Few have any idea of the amount of power represented by the rise and fall of the tide. Twice a day does this stupendous exhibition of energy take place. But, as it is intermittent, it cannot be utilized as readily as a waterfall. It is not impossible to utilize the ebb of an immence mass of water for four or five feet; on the contrary many mechanical methods have been devised, and dynamos can be run as long as the tide is falling. But how shall the tidefall be made a source of continual power? Can electricity by the use of storage batteries, or in some other way solve the problem? It remains to be seen. Science has harnessed the Sun; now let her bridle the Moon. In this way the man of science will realize Emerson's phrase—"Hitch your wagon to a Star."

PETER TOWNSEND AUSTEN.

THE SILVER QUESTION IN ANCIENT TIMES.

EXACTLY twenty-four hundred and ninety years ago, a commercial depression very similar to the one we are now suffering from here, existed in Attica; partly the result of a war for the recovery of Salamis, and partly of a series of bad crops. In fact, to prove the cyclical nature of these financial crises, the depression was parallel with ours even in the matter of dates, for it began in '91 and was still existing in '95 (595 B. C., of course, I mean). Just as now, too, fortunes were possessed only by the few, and, still more remarkable, a considerable proportion of this wealth consisted in farm mortgages in the western section of the country, which were held by city residents. So the Athenian capitalist was in much the same position as the Boston or New York capitalist to-day. Nor was the similarity lessened by the fact that in many cases he had foreclosed the mortgages and had become possessed of the land. Terrible as our populist orators portray the condition of our own agriculturist to be, that of his Grecian prototype was far worse in that period of dearth. "He had sunk into an actual slave, and had from time to time been sold and exported." We seem to see, too, a picture as of New England's deserted farm lands. "Many poor creatures had fled away from home, and were supporting themselves by the labor of their hands in foreign countries. Many men who still clung to their little properties could, with pinching, barely keep their heads above water, and in whatever direction they gazed they saw a stone column recording the name of a mortgagee and the amount of a mortgage." This condition of affairs, as was natural, had given birth to a populistic party, called the "Hill party," which advocated the repudiation of outstanding debts and a return to their original owners of all properties that had been foreclosed. Indeed, so radical were their demands that capital was severely agitated, and the value of agricultural holdings suffered a serious decline. Over this divided state, Solon was called to preside, not so much, by reason of any previous evidence of statesmanship as because of a current remark of his, to the effect that the management of affairs could only be just and proper "when everything was even."

Taking the times into consideration, a politician could hardly have hit upon a happier phrase. It satisfied both the rich and the poor, and was as little compromising as the reply of an eminent lady when the propriety of *décolleté* dresses was agitating our own land—that the proper limit of a low-necked dress should be at the bust line. It raised Solon to the archonship, a position which corresponded to our presidency, with the authority of our Supreme Court tacked on as an adjunct.

Though lifted to power by an epigram, Solon was not inclined to descend from it by hasty action. He pondered long and deeply on the situation—so long, in fact, that Phanias, the Lesbian, asserts that he was dealing artfully with both parties—privately promising the poor a division of their lands and the rich a confirmation of their securities. This was a base calumny of the kind to which the politician has been subject in all times and ages, for the wealthy classes were really becoming alarmed at the delay, and the poor furious. At last Solon's mind was made up and summoning his three intimate friends, Conon, Clinias and Hipponicus to a private consultation, he thus addressed them:

"Oh, friends, often a man in public life, while seeking the suffrages of the people, makes promises he finds impracticable of fulfillment when he

reaches office. True reform is reconciliation of conflicting interests, and he is the safest guide who takes his course midway between the mountain and the plain."

"Which means to say, O, Solon, that to repudiate all debts is to yield everything to the Hill party," said Clinias. "But how about returning the properties already foreclosed to their original owners?"

"That would upset the whole social fabric of Attica," replied Solon.

"And thou intendest to do nothing then?" exclaimed Conon.

Solon stayed him with a gesture. "Nay, my friends, I have thought of a better means of relief—one that will please everyone and that will not disturb the existing order of things. It is, in fact, so great a scheme that I have sent for you to hear it first."

"What wilt thou do, O Solon?" inquired Hipponicus.

"I will reduce the value of the currency twenty-seven per cent," said Solon, "by the admixture of a baser metal. Thus the debts that are now outstanding can be reduced by about one-third of what was borrowed, and the mortgagee receiving mina for mina will have no cause for complaint."

"O Solon, thou hast solved the great enigma!" cried his three friends in admiration.

Solon smiled complacently. "I have little doubt I have inaugurated a new school of finance that will find pupils in all succeeding ages."

"I understand then that the lands shall remain as they now are," observed Clinias meditatively, "and that all debts shall be repaid in minas worth seventy-three instead of one hundred drachmas."

"I have spoken," replied Solon stiffly. "A little alloy will do the business."

"O, Great Law Giver," exclaimed the three together, "thou hast indeed inaugurated a new system, and thy name shall be handed down for future generations to worship."

"A last word," exclaimed Solon. "The decree has not yet been announced. Consider my confidence as sacred."

"Trust us, O Solon; we will keep it in a darkness only equalled by the shades of night." Then the trio hastily withdrew.

"This affair indeed brought upon Solon the greatest trouble he met with," says Plutarch. For his friends, hastening to take advantage of the news, borrowed large sums of money, and therewith purchased all the land that they could lay their hands on. Indeed, to such a price had the fear of populistic legislation reduced the value of agricultural property that they practically cornered the best part of Attica. Afterwards, when the edict was proclaimed, they kept their lands and paid their debts in the debased coin. It was about as neat a transaction as is recorded in history, and even this financiering age can hardly duplicate it. "Solon himself, scarcely escaped the odium of being a party to the transaction," goes on Plutarch, "and his friends ever after went by the name of Chreocopidæ or repudiators." Of a truth history repeats itself.

PLAIN-SPEAKER.

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